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THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND THE SECRET SOCIETIES OF THE KWAKIUTL INDIANS.

BY

FRANZ BOAS.

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FRANZ BOAS.

BASED ON PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS AND ON NOTES MADE BY MR. GEORGE HUNT.

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THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND THE SECRET SOCIETIES OF THE KWAKIUTL INDIANS.

By FRANZ BOAS.

PREFACE.

The following paper describes and illustrates the collections of the U. S. National Museum referring to the social organization and secret societies of the Indians of the coast of British Columbia. It is based on studies made by the author during a series of years. The great body of facts presented here were observed and recorded by Mr. George Hunt, of Fort Rupert, British Columbia, who takes deep interest in everything pertaining to the ethnology of the Kwakiutl Indians and to whom I am under great obligations. I am indebted to him also for explanations of ceremonials witnessed by myself, but the purport of which was difficult to understand, and for finding the Indians who were able to give explanations on certain points.

My thanks are due to Mr. C. O. Hastings, of Victoria, British Columbia, who took a series of photographs, reproductions of which will be found in this report. A series of phonographic records of songs belonging to the ceremonials were transcribed by Mr. John C. Fillmore and myself. I also had opportunity to verify many of the phonographic records by letting the Indians repeat the songs two years after the records had been taken.

I have also to thank Prof. A. Bastian, director of the Royal Ethnographical Museum at Berlin, Sir Augustus W. Franks, keeper of the ethnographical department of the British Museum, Mr. Franz Heger, director of the ethnographical department of the Imperial Royal Museum of Natural History at Vienna, and Prof. F. W. Putnam, curator of the department of anthropology of the American Museum of Natural History at New York, for permission to use specimens contained in the collections of these museums for illustrating the present report.

The following alphabet has been used in transcribing Indian words and names:

a, e, i, o, u,	have their continental sounds (short).
ā, ē, ī, ō, ū,	long vowels.
ᵘ	not articulated, but indicated by position of the mouth.
ɛ	obscure e, as in flower.
ä̃	in German *Bär*.
â	aw in law.
ô	o in German *voll*.
ê	e in bell.
î	i in hill.
–	separates vowels which do not form diphthongs.
ai	i in island.
au	ow in how.
l	as in English.
ɪ	posterior, palatal l; the tip of the tongue touches the alveoli of the lower jaw, the back of the tongue is pressed against the hard palate, sonant.
ʟ	the same, short and exploded (surd).
q	velar k.
ƍ	velar g.
k	English k.
k·	palatized k, almost ky.
g·	palatized g, almost gy.
x	ch in German *Bach*.
X	x pronounced at posterior border of hard palate, between x and x·.
x·	palatal ch in German *ich*.
s	as in English.
c	English sh.
d, t b, p g, k	as in English, but surd and sonant are difficult to distinguish.
h	as in English.
y	as in year.
w m n	as in English.
’	a pause; when following a consonant combined with increase of stress of articulation.
′	accent.

The texts of Indian songs, phrases, and legends do not lay any claim to philological accuracy. They are merely inserted here as authenticating the translations and the material presented in this paper. It may be that a further study of the songs will modify the translations in many respects. The obscurity of the songs is often very great,

and my knowledge of the language is not sufficient to overcome the difficulties of an adequate translation.

I. The Indian Tribes of the North Pacific Coast.

The Pacific Coast of America between Juan de Fuca Strait and Yakutat Bay is inhabited by a great many Indian tribes distinct in physical characteristics and distinct in languages, but one in culture. Their arts and industries, their customs and beliefs, differ so much from those of all other Indians that they form one of the best defined cultural groups of our continent.

While a hasty glance at these people and a comparison with other tribes emphasize the uniformity of their culture, a closer investigation reveals many peculiarities of individual tribes which prove that their culture has developed slowly and from a number of distinct centers, each people adding something to the culture which we observe at the present day.

The region inhabited by these people is a mountainous coast intersected by innumerable sounds and fiords and studded with islands, large and small. Thus intercourse along the coast by means of canoes is very easy, while access to the inland is difficult on account of the rugged hills and the density of the woods. A few fiords cut deep into the mainland, and the valleys which open into them give access to the heart of the high ranges which separate the coast from the highlands of the interior, forming an effectual barrier between the people of the interior and those of the coast. These fiords and their rivers and valleys offer comparatively easy access to the coast, and along these lines interchange of culture has taken place. Extending our view a little beyond the territory defined above, the passes along which the streams of culture flowed most easily were Columbia River in the south and the pass leading along Salmon and Bella Coola rivers to Dean Inlet and Bentinck Arm. Of less importance are Chilcat Pass, Stikine River, Nass and Skeena rivers, and Fraser River. Thus it will be seen that there are only two important and four less important passes, over which the people of the coast came into contact with those of the interior. Thus they have occupied a rather isolated position and have been able to develop a peculiar culture without suffering important invasions from other parts of America.

As the precipitation all along the coast is very great, its lower parts are covered with dense forests which furnish wood for building houses, canoes, implements, and utensils. Among them the red cedar (*Thuya gigantea*) is the most prominent, as it furnishes the natives with material for most manufactures. Its wood serves for building and carving; its bark is used for making clothing and ropes. The yellow cedar, pine, fir, hemlock, spruce, yew tree, maple, alder, are also of importance to the Indians. The woods abound with numerous kinds of berries, which

are eagerly sought for. The kelp and seaweeds which grow abundantly all along the shore are also utilized.

In the woods the deer, the elk, the black and grizzly bear, the wolf, and many other animals are found. The mountain goat lives on the higher ranges of the mainland. The beaver, the otter, marten, mink, and fur seal furnish valuable skins, which were formerly used for blankets. The Indians keep in their villages dogs which assist the hunters.

The staple food of the Indians is, however, furnished by the sea. Seals, sea lions, and whales are found in considerable numbers; but the people depend almost entirely upon various species of salmon, the halibut, and the oulachon or candlefish (*Thaleichthys pacificus*, Girard), which are caught in enormous quantities. Various specimens of cod and other sea fish also furnish food. Herrings visit the coast early in spring. In short, there is such an abundance of animal life in the sea that the Indians live almost solely upon it. Besides fish, they gather various kinds of shellfish, sea urchins, and cuttlefish.

The people are, therefore, essentially fishermen, all other pursuits being of secondary importance. Whales are pursued only by the tribes of the west coast of Vancouver Island. Other tribes are satisfied with the dead carcasses of whales which drift ashore. Sea lions and seals are harpooned, the barbed harpoon point being either attached to a bladder or tied to the stern of the canoe. The harpoon lines are made of cedar bark and sinews. The meat of these sea animals is eaten, while their intestines are used for the manufacture of bowstrings and bags. Codfish and halibut are caught by means of hooks. These are attached to fish lines made of kelp. The hook is provided with a sinker, while the upper part is kept afloat by a bladder or a wooden buoy. Cuttlefish are used for bait. The fish are either roasted over or near the fire or boiled in wooden kettles by means of red-hot stones. Those intended for use in winter are split in strips and dried in the sun or over the fire. Salmon are caught in weirs and fish traps when ascending the rivers, or by means of nets dragged between two canoes. Later in the season salmon are harpooned. For fishing in deeper water, a very long double-pointed harpoon is used. Herring and oulachon are caught by means of a long rake. The oulachon are tried in canoes or kettles filled with water, which is heated by means of red-hot stones. The oil is kept in bottles made of dried kelp. In winter, dried halibut and salmon dipped in oil is one of the principal dishes of the tribes living on the outer coast. Clams and mussels are collected by the women; they are eaten fresh, or strung on sticks or strips of cedar bark and dried for winter use. Cuttlefish are caught by means of long sticks; sea eggs are obtained by means of round bag nets. Fish roe, particularly that of herring, is collected in great quantities, dried, and eaten with oil.

Sea grass, berries, and roots are gathered by the women. The sea grass is cut, formed into square cakes, and dried for winter use. The same is done with several kinds of berries, which when used are dissolved in water and eaten mixed with fish oil. Crab-apples are boiled

and kept in their juice until late in the winter. They are also eaten with fish oil. The food is kept in large boxes which are bent of cedar wood, the bottom being sewed to the sides.

In winter, deer are hunted. Formerly bows and arrows were used in their pursuit, but these have now been replaced by guns. The bow was made of yew wood or of maple. The arrows had stone, bone, and copper points. Bows and arrows were carried in wooden quivers. Deer are also captured by being driven into large nets made of cedar bark, deer sinews, or nettles. Elks are hunted in the same way. For smaller animals traps are used. Deer and bears are also caught in large traps. Birds were shot with arrows provided with a thick blunt point. Deer-skins are worked into leather and used for various purposes, principally for ropes and formerly for clothing.

The natives of this region go barelegged. The principal part of their clothing is the blanket, and this was made of tanned skins or woven of mountain-goat wool, dog's hair, feathers, or a mixture of both. The thread is spun on the bare leg and by means of a spindle. Another kind of blanket is made of soft cedar bark, the warp being tied across the weft. These blankets are trimmed with fur. At the present time woolen blankets are most extensively used. At festive occasions "button blankets" are worn. Most of these are light blue blankets with a red border set with mother-of-pearl buttons. Many are also adorned with the crest of the owner, which is cut out in red cloth and sewed on to the blanket. Men wear a shirt under the blanket, while women wear a petticoat in addition. Before the introduction of woolen blankets, women used to wear an apron made of cedar bark and a belt made of the same material. When canoeing or working on the beach, the women wear large water-tight hats made of basketry. In rainy weather a water-tight cape or poncho made of cedar bark, is used.

The women dress their hair in two plaits, while the men wear it comparatively short. The latter keep it back from the face by means of a strap of fur or cloth tied around the head. Ear and nose ornaments are used extensively. They are made of bone and of abalone shell. The women of the most northern tribes (from about Skeena River northward) wear labrets.

A great variety of baskets are used—large wicker baskets for carrying fish and clams, cedar-bark baskets for purposes of storage. Mats made of cedar bark, and in the south such made of rushes, are used for bedding, packing, seats, dishes, covers of boxes, and similar purposes.

In olden times work in wood was done by means of stone and bone implements. Trees were felled with stone axes and split by means of wooden or bone wedges. Boards were split out of cedar trees by means of these wedges. After the rough cutting was finished, the surface of the wood was planed with adzes, a considerable number of which were made of jade and serpentine bowlders, which materials are found in several rivers. Carvings were executed with stone and shell knives.

Stone mortars and pestles were used for mashing berries. Paint pots of stone, brushes, and stencils made of cedar bark formed the outfit of the Indian painter. Pipes were made of slate, of bone, or of wood.

Canoes are made of cedar wood. The types of canoes vary somewhat among the different tribes of the coast, depending also largely upon whether the canoe is to be used for hunting, traveling, or fishing. The canoe is propelled and steered by means of paddles.

The houses are made of wood and attain considerable dimensions. The details of construction vary considerably among the various tribes, but the general appearance is much alike from Comox to Alaska, while farther south the square northern house gives way to the long house of the Coast Salish. A detailed description of the house will be given later on.

The tribes comprising the North Pacific group speak a great many different languages. From north to south we find the following linguistic families, which are subdivided in numerous dialects, as follows:

I. Tlingit, inhabitating southern Alaska.
II. Haida, inhabiting Queen Charlotte Islands and part of Prince of Wales Archipelago.
III. Tsimshian, inhabiting Nass and Skeena rivers and the adjacent islands.
  1. Nisqa′, on Nass River.
  2. Gyitkca′n, on upper Skeena River.
  3. Ts'E′mcian, on lower Skeena River and the adjacent islands.
IV. Wakashan, inhabiting the coast from Gardiner Channel to Cape Mudge, the region around Dean Inlet excepted; Vancouver Island, except its southeastern part, from Comox to Sooke Inlet; and Cape Flattery.
  A. Kwakiutl group.
    1. Xa–îsla, on Gardiner and Douglass channels.
    2. Hē′iltsuq, from Gardiner Channel to Rivers Inlet.
    3. Kwakiutl, from Rivers Inlet to Cape Mudge.
  B. Nootka group, inhabiting the west coast of Vancouver Island and Cape Flattery.
V. Salishan, inhabiting the coast of the mainland and the eastern part of Vancouver Island south of Cape Mudge, the southern part of the interior as far east as the Selkirk Range, and the northern parts of Washington, Idaho, and Montana; also the region of Dean Inlet.
A. The Coast Salish.
  1. Bî′lxula, on Dean Inlet and Bentinck Arm.
  2. ÇaLō′ltx, at Comox and Toba Inlet, formerly north of Cape Mudge.
  3. PE′nLatc, at Comox.
  4. Sī′ciaL, on Jervis Inlet.
  5. Sqxō′mic, on Howe Sound and Burrard Inlet.
  6. Qau′etcin, on Cowichan River and lower Fraser River.

7. Lku′ñgEn, on the southeastern part of Vancouver Island. This dialect is nearly identical with the S'ā′mic, SEmiā′mō, XLu′mi, and La′lam, the last of which is spoken south of Fuca Strait, while the others are spoken east of the Gulf of Georgia.
8. Nsqoa′li and affiliated dialects of Puget Sound.
9. Twā′nuX, at Union City, Puget Sound.
10. Sqau′elitsk, on Cowlitz River.
11. Sā′tsEpc, on Chehalis River.
12. Tsxē′lîs, on Greys Harbor.
13. Kwī′naiuL, north of Greys Harbor.
14. T'ilē′mukc, south of the mouth of Columbia River.

B. Salishan languages of the interior.

1. NLak·ā′pamuX, on the canyon of Fraser River and the lower course of Thompson River.
2. SLā′LiumX, on Douglas and Lillooet lakes.
3. SExuā′pamuX, from Ashcroft to the northern extremity of Okanagan Lake, the Big Bend of the Columbia, and Quesnelle.
4. Okinā′qēn, with the closely related Kalispelm, Spokane, Flatheads.

VI. Chemakum, south of Cape Flattery and near Port Townsend.

VII. Chinook, on Columbia River.

Among these languages, Tlingit and Haida on the one hand, Kwakiutl, Salishan, and Chemakum on the other, show certain similarities in form which induce me to consider these groups as more closely related among themselves than to the other languages.

The physical characteristics of the Indians of this region show also that they are by no means a homogeneous people. So far as we know now, we may distinguish four types on the coast of British Columbia: The northern type, embracing the Nisqa′ and Tsimshian; the Kwakiutl type; that of Harrison Lake; and the Salish of the interior, as represented by the Okanagan, Flathead, and Shuswap. The following measurements show the differences of types:

	Northern type.	Kwakiutl.	Harrison Lake.	Salish of the interior.
	mm.	*mm.*	*mm.*	*mm.*
Stature	1,670	1,644	1,580	1,679
Index of height, sitting	53.7	54.9	53.1	52.9
Length of head	195.5	(196)	183	191.8
Breadth of head	161.5	(161)	164.5	160.7
Height of face	120.5	129.1	115.5	123
Breadth of face	156.5	150.4	151.5	149.2
Height of nose	50.8	55.7	52.8	55.6
Breadth of nose	40.1	39.3	37.5	40.8
Length-breadth index	83.5	83.8	88.8	83.4
Facial index	77	86.7	76.2	83.6
Nasal index	79.5	71.6	72	74

The types expressed by these figures may be described as follows: The northern Indians are of medium stature. Their arms are relatively long, their bodies short. The head is very large, particularly its transversal diameter. The same may be said of the face, the breadth of which is enormous, as it exceeds the average breadth of face of the North American Indian by 6 mm. The height of the face is moderate; therefore its form appears decidedly low. The nose is very low as compared to the height of the face, and at the same time broad. Its elevation over the face is also very slight only. The bridge is generally concave, and very flat between the eyes.

The Kwakiutl are somewhat shorter, the trunks of their bodies are relatively longer, their arms and legs shorter than those of the first group. The dimensions of the head are very nearly the same, but the face shows a remarkably different type, which distinguishes it fundamentally from the faces of all the other groups. The breadth of the face exceeds only slightly the average breadth of face of the Indian, but its height is enormous. The same may be said of the nose, which is very high and relatively narrow. Its elevation is also very great. The nasal bones are strongly developed and form a steep arch, their lower end rising high above the face. This causes a very strongly hooked nose to be found frequently among the Kwakiutl, which type of nose is almost absent in all other parts of the Pacific Coast. This feature is so strongly marked that individuals of this group may be recognized with a considerable degree of certainty by the form of the face and of the nose alone.

The Harrison Lake type has a very short stature. The head is exceedingly short and broad, surpassing in this respect all other forms known to exist in North America. The face is not very wide, but very low, thus producing a chamæprosopic form, the proportions of which resemble those of the Nass River face, while its dimensions are much smaller. In this small face we find a nose which is absolutely higher than that of the Nass River Indian with his huge face. It is, at the same time, rather narrow. The lower portion of the face appears very small, as may be seen by subtracting the height of the nose from that of the face, which gives an approximate measure of the distance from septum to chin.

The Salish of the interior have a stature of 168 cm. Their heads are shorter than those of the tribes of Northern British Columbia or of the Indians of the plains. Their faces have the average height of the Indian face, being higher than that of the northern type of Indians, but lower than that of the Kwakiutl. The nose is high and wide, and has the characteristic Indian form, which is rare in most parts of the coast.

The social organization of the tribes of the coast shows considerable variation. The tribes of the northern parts of the coast have a maternal organization, while those in the south are purely paternally organized. The central tribes, particularly the Kwakiutl, show a peculiar transitional stage.

The Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, and Hēiltsuq have animal totems. The first of these have two phratries, the raven and wolf among the Tlingit, raven (Q'oa'la) and eagle (G·ītɛna') among the Haida. The Tsimshian have four totems—raven (Qanha'da), eagle (Laxskīyek), wolf (Laxk·ebō'), and bear (G·ispawaduwɛ'da); the Hēiltsuq three—raven (Qō'ix·tēnôx), eagle (Wī'k'oaqx·tēnôx), and killer whale (Ha'lx'-aix·tēnôx); the Xa-isla' six—beaver, eagle, wolf, salmon, raven, killer whale. Animal totems in the proper sense of this term are confined to these five groups or tribes. They are not found among the Kwakiutl, although they belong to the same linguistic stock to which the Xa-isla and Hēiltsuq belong. The clans of the northern tribes bear the names of their respective totems and are exogamous.

It must be clearly understood, however, that the natives do not consider themselves descendants of the totem. All my endeavors to obtain information regarding the supposed origin of the relation between man and animal have invariably led to the telling of a myth, in which it is stated how a certain ancestor of the clan in question obtained his totem. The character of these legends is uniform among all the peoples of this region; even farther south, among the Kwakiutl and the northern tribes of the Coast Salish, who have no animal totem in the restricted sense of this term. The ideas of the Kwakiutl regarding these matters will be described fully later on. As these legends reveal the fundamental views the natives hold in regard to their totem, I shall give abstracts of a few of them.

The following is a legend of the Tsimshian:

The Bear Clan.—An Indian went mountain-goat hunting. When he had reached a remote mountain range, he met a black bear, who took him to his home, taught him how to catch salmon, and how to build canoes. For two years the man stayed with the bear; then he returned to his own village. The people were afraid of him, because he looked just like a bear. One man, however, caught him and took him home. He could not speak and could not eat anything but raw food. Then they rubbed him with magic herbs, and gradually he was retransformed into the shape of a man. After this, whenever he was in want, he called his friend the bear, who came to assist him. In winter when the rivers were frozen, he alone was able to catch salmon. He built a house and painted the bear on the house front. His sister made a dancing blanket, the design of which represented a bear. Therefore the descendants of his sisters use the bear for their crest.

It is evident that legends of this character correspond almost exactly to the tales of the acquisition of manitows among the Eastern Indians, and they are evidence that the totem of this group of tribes is, in the main, the hereditary manitow of a family. This analogy becomes still clearer when we consider that each man among these tribes acquires a guardian spirit, but that he can acquire only such as belong to his clan. Thus, a person may have the general crest of his clan and, besides, use as his personal crest such guardian spirits as he has acquired. This accounts partly for the great multiplicity of combinations of crests which we observe on the carvings of these people.

The more general the use of the crest in the whole clan, the remoter the time to which the clan legend is ascribed. In many cases the incidents are considered comparatively recent, and are then confined to the descendants of the person whom the legend concerns. The extreme case is the narrative of acquisition of one of the crests of the clan by a single person.

These ideas necessitate that we find the clans or phratries subdivided and that there exists a multiplicity of crests for each phratry. As an illustration of this phenomenon, I will give a list of the crests and clans of the Stikine tribe of the Tlingit:

Crests of the raven phratry: Raven, frog, goose, sea lion, owl, salmon, beaver, codfish, skate.

Crests of the wolf phratry: Wolf, bear, eagle, killer whale, shark, auk, gull, sparrow hawk, thunder bird.

The phratries of the Stikine tribes are subdivided as follows:

Families of the raven phratry:

Qasx'aguē'dē. Crest: Raven.
K·iks'a'dē. Crest: Frog.
Qatc'a'dē. Crest: Raven.
Tīr hit tān (=bark house clan). Crest: Beaver.
DēLqoē'dē (=people of the point). Crest: Raven.
Qagan hit tan (=sun house clan). Crest: Raven.
xēLqoan. Crest: Beaver.

Families of the wolf phratry:

Nanaā'ri or siknax'a'dē (corresponding to the Kagontā'n of other Tlingit tribes), subdivided as follows:
Harā'c hit tan (=porch house clan).
Tos hit tan (=shark house clan).
Q'ēt gō hit tan.
xūts hit tan (=bear house clan).
Xōqē'dē. Crest: Killer whale.

The list is probably not complete, but it shows the character of these subdivisions. Similar subdivisions, although less numerous, are found among the Tsimshian.

The crest is used for ornamenting objects belonging to a member of the clan; they are carved on columns intended to perpetuate the memory of a deceased relative, painted on the house front or carved on a column which is placed in front of the house, and are also shown as masks in festivals of the clan. It is impossible to draw a sharp line between the pure crest and figures or masks illustrating certain incidents in the legendary history of the clan. In order to illustrate this point, which is of great importance in the study of our subject, I will describe a few examples observed among the Nîsqa' Indians.

The G·ispawaduwE'da, the bear clan of the Nîsqa', use a headdress representing the owl (māskutgunu'ks) (Plate 1), surrounded by many small human heads called gyad Em Laqs (claw men). This is worn in potlaches, and commemorates the following tradition:

A chief at T'Emlax'ā'mt had a son who was crying all the time. His father became impatient and sent him out of the house, saying, "The

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 1.

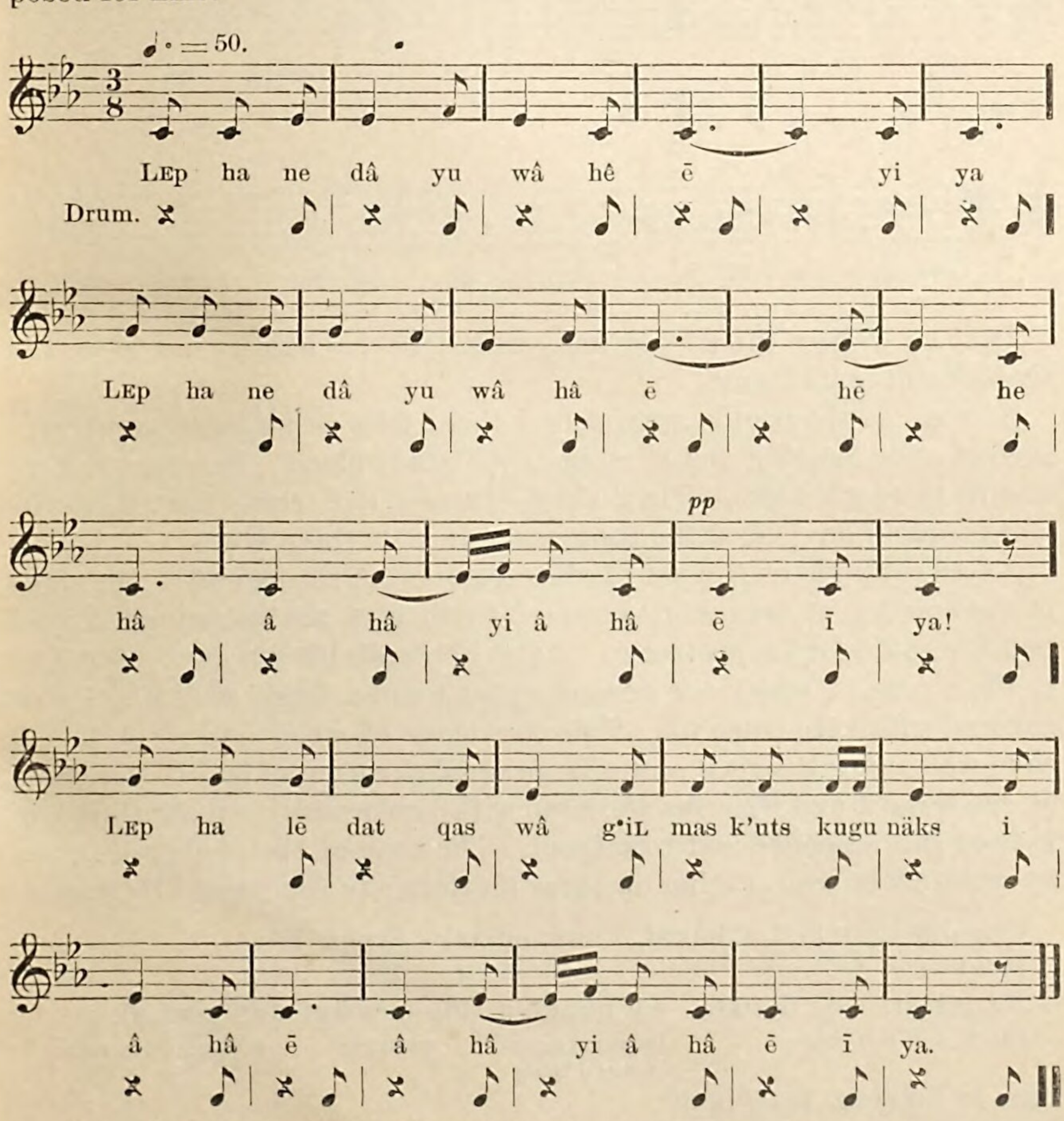
NISQÁ HEADDRESS REPRESENTING THE WHITE OWL.

The headdress is made of maple; eyes, tongue, eye ornament on wings, and ornament at base of the wing feathers inlaid in Haliotis shell. Wings and eyebrows of owl, and eyebrows, eyes, and noses of the surrounding men painted black; margin of beak and body of the owl except knees and talons, mouths, arms, and legs of the surrounding men, and the broad band surrounding the owl's body painted red. $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. Collected by Franz Boas.

($\frac{16}{9067}$ American Museum of Natural History, New York.)

NISQA' HEADDRESS REPRESENTING THE WHITE OWL.

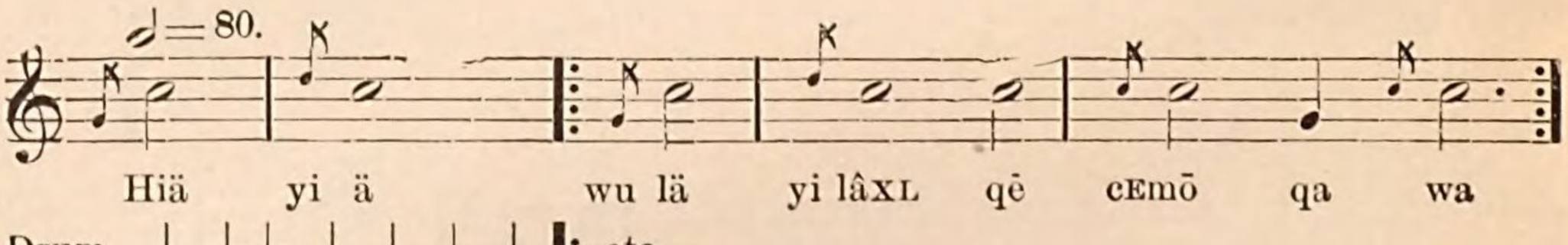
white owl shall fetch you." The boy went out, accompanied by his sister. Then the owl came and carried the girl to the top of a tree. The people heard her crying, and tried to take her down; but they were unable to climb the tree. After a while she ceased to cry, and married the owl. They had a son. When he grew up, she told her husband that she desired to send her son home. Then the owl made a song for him. His mother told him to carve a headdress in the shape of an owl for use in his dance, and to sing the song which his father had made for him. She bade him farewell, telling him that her husband—the owl—was about to carry her to a far-off country. The owl carried both of them to the old chief's house. When the wife of the latter saw the unknown boy, she was afraid; but her daughter reassured her, and told her that the boy was her grandson. Then the old woman took him into her house, while the owl and the boy's mother disappeared. When the boy was grown up, his mother's brother gave a festival, and before presents were distributed among the guests the boy danced, wearing the owl headdress and singing the following song which his father had composed for him:

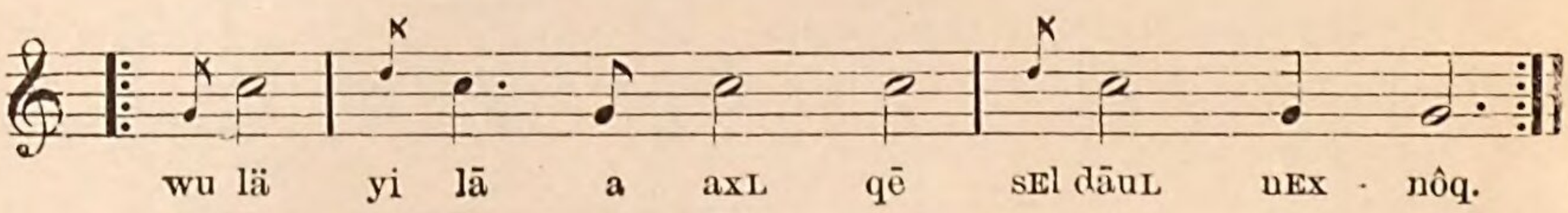


I. e. O my brother! this white owl has given me this tree for my seat.

When the G·itx·q'adô'q branch of the Qanha'da have a festival, three masks make their appearance, one of which has a mustache and represents a young man named G·itgoô'yim (Plate 2, upper figure), while the other two are called Cā'cā (Plate 2, lower figures). They represent the following tradition:

While the people were staying at the fishing village Gulg·ē'uL, the boys, under the leadership of a young man named G·itgoô'yim, made a small house in the woods behind the town. They took a spring salmon along and played with it until it was rotten. They caught small fish in the creek and split and dried them. They made small drums and began to sing and to dance. For four days they stayed there, dancing all the time. Then they became supernatural beings. G·itgoô'yim's hair had turned into crystal and copper. The people were about to move to another camp and went to fetch the boys, whom they heard singing:





That is: Where the copper hair, where the ice hair is spread out, is the supernatural being.

As soon as the people approached them they disappeared and were seen at once dancing and singing at a distant place. The people were unable to reach them. Then they returned, and since that time the G·itx·q'adô'q have used the song and dance of these boys.

As an example of the use of the crest, viz., of the legend of the clans in the erection of memorial columns, I will give the following: A man had the squid for his protector. After his death his son gave a festival, in the course of which the ground opened and a huge rock which was covered with kelp came up. This was made of wood and of bark. A cave was under the rock and a large squid came out of it. It was made of cedar bark and its arms were set with hooks which caught the blankets of the audience and tore them. The song of the squid was sung by women who were sitting on three platforms in the rear of the house:

Qagaba'xskE laxha' hâyâi, qagaba'xskE laxha' hâyâi.
It shakes the heaven hâyâi, it shakes the heaven hâyâi.

NLqak·sL qâ'dik·sL wī' naxnô'q lōg·ig·a'dEL ts'ā'g·aL ak·s
For the first time comes the great supernatural being in living inside the water

dEm în lîsā'yìlL am g·ig·a't.
to look at the people.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 2.

1

2 3

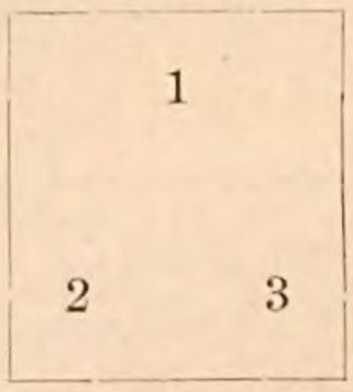
MASKS OF THE CLAN QAANHA'QA.

Fig. 1. GIIOOÓ'YIM. Height, 9 inches; lips and nose red; face not painted.
(Cat. No. $\frac{6}{8}\frac{4}{3}$, American Museum of Natural History, New York.)

Fig. 2. GÁ'GÁ. Height, 7½ inches; red, blue, and black.
(Cat. No. $\frac{6}{8}\frac{4}{5}$, American Museum of Natural History, New York.)

Fig. 3. GÁ'GÁ. Height, 7½ inches; black and red.
(Cat. No. $\frac{6}{8}\frac{4}{6}$, American Museum of Natural History, New York.)

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 2.

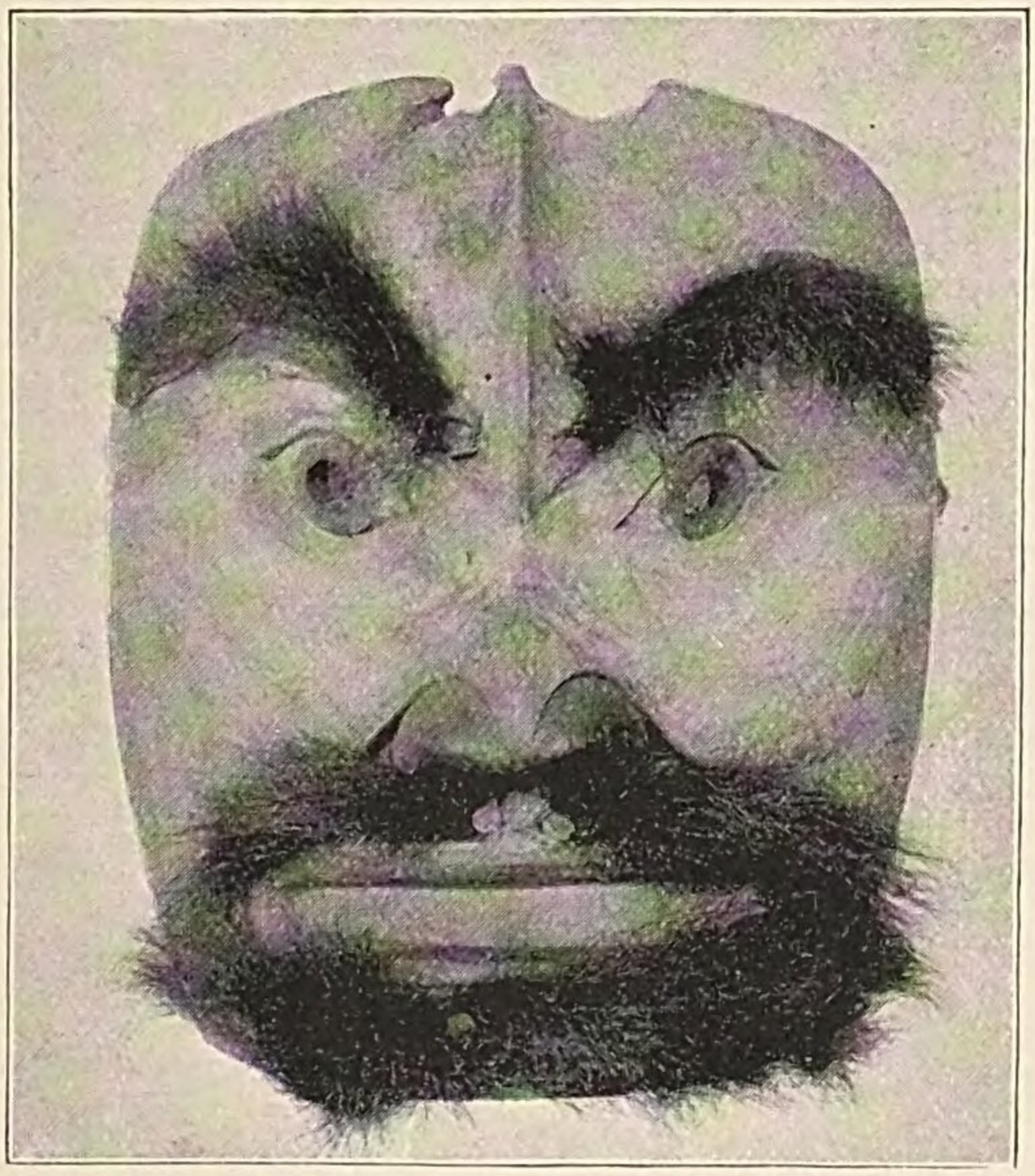


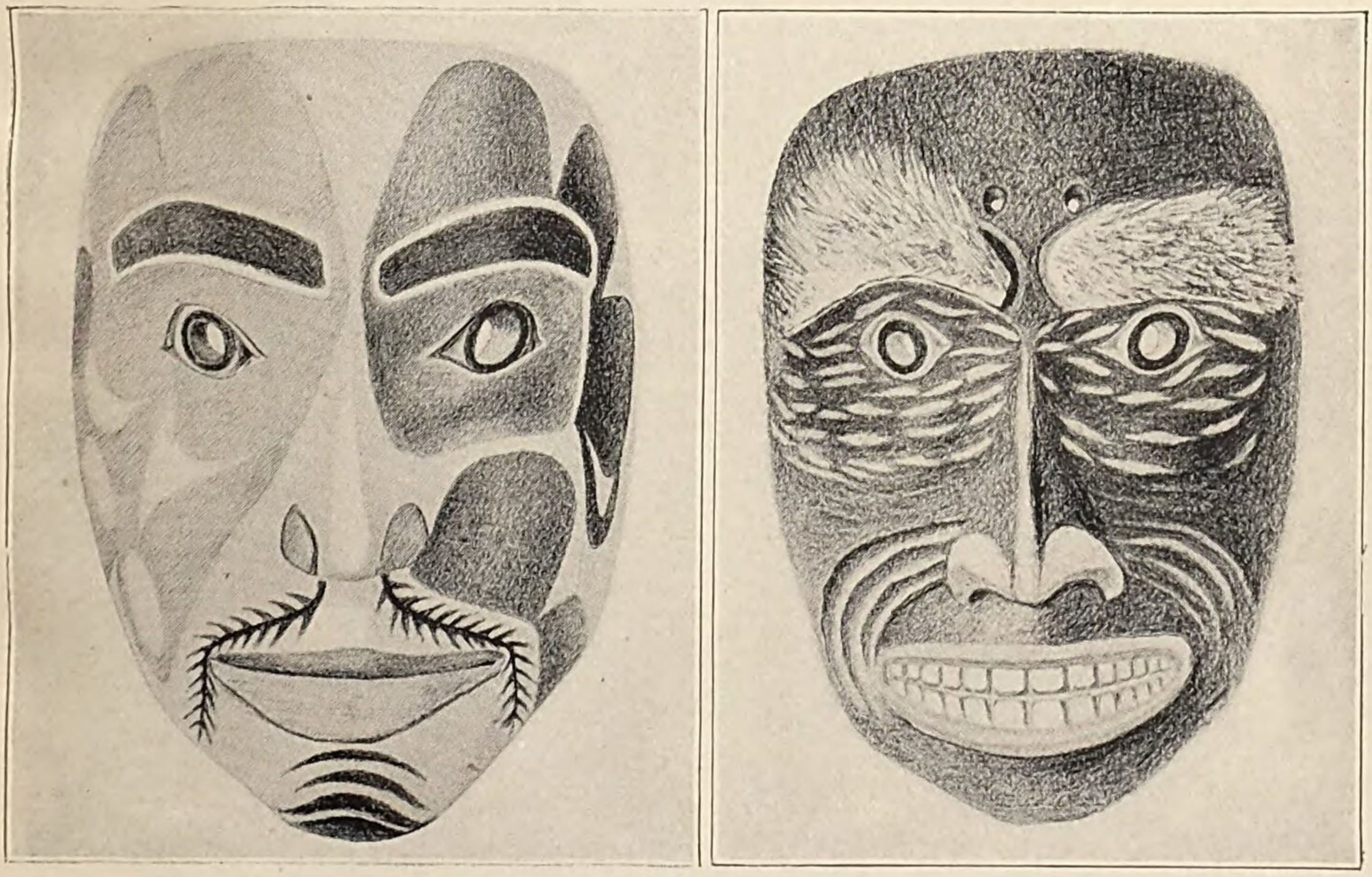
MASKS OF THE CLAN QANHA'DA.

Fig. 1. GITGOÔ'YIM. Height, 9 inches; lips and nose red; face not painted.
(Cat. No. $\frac{16}{9664}$, American Museum of Natural History, New York.)

Fig. 2. CĀ'CÂ. Height, $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches; red, blue, and black.
(Cat. No. $\frac{16}{9665}$, American Museum of Natural History, New York.)

Fig. 3. CĀ'CÂ. Height, $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches; black and red.
(Cat. No. $\frac{16}{9666}$, American Museum of Natural History, New York.)



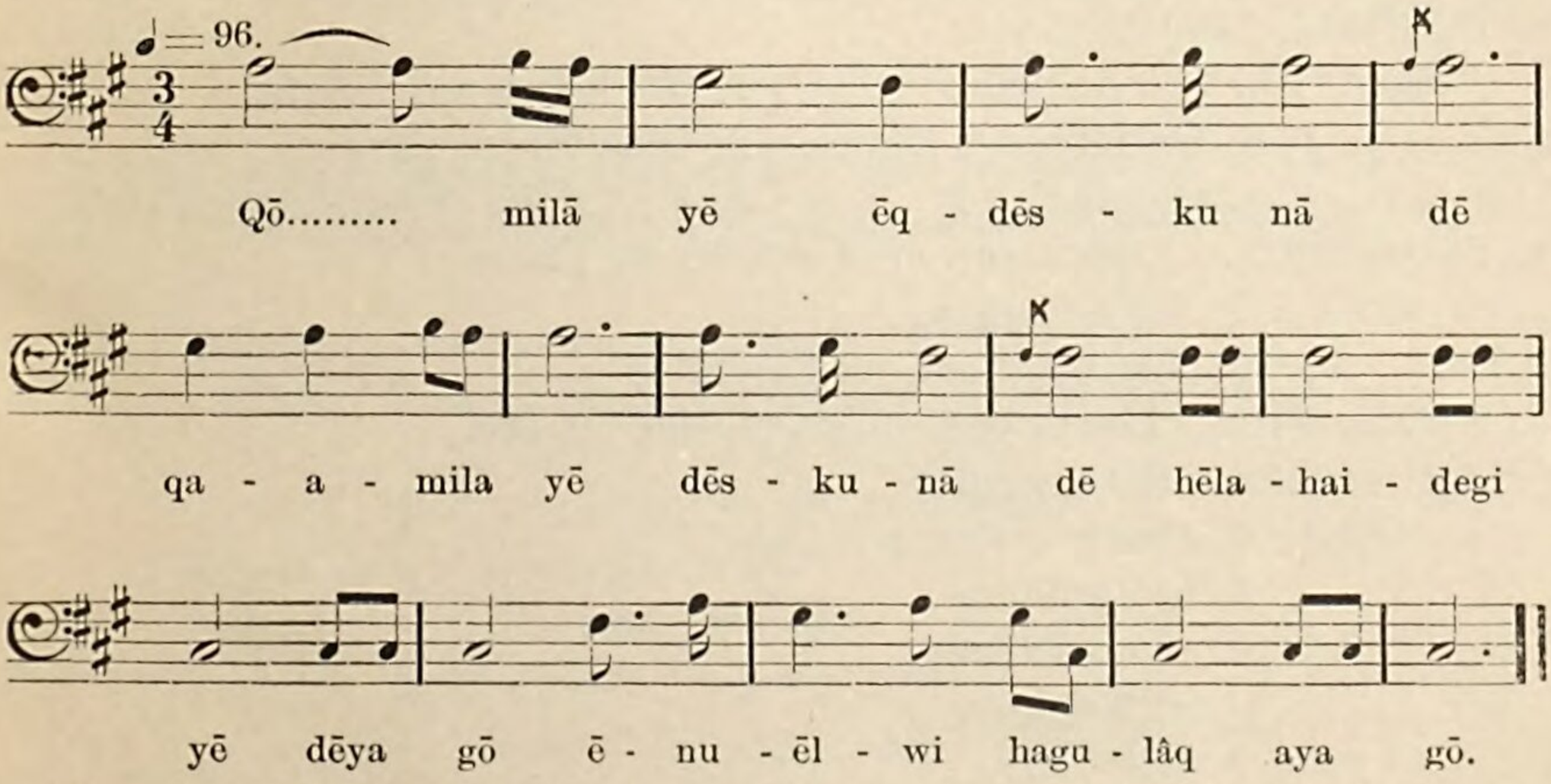


MASKS OF THE CLAN QANHA'DA, NISQA'.

After the squid and the rock had disappeared again, a man wearing the sun mask appeared in the door, and when the people began to sing his song, a movable sun which was attached to the mask began to turn. The sun belongs to the G·ispawaduwE′da; the squid commemorates the misfortunes of one of the ancestors of the deceased, who, when hunting squids at ebb tide, was captured by a huge animal. His friends tried to liberate him, but were unable to do so. When the water began to rise, they pulled a bag of sea-lion guts over his head, hoping that the air in it might enable him to survive, but when they looked for him at the next tide they found him dead.

After the festival a memorial column was erected. It represented, from below upward, first four men called Lōayō′qs, or the commanders. These are a crest of the G·ispawaduwE′da. Tradition says that one night some men for some purpose dug a hole behind a house near a grave tree. They saw an opening in the woods and a fire in the middle of it, around which ghosts were dancing. They were sitting there as though they were in a house, but the men saw only a pole where the door of the house would have been. Four men called Lōayō′qs were standing at the door, and called to them nagwī′t! (to this side). Since that time the G·ispawaduwE′da have used these figures.

On top of the four men was the sea bear (mEdī′ek Em ak·s) with three fins on its back. Each fin has a human face at its base. The tradition of the sea bear tells how four brothers went down Skeena River and were taken to the bottom of the sea by Hagulâ′q, a sea monster, over whose house they had anchored. His house had a number of platforms. Inside were the killer whales, Hagulâ′q's men. He had four kettles called Lukewarm, Warm, Hot, Boiling, and a hat in the shape of a sea monster, with a number of rings on top. The name of his house was Helahā′idEq (near the Haida country). He gave the brothers the right to use all these objects and with them their songs, which are sung at all the great ceremonies of the clan. The song of the house is as follows:



That is: My friend, walk close to the country of the Haida, the great Hagulâ′q.

Hagulâ′q also gave them two cradle songs, which are sung for the children of the clan, and also at funerals:

ALgwa′sEm gunā′t, aLgwa′sEm gunā′t, aLgwa′sEm gunā′t.
O real strong friend, O real strong friend, O real strong friend.
MaâXLuwîlwetk^{u}L Lgōk·camxk^{u} Lguts'ālt Lguyō′haq'alā′X ya$\underline{s}$abā′t.
Where he came from with his little black little face with his little club running down.

And the other one:

Gunâ′dēt, gunâ′dēt, gunâ′dēt, gunâ′dēt.
O friend, O friend, O friend, O friend.
Wulnîx·nô′ôLē, sEmLiâ′n, hanxsā′nō, hang·â′ôksgō.
They are very white the real elks, which he won gambling which he found when they drifted down to him.

II. The Social Organization of the Kwakiutl.

The Kwakiutl are divided into a great many tribes, which are in their turn subdivided into septs and clans. Each clan of the Kwakiutl proper derives its origin from a mythical ancestor who descended from heaven, arose from the under world, or emerged from out of the ocean. Their crests and privileges, which will be discussed later on, are based upon the adventures of their ancestors, from whom they are supposed to have descended.

First of all, I will give a list of the tribes and their subdivisions:

A. XA-ISLA′ DIALECT.

1. Xa-isla′.
   Clans: Beaver, eagle, wolf, salmon, raven, killer whale.
2. Xanā′ks'iala, called by the Hē′iltsuq Gī′manoîtx.

B. HĒ′ILTSUQ DIALECT.

1. Xā′exaês. Chinaman hat.
2. Hē′iltsuq. Bellabella.
   Septs: a. Q'ō′qa-îtx. b. Oē′Lîtx. c. Ō′ealîtx.
   Clans: 1. Wī′k'ōxtēnôx, eagle. 2. Q'oē′tēnôx, raven. 3. Ha′lx'aix·tēnôx, killer whale.
3. Sō′mexulîtx. Upper end of Awī′k·'ēnôx Lake.
   Clans: 1. Sō′mexulîtx. 2. Ts'ē′okuimîX or Ts'ē′uîtx.
4. Nō′xunts'îtx. Lower end of Awī′k·'ēnôx Lake.
5. Awī′k·'ēnôx. Rivers Inlet.
   Clans: 1. Qoī′k·axtēnôx, whale. 2. G·ī′g·îlqam. 3. Waō′kuitEm. 4. Wā′wik·em. 5. Guē′tEla. 6. Nā′lekuîtx.

C. KWAKIUTL DIALECT.

a. Koskimo Subdialect.

1. L'ā'sq'ēnôx (=people of the ocean.) Klaskino Inlet.
   Clans: 1. Pē'pawiLēnôx (=the flyers).
   2. T'ē't'anēLēnôx.
   3. O'manits'ēnôx (=the people of O'manis, a place on Klaskino Inlet).
2. Gua'ts'ēnôx (=people of the North country). Northern side of entrance to Quatsino Sound.
   Clans: 1. Xâmanâô.
   2. Gua'ts'ēnôx.
3. G·ō'p'ēnôx. Entrance of Quatsino Sound.
   Clans: 1. G·ō'p'ēnôx.
   2. Q'ō'Lēnôx.
4. Qō'sqēmox. Koskimo.
   Clans: 1. G·ē'xsEm (=chiefs).
   2. Naê'nsx·a (=dirty teeth).
   3. G·ē'xsEms'anaL (=highest chiefs).
   4. Tsē'tsaa.
   5. Wōxuā'mîs.
   6. G·ēq'ō'lEqoa.
   7. Kwākūqemāl'ēnôx.

b. Newettee Subdialect.

1. Naqô'mg·ilisala (=always staying in their country). Cape Scott.
   Clans: 1. G·ē'xsEm (=chiefs).
   2. Naê'nsx·a (=dirty teeth).
2. La'Lasiqoala (=those on the ocean). Newettee.
   Clans: 1. G·ī'g·îlqam (=those who receive first).
   2. Lā'lāuiLEla (=always crossing the sea).
   3. G·ē'xsEm (=chiefs).

c. Kwakiutl Subdialect.

The tribes speaking this dialect call themselves Kwā'kuak·êwak^{u}. Slight variations of dialect are found among the different tribes of this group.

1. Goasi'la (=north people). Smith Inlet.
   Clans: 1. G·ī'g·îlqam (=those who receive first).
   2. Sī'sînLaē (=the Sî'nLaēs).
   3. Q'ō'mk·ūtîs (=the rich side).
2. Nā'q'oaqtôq. Seymour Inlet.
   Clans: 1. G·ē'xsEm (=chiefs).
   2. Sī'sînLaē (=the Sî'nLaēs).
   3. Tsītsîmē'lEqala (=the Tsîmē'lEqalas).
   4. Wā'las (=the great ones).

2. Nā′q'oaqtôq. Seymour Inlet—Continued.
Clans: 5. TE′mLTEmLEls (=those under whom the ground shakes).
6. Kwā′kōk·ūL (=the Kwakiutl).

3. Kwakiutl (=smoke of the world[1]). Fort Rupert, Turnour Island, Call Creek. This tribe consists of four septs.

3a. Guē′tEla (=northern people) or Kuē′xâmut (=fellows of the Kuē′xa).
Clans: 1. Maa′mtag·ila (=the Ma′tag·ilas).
2. K^{u}kwā′kum (=the real Kwakiutl).
3. G·ē′xsEm (=chiefs).
4. Lā′alaxsEnt'aiō (=the Lā′laxsEnt'aiōs).
5. Sī′sînLaē (=the Sî′nLaēs).

3b. Q'ō′moyuē (the rich ones). War name: Kuē′xa (the murderers).
Clans: 1. K^{u}kwā′kum (=the real Kwakiutl).
2. Hā′anaLēnôx (=the archers).
3. Yaai′x·aqEmaē (=the crabs).
4. Haai′lak·Emaē (=the shamans) or Lâ′xsē (going through).
5. G·ī′g·îlqam (=those who receive first).

3c. Q'ō′mk·ūtis (=the rich side).

3d. Wa′las Kwakiutl (=the great Kwakiutl). Nickname: Lâ′kuilila (=the tramps).
Clans: 1. Ts'E′nts'Enx·qaiō (=the Ts'E′nx·qaiōs).
2. G·ē′xsEm (=chiefs).
3. Wa′ulipoē (=those who are feared).
4. LE′q'Em.
5. LE′LqētE (=having a great name).

4. Ma′malēleqala (=Mā′lēleqala people). Village Island.
Clans: 1. TE′mLTEmLEls (=those under whom the ground shakes).
2. Wē′wamasqEm (=the noble ones?).
3. Wā′las (=the great ones).
4. Ma′malēleqam (=the Mā′lēleqalas).

5. Qoē′xsōt'ēnôx (=people of the other side). Gilford Island.
Clans: 1. Naxnā′xula (=rising above other tribes?).
2. Mē′mogg·îns (=having salmon traps).
3. G·ī′gîlqam (=those who receive first).
4. Ņē′nêlpaē (=those on the upper end of the river).

6. Lau′itsîs (=angry people). Cracroft Island.
Clans: 1. Sī′sînLaē (=the SînLaēs)
2. Nū′nEmasEqâlîs (=old from the beginning).
3. LE′Lqēt (=having a great name).
4. G·ī′g·îlqam (=those who receive first).

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[1] This is the etymology given by the Kwakiutl themselves, from goax·i′la, smoke. It seems to me that the derivation from Guak·ūtîs=beach at north side of river, from gua=north, —k·ut=opposite, —is=beach, is more likely.

7. NE′mqic. Nimkish River.
Clans: 1. TsētsēLoā′laqEmaē (=the famous ones).
2. LaLElā′min (=the supporters).
3. G·ī′g·îlqam (=those who receive first).
4. Sī′sînLaē (=the Sì′nLaēs).
5. Nē′nêlk·’ēnôx (=people from the head waters of the river).

8. T’Ena′xtax. Knight Inlet.
Clans: 1. ɮ’a′mƸ’amtElaL (=the ɮ’a′mtElaLs).
2. G·ē′xsEm (=the chiefs).
3. Qoē′qoaainôx (=people from the river Qoa′is).
4. Yaai′x·aqEmaE (=the crabs).
5. P’ē′paLēnôx (=the fliers).

9. A′wa-iLala (=those inside the inlet). Knight Inlet.
Clans: 1. G·ī′g·îlqam (=those who receive first).
2. Ts’ō′ts’ēna (=thunder birds).
3. K·ek·k·’ēnôx.

10. Ts’ā′watEēnôx (=people of the oulachon country). Kingcombe Inlet.
Clans: 1. Lē′lEwag·ila (=the heaven makers—mythical name of raven).
2. G·ī′g·EqEmaē (=chiefs).
3. Wī′oqEmaē (=whom no one dares to look at).
4. G·āg·g·ilak·a (=always wanting to kill people).
5. Qā″qawatilik·a (=the Qa′watiliqalas).

11. Guau′aēnôx. Drury Inlet.
Clans: 1. G·ī′g·îlqam (=those to whom is given first).
2. Kwī′koaēnôx (=those at the lower end of the village).
3. Kwā′kōwēnôx.

12. Haxuā′mîs. Wakeman Sound.
Clans: 1. G·ī′g·îlqam (=those who receive first).
2. G·ē′xsEm (=the chiefs).
3. Haai′alik·auaē (=the shamans).

13. Lē′kwîltôq. From Knight Inlet to Bute Inlet and on the opposite part of Vancouver Island. They consist of the following septs:

13a. Wī′wēqaē (=the Wē′qaēs).
Clans: 1. G·ī′g·îlqam (=those who receive first).
2. G·ē′xsEm (=the chiefs).
3. ?
4. Wī′wēaqam (=the Wē′qaēs).

13b. Xā′xamatsEs (=old mats, so called because slaves of the Wī′wēqaē). Recently they have taken the name of Wā′litsum (=the great ones).
Clans: ?

13c. Kuē′xa (=the murderers).
Clans: 1. Wī′wēaqam (=the Wē′qaēs).
2. Q’ō′moyuē (the rich ones).
3. Kuē′xa (=the murderers).

13d. Laa′luîs.

13e. Q'ō′m'ēnôx.

This list is not quite complete, but very nearly so. A number of the clans are subdivided into smaller groups, but it is very difficult to ascertain these subdivisions. Thus the Naqô′mg·ilisala embrace a subdivision called Mē′Emaqaua, who are, however, not considered a separate clan. The Lā′la-uiLEla of the La′Lasiqoala are divided into two divisions—the G·'ēg·'ō′tē, the descendants of G·'ō′tē, and the Hä′hêqolaL, the descendants of Hā′qolaL. The Lā′alaxsEnt'aiō of the Kwakiutl proper consist of three divisions: The Lā′alaxsEnt'aiō proper, the A′lk'unwēE (=lower corner, speakers of the first division), and the Hē′ha'mē′tawē, the descendants of Ha'mē′tawē. The Ts'E′nts'Enx·qaio of the Wā′las Kwakiutl are divided in two divisions—the Ts'E′nq'am and Hai′māaxstō. These divisions are given merely as examples, as I have not been able to discover all the subdivisions of the different clans and tribes.

The recent history of these tribes and clans explains the development of this exceedingly complex social system. Historical tradition has it that the Guē′tEla and the Q'ō′moyuē, both septs of the Kwakiutl, not very long ago formed one tribe. At one time a quarrel arose between them, in which Lā′qoag·ila, the head chief of the Guē′tEla, was killed. Then they divided, and since that time form two septs. There is a saying indicating the close relationship of the two, to the effect that the Guē′tEla and the Q'ō′moyuē are twins—the former suckled at the mother's right breast, the latter at the left.

Still another tribe, which, however, I have not included in the above list on account of its recent origin, has branched off from the Kwakiutl. These people call themselves Mā′tîlpē, i. e., the highest Maa′mtag·ila, and include the septs Maa′mtag·ila, G·ē′xsEm, and Haai′lak·Emaē, all of which are found among the Guē′tEla and Q'ō′moyuē.

While in these two cases new tribes were formed by a process of division, in one other case, at least, a tribe has recently become a clan of another tribe, namely, the Laa′luîs of the Lē′kwîltôq, who have joined the Kuē′xa of the same group and form a fourth clan of the latter. The event happened during the great war with the southern Salishan tribes, which was waged in the middle of this century, the cause of the amalgamation being the great reduction of the tribe. The Q'ō′m'ēnôx have become entirely extinct. Another tribe which lived near the Qō′sqēmox, of which, however, we have only traditional reports, the Xoyā′les, have been exterminated by the Qō′sqēmox.

These few authentic facts show that the numbers of tribes and of clans have undergone considerable changes during historical times. This conclusion is corroborated by the distribution of clans among various tribes, and by the meaning of their names. We may distinguish three classes of tribal names and of clan names, viz, such as are collective forms of the name of the ancestor, names taken from the

region inhabited by the tribe or clan, and names of honor. There is a decided tendency to substitute names of the last class for others. Thus the name Q'ō'moyuē (the rich ones) is new. The Xā'xamatsEs took the name Wā'litsum (the great ones) only twenty-five or thirty years ago. I presume that the names G·ī'g·îlqam (those who receive first), G·ē'xsEm (chiefs), TE'mLtEmLEls (those under whom the ground shakes), were adopted in a similar way. Other changes of names occur. Thus the Nimkish call themselves recently Laō'koatx, which is the name of one of the tribes of the west coast of Vancouver Island, and the Lau'itsîs are adopting the name Ts'ā'mac, which is the name of the Songish in the Comox dialect.

The geographical names are more suggestive. We find among the Nimkish a clan called Nē'nêlk·'ēnôx, the people from the head waters of Nimkish River. This would seem to indicate that the head waters of the river was their ancient home, and that they have joined the rest of the Nimkish. The same may be said of the Ō'manits'ēnôx clan of the L'ā'sq'ēnôx, the Qoē'qoaainôx of the T'Ena'xtax, and the Nē'nêlpaē of the Qoē'xsōt'ēnôx.

In all cases where the clan name or the tribal name is a collective form of the name of the ancestor, we may assume that the group formed at one time a single community. How this unit may be broken appears in the case of the Mā'tîlpē. We observe that quite a number of such clan names are common to several tribes. Thus the Sī'sînLaē, the descendants of Sî'nLaē, are found among the Goasi'la, Nā'q'oaqtôq, Guē'tEla, Lau'itsîs, and Nimkish. The Yaai'x·aqEmaē, the descendants of Yix·ā'qEmaē, are found among the Q'ō'moyuē and T'Ena'xtax. I believe that in all these cases part of the original clan has drifted away from its original home, keeping its old name. This view is sustained by the tradition that the clans were divided at the time of the great flood, one part drifting here, another there.

Still another case that gives evidence of the gradual development of the present system of clans and tribes is furnished by the Mā'malēleqala and Wī'wēqaē. Both these names are the collective forms of the names of the ancestors. Nevertheless the Ma'malēleqam and Wī'wēaqam, the Mā'lēleqala group, and the Wē'qaē group appear as subdivisions of these tribes. It seems to me that this proves that these subdivisions must have formed the original stock, which the other clans joined in course of time.

All this evidence proves that the present system of tribes and clans is of recent growth and has undergone considerable changes.

The traditions of the clans show clearly what we must consider the original unit of society among the Kwakiutl. Each clan derives its origin from a mythical ancestor, who built his house at a certain place and whose descendants lived at that place. In a great many cases these places prove to be old village sites. In some, large accumulations of shells are found, which show that they have been inhabited through

long periods. We conclude, therefore, that the clan was originally a village community, which, owing to changes in number or for purposes of defense, left their old home and joined some other community, retaining, however, to a certain degree its independence. This corresponds exactly to the social organization of the Salishan tribes of the southern portion of Vancouver Island, and of all the coast tribes of Washington and Oregon. The simple division into village communities which seems to have been the prevalent type of society along a considerable portion of the Pacific Coast has, among the Kwakiutl, undergone such changes that a number of tribes which are divided into clans have originated.

While it would be natural that in the former stage the child should be considered a member of the village community to which his father or mother belonged, we may expect disturbances in the organization which developed among the Kwakiutl. Among the village communities of Oregon, Washington, and southern Vancouver Island the child belongs to the father's village, where the married couple generally live, and it seems that among many of these tribes the villages are exogamic. Among the Kwakiutl the clans are also exogamic, and certain privileges are inherited in the paternal line, while a much larger number are obtained by marriage. The existence of the former class suggests that the organization must have been at one time a purely paternal one. Three causes seem to have disturbed the original organization—the development of the more complex organization mentioned above, the influence of the northern tribes which have a purely maternal organization, and the development of legends referring to the origin of the clans which are analogous to similar traditions of the northern groups of tribes. Taking up the last-named point first, we find that each clan claims a certain rank and certain privileges which are based upon the descent and adventures of its ancestor. These privileges, if originally belonging to a tribe which at one time has been on the paternal stage, would hardly have a tendency to deviate from the law governing this stage. If they have, however, originated under the influence of a people which is on a maternal stage, an abnormal development seems likely. In the north a woman's rank and privileges always descend upon her children. Practically the same result has been brought about among the Kwakiutl, but in a manner which suggests that a people with paternal institutions has adapted its social laws to these customs. Here the woman brings as a dower her father's position and privileges to her husband, who, however, is not allowed to use them himself, but acquires them for the use of his son. As the woman's father, on his part, has acquired his privileges in the same manner through his mother, a purely female law of descent is secured, although only through the medium of the husband. It seems to my mind that this exceedingly intricate law, which will be described in detail in the course of this paper, can not be explained in any other way than as an adaptation of

maternal laws by a tribe which was on a paternal stage. I can not imagine that it is a transition of a maternal society to a paternal society, because there are no relics of the former stage beyond those which we find everywhere, and which do not prove that the transition has been recent at all. There is no trace left of an inheritance from the wife's brothers; the young couple do not live with the wife's parents. But the most important argument is that the customs can not have been prevalent in the village communities from which the present tribal system originated, as in these the tribe is always designated as the direct descendants of the mythical ancestor. If the village communities had been on the maternal stage, the tribes would have been designated as the descendants of the ancestor's sisters, as is always the case in the legends of the northern tribes.

Names and all the privileges connected with them may be obtained, also, by killing the owner of the name, either in war or by murder. The slayer has then the right to put his own successor in the place of his killed enemy. In this manner names and customs have often spread from tribe to tribe.

It remains to substantiate what I have said by telling the legends of a few clans. I shall give a fuller account of these legends later on, while at this place I will merely refer to such passages as are of importance in our present consideration. The clan Ō'manits'ēnôx of the L'ā'sq'ēnôx derive their origin from Ts'î'lqoalōLEla, the husband of L'ē'sElaqa (=Sun woman). The former came down from heaven while his wife stayed there because she had to attend to the moving sun. He was accompanied by his children Sē'paxaēs (=Shining down), Yā'q'Ent'Emaē (=First speaker), G·ē'xdEn, and Dā'doqanaqēsEla (=Seeing from one corner to the other). From these the clan originated (Appendix p. 665).

The following genealogy of the clan Lā'la-uiLEla of the La'Lasiqoala is a still better example:

Nōmase'nxēlîs (descended from heaven).

LExx·a'lix·ila'yu ♂ — E'k·auayuqoa ♀ — Lō'LEmaqa ♀

Ōmalîxstē ♂ — Wa'lixōna or Tse'sElasō ♂ — LāsōTi'wa'lîs ♂

Wālas NEmō'gwîs ♂ — G·a'lqamîstal ♂ — Hā'taqa ♀

TsEpā'x·ioala ♂, Yā'nEmq'ana ♂, T'koā'yū ♂, Alē'xoatus.

A great number of examples of this kind might be given. It is true that these traditions are probably not very old, and have been modified with the changing social life of the people; but from what we know of the development of myths we should expect to find in them traces, at least, of the old maternal institutions, if they had ever existed. The fact that they invariably and always are explained by genealogies, such as the above, seems to my mind conclusive proof that a paternal organization of the tribe preceded the present one.

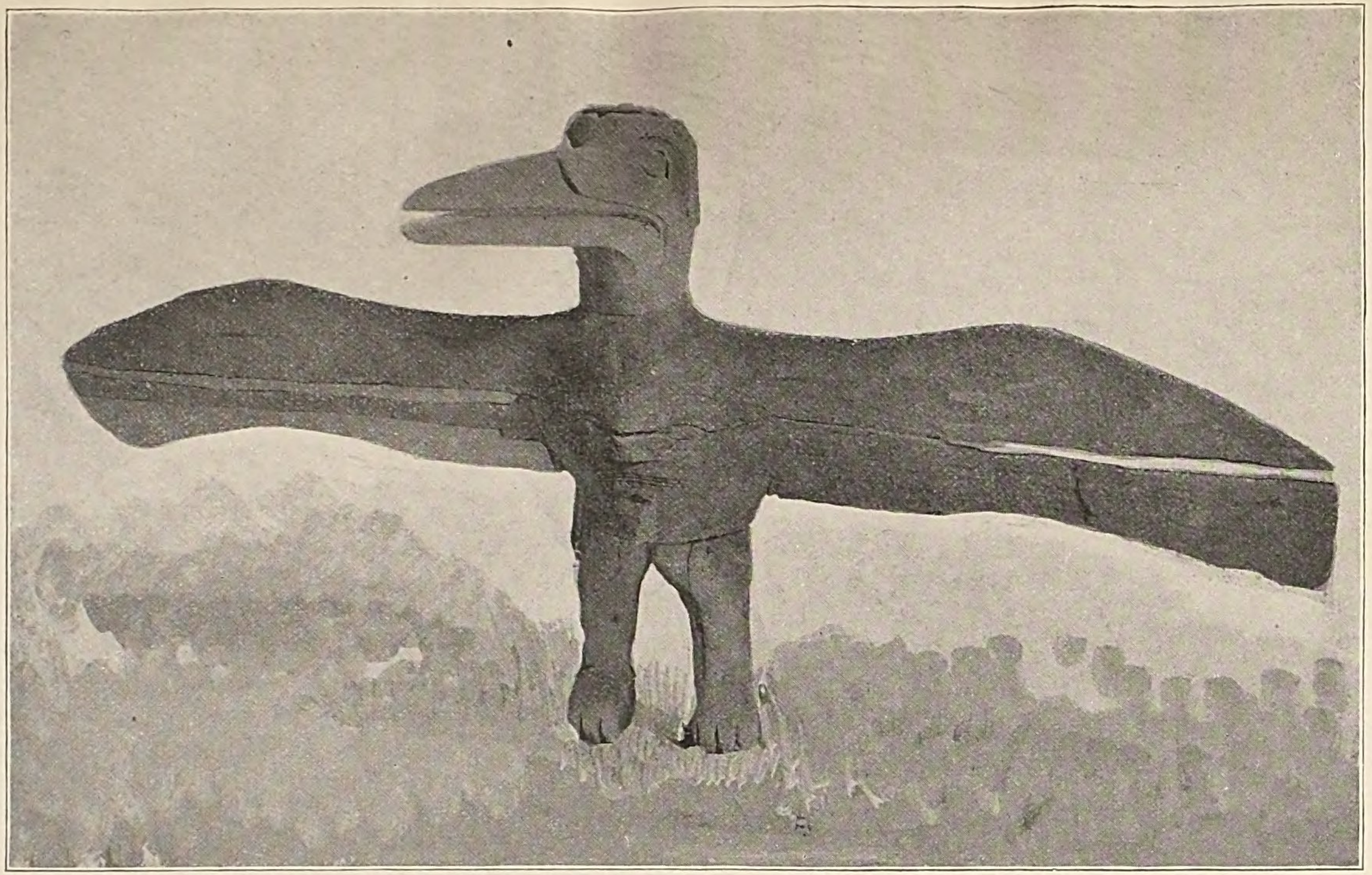
I referred several times above to the fact that the clans have certain rights in which the others do not share. These are mainly the use of certain crests and of semi-religious performances. All of these are acquired by marriage, as described above. In the village communities of the southern tribes we find no trace of a crest, while among the Kwakiutl it is not strictly hereditary, but descends through marriage in the female line, in a similar way as the crest of the northern tribes descends. The legends of the acquisition of the crest are also similar to the northern legends on the same subject, and I conclude, therefore, that the present stage has developed through contact of these two cultural areas. I do not mean to say that the ideas have been bodily borrowed by the Kwakiutl, but that their manifestation in the social organization of the tribe is largely due to suggestion on the part of the northern tribes. The American idea of the acquisition of the manitou was evidently also fundamental among the Kwakiutl, as all their tales refer to it, and, as we shall see later on, the whole winter ceremonial is based on it. But it has assumed a peculiar form in so far as the manitou was acquired by a mythical ancestor and is now handed down from generation to generation, and the connection has in many cases become so slight that the tutelary genius of the clan has degenerated into a crest. This degeneration, together with the descent through marriage, I take to be due to the influence of the northern totemism.

I give a few stories illustrating the acquisition of the crest through the ancestor, which will bring out the close analogy with the acquisition of the manitou, and also show the manner in which the crest is used for adorning persons and utensils.

The legend of the Ō′manits'ēnôx, which I quoted above (Appendix, p.665), goes on to tell how G·ē′xdEn fell in with a number of killer whales, which had assumed the shape of men, and were mending their canoes. Their chief gave him the quartz-pointed whaling harpoon, his names, and the right to use the painting of the killer whale on his house front.

Another good example is the following tradition of the clan Lâ′xsē of the Q'ō′moyuē or Kuē′xa. I give here a translation:

The first Kuē′xa lived at Tsā′Xoyō. Their chief, Yē′iqoLalasamē, went bear hunting up the river of LîXsī′wē until he came to Sā′x·sox·. After he had been away four days, he saw the Hō′Xhôq (a fabulous bird, supposed to be similar to the crane) and heard its cry. It was larger than a man. Then Yē′iqoLalasamē hid. The Hō′Xhôq tried to find him, and finally discovered the place where the chief was in hiding at one side of a cedar tree. It tried to peck him with its beak, but missed him. Yē′iqoLalasamē merely jumped to the other side of the tree, and the Hō′Xhôq could not kill him. He came home at night. Then he carved the crane out of yellow cedar, and now it is the carving of his clan (Plate 3). He invited all the tribes, and gave away cedar-bark blankets, all kinds of skins, canoes, and slaves. Then he placed the image of the Hō′Xhôq on top of a pole outside of his house.



GRAVE MONUMENT REPRESENTING THE HŌ'XHOKᵘ A CREST OF THE CLAN LÂXSE OF THE Q'Ō'MOYNĒ.

This monument is six feet in height and was carved from red cedar bark. On the stomach of the bird is a carving representing a face. Originally the wings were painted in black, representing feathers, but only faint traces of color now remain.

$\frac{16}{5768}$, American Museum of Natural History, New York. Collected by F. Boas.

Later on, a chief of the Qoē′xsot'ēnôx wanted to have the carved Hō′Xhôq. His name was LEk·amā′xōt. He tried to find out how to obtain it, and learned that he had to marry the daughter of Yē′iqoLalasamē in order to obtain it. Then he engaged himself to marry Mā′xalayuqoa, that chief's daughter. Yē′iqoLālasamē agreed, and they were married. Still later NEqā′p'Enk·Em, chief of the K^{u}kwā′kum of the Guē′tEla, obtained the Hō′Xhôq from the Qoē′xsōt'enôx by marriage.

The first part of this legend shows again the close analogy to the acquisition of the manitou; the end shows how the privilege of using the carving was acquired, first by one tribe, then by the other.

It is not necessary to multiply these examples. There exists, however, another class of traditions, according to which the crests or emblems of the clan are not acquired in this manner, but brought down by the ancestor of the clan from heaven or from the underworld or out of the ocean, wherever he may have derived his origin. This is the case with the Sī′sînLaē, whose emblem is the sun (fig. 1). Here also belong the numerous tales of ancestors who came down from heaven, took off their masks, and became men, for in all these cases the mask has remained the crest of the clan. To this class belong the traditions of the G·ī′g·îlqam of the Q'ō′moyuē, of the Ts'E′nts'Enx·qaiō, and many others.

There is still another class of privileges connected with these traditions, to which, however, I will only briefly refer at this place, as I have to treat them more fully later on. I mean the membership in secret societies. Many ancestors, when obtaining their manitous, were given the right to perform certain dances, or they were given secret songs, or the power to eat human flesh. These rights have also become hereditary, but they differ from the crest in so far as the character of the initiating spirit (the manitou) has been more clearly preserved. Each individual, who by descent or marriage is entitled to membership in one of the secret societies, must nevertheless, be initiated by its presiding spirit before joining the society.

In all festivals references to these traditions are very frequent, and it is quite necessary to be acquainted with them in order to understand the proceedings and speeches, as will appear in the further progress of this description.

Summing up the preceding considerations, we may say that the Kwakiutl consisted in olden times of a series of village communities among which descent was counted in the paternal line, and the members of each community were considered descendants of one ancestor. These communities combined in groups, but the composing elements of the groups kept a certain degree of independence and continued to be considered as relatives. Each clan, as we may call the composing elements of the tribe, developed a clan tradition, which was founded upon the acquisition of a manitou by the mythical ancestor, the manitou

Fig. 1.

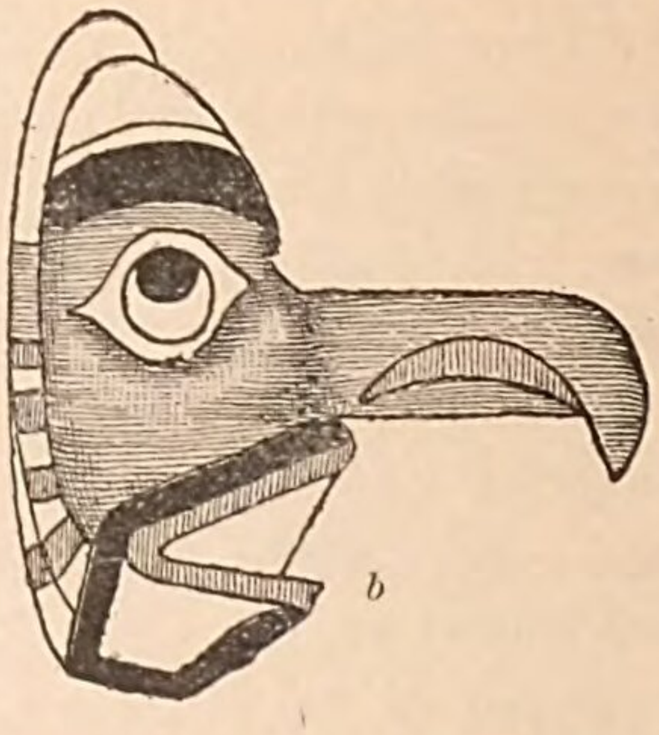
POST OF CLAN SĪ'SÎNLAĒ OF THE NIMKISH AT ALERT BAY.

(*a*) The post represents the sun surmounting the speaker of the clan. The upper part is carved in the shape of two coppers,[1] the lower one being painted with the design of a bear. The lower portion of the pole has a rectangular cross-section, and is painted with figures representing coppers.

(*b*) Side view of sun mask on top of pole.

From a sketch made by the author, December, 1886.

becoming hereditary in the clan. Owing to the influence of the northern tribes, this manitou became attenuated to a crest, which, in consequence of the same influence, no longer descends in the male line, but may be given in marriage, so that it descends upon the daughter's children.



So far we have considered the clan as a unit. The individuals composing the clan do not form, however, a homogeneous mass, but differ in rank. All the tribes of the Pacific Coast are divided into a nobility, common people, and slaves. The last of these may be left out of consideration, as they do not form part and parcel of the clan, but are captives made in war, or purchases, and may change ownership as any other piece of property. The clan of the Kwakiutl is so organized that a certain limited number of families are recognized. The ancestor of each of these families has a tradition of his own aside from the general clan tradition, and, owing to the possession of the tradition, which almost always concerns the acquisition of a manitou, he has certain crests and privileges of his own. This tradition and the crests and privileges connected with it descended, together with the name of the ancestor, upon his direct descendants in the male line, or, as indicated above, through marriage of his daughter, upon his son-in-law, and through him upon his grandchildren. But there is only one man at a time who personates the ancestor and who, consequently, has his rank and privileges. The individuals personating the ancestors form the nobility of

[1] See page 344.

the tribe. The number of noblemen is therefore fixed. They are not equal in rank, but range in the manner in which their ancestors were supposed to range. At all festivals they sit in the order of their rank, which is therefore called the "seat" of the person (Ʇāʹqoē). The legend says that the order of seats was given by the deity at a festival of the tribes, at the time when animals were still able to speak. The noblest clan, and among them the noblest name, is called the "eagle" (kuēʹkᵘ) of the tribe. In order to show the complexity of this system, I give a list of the nobility of one tribe:

TRIBE, MAʹMALĒLEQALA.

I. KUĒʹKᵘ.

1. Lāsōtiʹwalîs.
2. Ōʹts'ēstālîs (creating trouble all around).
3. Anxwēʹt.
4. Nemōqulag·ilîsts'ē (the great one always alone on world).
5. Lālak·uts'ats'ē.
6. Nenāmbaʒō.

II. TEʹMLTEMLELS.

1. Mōʹp'Enqam (four fathom face).
2. Kwāʹx·sē'stala (having smoke all around).
3. AmāʹXulaL (making potlatch dances all the time).
4. Ʇāʹqoats'ē (great copper).
5. YāʹqōLasEmaē (from whom property comes).
6. Wāʹk·as.
7. Yāqōlas (giving wealth).
8. G·ēxsîstalîsamē.
9. HaʹmtsʼidĒ (giving food).
10. L'āʹlisk·as'ō (real whale standing on beach).
11. MāXualag·ilîs (giving potlatch everywhere).
12. KwāʹilaskEn.
13. Tsîx·wīʹdē.
14. Sēʹwit'ē (to whom people paddle).
15. YāʹqaL'Enala (whose body is all wealth).
16. Quʹmxʼilagʼilīs (always rolling down).
17. HēʹmaskEn.
18. DāʹdantsʼidĒ.
19. Yāʹqustūlagʼilîs.
20. Yāʹyagilîs.
21. MāʹlasL.
22. G·'ōʹtē.
23. ĀʹlakʼilaL.
24. QoayōʹLElas.
25. MāʹXua.
26. NEgʼēʹtsʼē (great mountain).
27. MalēʹtsʼasL.
28. HanāʹyusL.
29. ŌʹlaL NEmōʹgwîs (the great only one).
30. WāʹxawīdaL ꞱEmē.
31. Nanambango.
32. ĒʹwanuX.

III. WĒʹWAMASQEM.

1. Sēʹwit'ē (to whom people paddle).
2. WāʹgidîsL [great (whale) lying on ground].
3. MāʹXuayalitsʼē.
4. KamʒidĒ.
5. XōʹsæmdaʼasL.
6. Ʞāqoamut (piece of copper).
7. G·'ōʹtē (throwing away property).
8. WīLtsistala.
9. NEnōʹlaʒamē (fool's face).
10. WāʹLowêʹtʼē (from whom presents are expected).
11. MāʹXuayālîs.
12. Yēqōkʼuaʹlagʼilîs (about whose property people talk).
13. Lʼāʹqoatsʼē (great copper).
14. HēwasaL.
15. YāxyiqasL (whose property is eaten in feasts).
16. HāʹyukwîsL.
17. NEmōgwîstsʼē (the great only one).
18. Wīʹtsʼēkwāʹlasu.
19. Wāʹʼmîs (catching salmon).
20. XōsamdaʼasL.
21. MāʹXuayālîs.

IV. WĀ′LAS.

1. Xē′xana-us.
2. Ł̣agesāwā.
3. G·ē′xk·ints'ē (too great a chief).
4. A'mawiyus (always giving potlatch).
5. Wā′las Kwā′x·ilanōkumē.
6. ʟā′qoalaʟ (copper dance).
7. Lā′gōLas (from whom coppers are obtained).
8. Hai′aLqEn.
9. Q'u′mx·ilag·ilîs (always rolling down).
10. Ha′mts'idē (giving food).
11. PōtLidē (satiating).
12. Qamqolag·alitsū.
13. K'oā′maxā'las (around whom people sit).
14. Hē′nak·alasō (envied).
15. LālakEnʂamē.
16. Tsōx·tsa-ēsaqamē.
17. Sē′wit'ē (to whom people paddle).
18. ƍā′ʂuyalakwam.
19. PE′nqoēt'ē (giving soft food).
20. Ha′mts'idē (giving food).
21. Lā′qoag·ila (copper maker).
22. Sē′saxolas.
23. Hâ′misElaʟ (dance of receiving presents).
24. Ts'ā′qalaʟ (dance of throwing away property).
25. Ts'ō′x·ts'aēsaqamē.
26. Lā′bidē.
27. Xō′samda'as.
28. Sē′wit'ē (to whom people paddle).
29. Mō′nakula (loaded canoe moving).
30. Wā′las (the great one).
31. Qoayî′mts'ē (the great whale).
32. Hē′nak·alasō (envied).
33. Hā′yugwîs.
34. Tsā′xtsaXualîs.
35. Q'ō′mk·Enîs (too rich).
36. G·'ē′g·'EsLEn.
37. ƍayusdês.
38. G·ēsōyakalîs.
39. Yā′qōLas (giving wealth).
40. Ōwōgwēla.
41. Mōp'Enqam (four fathom face).
42. WāLâlas (around whom people assemble).

V. MA′MALĒLEQAM.

1. Wā''mîs (catching salmon).
2. ƍaʂuyalakwam.
3. Sē′saxolas.
4. ƍōdalag·ilîs.
5. Kwā′usdēts'as.
6. Mā′Xuag·ila (giving potlatch).
7. Yā′qaL'Enala (whose body is all wealth).
8. K'oā′maxā'las (around whom people sit).
9. G·ēx·Lalats'ē.
10. Yā′qaL'Enala (whose body is all wealth).
11. YēqōLēqalas (from whom presents are expected).
12. LE′lak·inis (rising too high).
13. Mā′Xmawisaqamē (always giving blankets away while walking).
14. Lalbax·salag·ilîs.
15. Amā′XulaL (potlatch dance).
16. Mā′Xuag·ilîs.
17. Lāsuti′walîs.
18. Nē′naguasEmē.
19. X·ā′x·alquts'a.
20. L'ā′qōatsēandG·ī′g·idē(greatcopper).
21. Lā′kanx·īdē.
22. ƍōdalag·ilîs.
23. G·ī′qamē (chief).
24. Lā′g·us.
25. La′lbax·salag·ilîs.
26. Bā′salaL.
27. Yā′qaL'Enala (whose body is all wealth).
28. G·ē′xk·in (too great a chief).
29. Pō′tLidē (satiating).
30. Awā′lask·ênîs (getting to great).

These names are acquired by different individuals, but they are not necessarily retained through life, as with a new marriage a new name may be obtained from the new wife's father. The series is not beyond all doubt, since in many instances the Indians are not now-a-days quite certain as to the order of names. This is due to the fact that there are not enough individuals in the tribes to occupy all these places.

III. The Potlatch.

Before proceeding any further it will be necessary to describe the method of acquiring rank. This is done by means of the potlatch, or the distribution of property. This custom has been described often, but it has been thoroughly misunderstood by most observers. The underlying principle is that of the interest-bearing investment of property.

The child when born is given the name of the place where it is born. This name (g·î′nLaxLē) it keeps until about a year old. Then his father, mother, or some other relative, gives a paddle or a mat to each member of the clan and the child receives his second name (nā′map'axLēya). When the boy is about 10 or 12 years old, he obtains his third name (ƧōmiatsExLä′yē). In order to obtain it, he must distribute a number of small presents, such as shirts or single blankets, among his own clan or tribe. When the youth thus starts out in life, he is liberally assisted by his elders, particularly by the nobility of the tribe.

I must say here that the unit of value is the single blanket, now-a-days a cheap white woolen blanket, which is valued at 50 cents. The double blanket is valued at three single blankets. These blankets form the means of exchange of the Indians, and everything is paid for in blankets or in objects the value of which is measured by blankets. When a native has to pay debts and has not a sufficient number of blankets, he borrows them from his friends and has to pay the following rates of interest:

For a period of a few months, for 5 borrowed blankets 6 must be returned (Lē′k·ō); for a period of six months, for 5 borrowed blankets 7 must be returned (mā″Laxsa Lē′k·ōyō); for a period of twelve months or longer, for 5 borrowed blankets 10 must be returned (dē′ida or g·ē′La).

When a person has a poor credit, he may pawn his name for a year. Then the name must not be used during that period, and for 30 blankets which he has borrowed he must pay 100 in order to redeem his name. This is called q'ā′q'oaxō (selling a slave).

The rate of interest of the Lē′k·ō varies somewhat around 25 per cent, according to the kindness of the loaner and the credit of the borrower. For a very short time blankets may be loaned without interest. This is designated by the same term.

When the boy is about to take his third name, he will borrow blankets from the other members of the tribe, who all assist him. He must repay them after a year, or later, with 100 per cent interest. Thus he may have gathered 100 blankets. In June, the time set for this act, the boy will distribute these blankets among his own tribe, giving proportionately to every member of the tribe, but a few more to the chief. This is called Lā′X'uit. When after this time any member of the tribe distributes blankets, the boy receives treble the amount he has given. The people make it a point to repay him inside of a month.

Thus he owns 300 blankets, of which, however, he must repay 200 after the lapse of a year. He loans the blankets out among his friends, and thus at the close of the year he may possess about 400 blankets.

The next June he pays his debts (qoana′) in a festival, at which all the clans from whom he borrowed blankets are present. The festival is generally held on the street or on an open place near the village. Up to this time he is not allowed to take part in feasts. But now he may distribute property in order to obtain a potlatch name (p'ā′tsaxLäyē). This is also called Lā′X'uit.

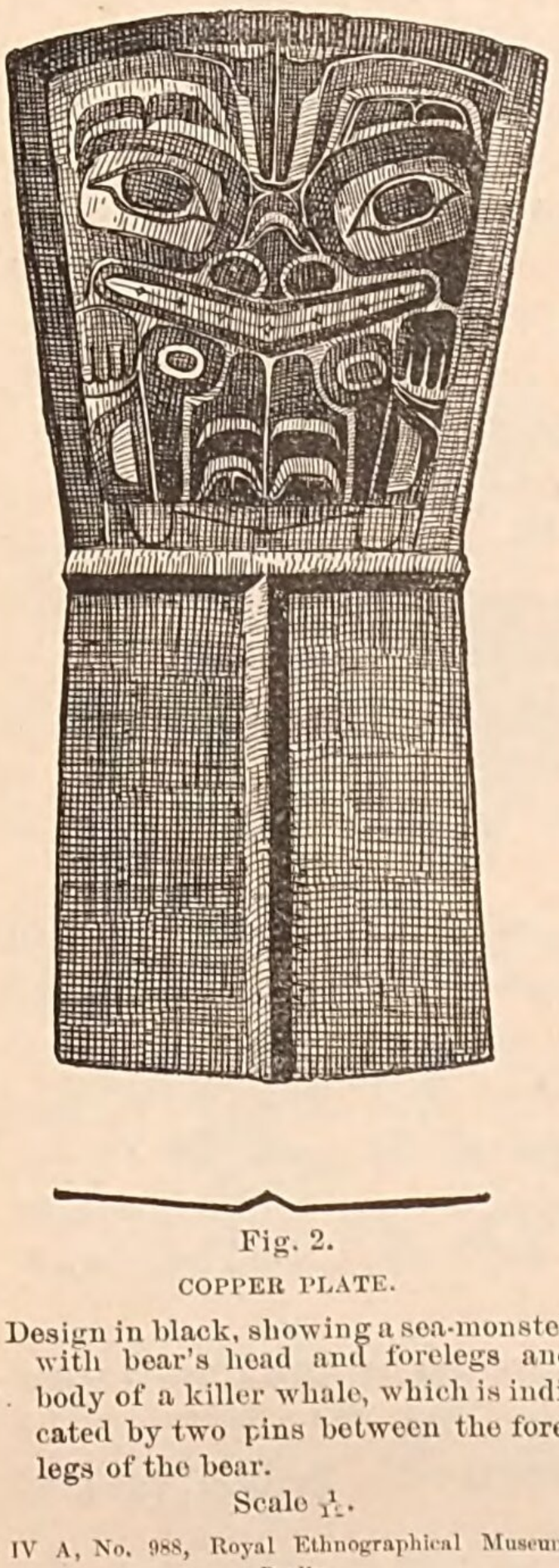


Fig. 2.

COPPER PLATE.

Design in black, showing a sea-monster with bear's head and forelegs and body of a killer whale, which is indicated by two pins between the forelegs of the bear.

Scale $\frac{1}{12}$.

IV A, No. 988, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin.

At this time the father gives up his seat (Lā′Xoē) in favor of his son. After the boy has paid his debts, the chief calls all the older members of the tribe to a council, in which it is resolved that the boy is to receive his father's seat. The chief sends his speaker to call the boy, and his clan go out in company with the speaker. The young man—for henceforth he will be counted among the men—dresses with a black headband and paints long vertical stripes, one on each side of his face, running down from the outer corners of the eyes. The stripes represent tears. He gives a number of blankets to his friends, who carry them into the house where the council is being held. The speaker enters first and announces his arrival. The young man follows, and after him enter his friends, carrying blankets. He remains standing in front of the fire, and the chief announces to him that he is to take his father's seat. Then the boy distributes his blankets among the other clans and sells some for food, with which a feast is prepared. His father gives up his seat and takes his place among the old men (Nō′matsēiL). The blankets given away at this feast are repaid with 100 per cent interest. In this manner the young man continues to loan and to distribute blankets, and thus is able, with due circumspection and foresight, to amass a fortune. Sometimes it happens that the successor to a man's name (Lawu′lqame) already has a name of his own. In all such cases (also when the name is acquired by inheritance) the successor gives up his name and his property to his own successor.

Possession of wealth is considered honorable, and it is the endeavor of each Indian to acquire a fortune. But it is not as much the posses-

sion of wealth as the ability to give great festivals which makes wealth a desirable object to the Indian. As the boy acquires his second name and man's estate by means of a distribution of property, which in course of time will revert to him with interest, the man's name acquires greater weight in the councils of the tribe and greater renown among the whole people, as he is able to distribute more and more property at each subsequent festival. Therefore boys and men are vying with each other in the arrangement of great distributions of property. Boys of different clans are pitted against each other by their elders, and each is exhorted to do his utmost to outdo his rival. And as the boys strive against each other, so do the chiefs and the whole clans, and the one object of the Indian is to outdo his rival. Formerly feats of bravery counted as well as distributions of property, but nowadays, as the Indians say, "rivals fight with property only." The clans are thus perpetually pitted against each other according to their rank. The Kwakiutl tribes are counted as the highest in the order given in the above list. In intertribal rivalry they do not strive against each other, but the

Guē'tɛla against the Ma'malēleqala.
Q'ō'moyuē against the Qoē'xsōt'ēnôx.
Q'ō'mk·ūtis against the Nɛ'mqîc or Laō'koatx.
Wā'las Kwakiutl against the Lau'itsis or Ts'ā'mas.

Fig. 3.

COPPER PLATE.

The painting on this plate represents the hawk. The upper face shows the hawk's head, and the lower face its body. The three lines on each side of the body are probably the talons.

Cat. No. 20778, U. S. N. M.

I referred several times to the distribution of blankets. The recipient in such a distribution is not at liberty to refuse the gift, although according to what I have said it is nothing but an interest-bearing loan that must be refunded at some future time with 100 per cent interest. This festival is called p'a'sa, literally, flattening something (for instance, a basket). This means that by the amount of property given the name of the rival is flattened.

There is still another method of rising in the social scale, namely, by showing one's self superior to the rival. This may be done by inviting the rival and his clan or tribe to a festival and giving him a considerable number of blankets. He is compelled to accept these, but is not allowed to do so until after he has placed an equal number of blankets on top of the pile offered to him. This is called dāpɛntg·ala and the blankets placed on top of the first pile are called dā'pɛnō. Then he receives the whole pile and becomes debtor to that amount, i. e., he must repay the gift with 100 per cent interest.

A similar proceeding takes place when a canoe is given to a rival. The latter, when the gift is offered to him, must put blankets to the amount of half the value of the canoe on to it. This is called dā′g·ōt, taking hold of the bow of the canoe. These blankets are kept by the first owner of the canoe. Later on, the recipient of the canoe must return another canoe, together with an adequate number of blankets, as an "anchor line" for the canoe. This giving of a canoe is called sā′k·a.

Still more complicated is the purchase or the gift, however one chooses to term it, of a "copper." All along the North Pacific Coast, from Yakutat to Comox, curiously shaped copper plates are in use, which in olden times were made of native copper, which is found in Alaska and probably also on Nass River, but which nowadays are worked out of imported copper. The typical shape of these copper plates may be seen in figs. 2 and 3 and Plate 4. The ┬-shaped part (qa'lā′s), which forms two ridges, is hammered. The top is called "the face" (ō′nuxLEmē), the lower part the hind end (ō′nutsExstē). The front of the copper is covered with black lead, in which a face, representing the crest animal of the owner, is graven. These coppers have the same function which bank notes of high denominations have with us. The actual value of the piece of copper is small, but it is made to represent a large number of blankets and can always be sold for blankets. The value is not arbitrarily set, but depends upon the amount of property given away in the festival at which the copper is sold. On the whole, the oftener a copper is sold the higher its value, as every new buyer tries to invest more blankets in it. Therefore the purchase of a copper also brings distinction, because it proves that the buyer is able to bring together a vast amount of property.

Each copper has a name of its own, and from the following list of coppers, which were in Fort Rupert in 1893, the values attached to some of them may be seen:

Mā′xts'ōlEm (= all other coppers are ashamed to look at it), 7,500 blankets.[1]

L'ā′xolamas (= steel-head salmon, i. e., it glides out of one's hands like a salmon), 6,000 blankets.

Lō′pēLila (= making the house empty of blankets), 5,000 blankets.

DE′nt'alayō (=about whose possession all are quarreling).

Mau′ak·'a (=sea lion).

Qau'lō′ma (=beaver face).

Lē′ita (=looking below; namely, in order to find blankets with which to buy it).

Nū′sē (=moon; its engraving represents the half moon, in which a man is sitting).

G·ā′waqa (=a spirit. Hē′iltsuq dialect, corresponding to the Kwakiutl Ts'ō′nōqoa. See p. 372).

NE′lqEmāla (=day face).

NE′nqEmāla (=bear face).

K·'ā′na (=crow; Hē′iltsuq dialect).

Qoayî′m (=whale).

Mā′x'ēnôx (=killer whale).

Qoayî′mk·în (=too great a whale).

Wī′na (=war, against the blankets of the purchaser).

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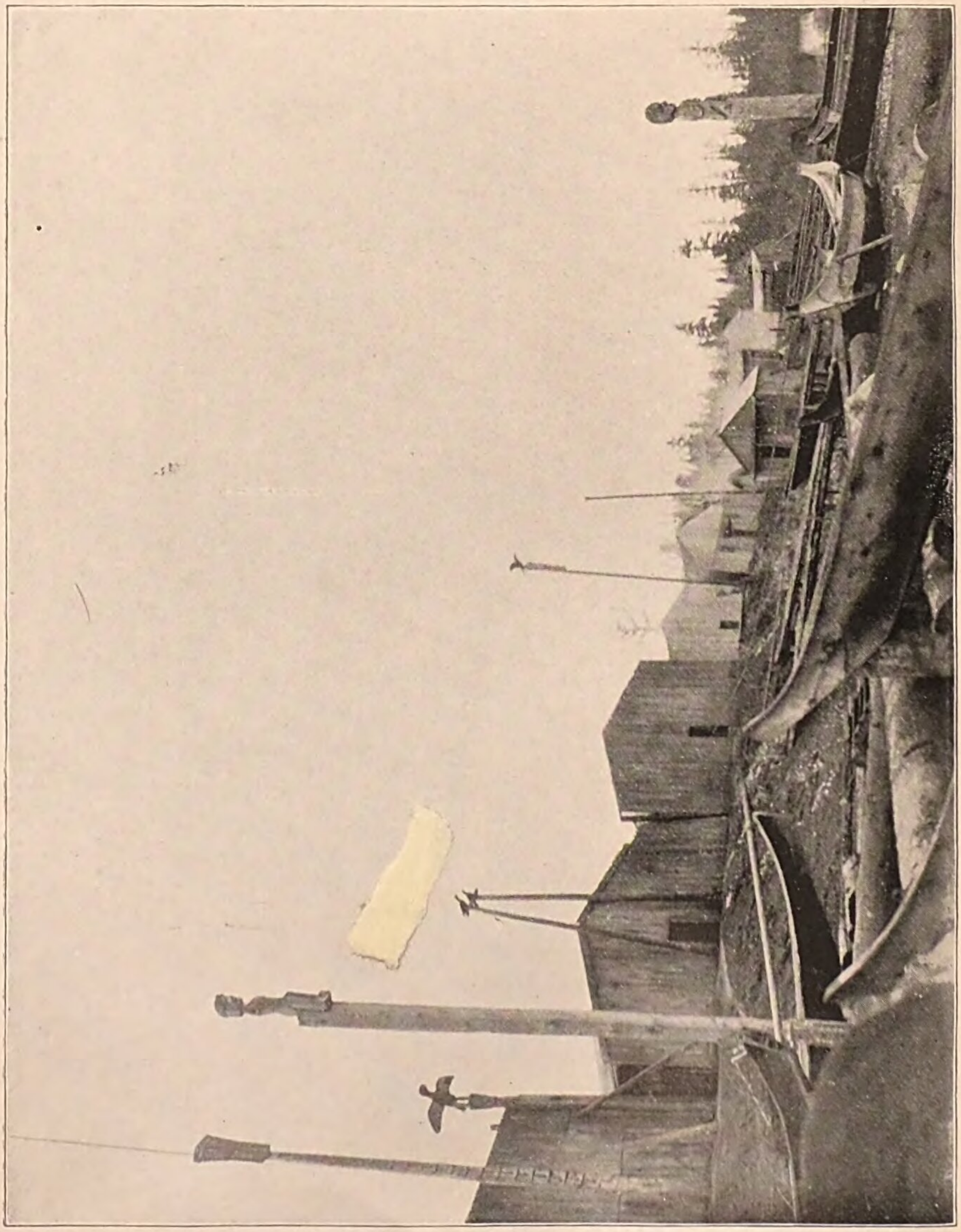
[1] This copper has two crosspieces.

COPPER PLATE WITH DESIGN REPRESENTING THE HAWK.

The design is etched and dark portions are painted black. Only the head and the feet of the bird are shown. The latter are laid under the beak.

$\frac{16}{517}$, American Museum of Natural History, New York.



a *b*

VIEW OF FORT RUPERT, LOOKING WESTWARD, SHOWING BLANKET POSTS (*a*, *b*).

The purchase of a high-priced copper is an elaborate ceremony, which must be described in detail. The trade is discussed and arranged long beforehand. When the buyer is ready, he gives to the owner of the copper blankets about one-sixth of the total value of the copper. This is called "making a pillow" for the copper (qē'nulīLa); or "making a feather bed" (ta'lqoa) or "the harpoon line at which game is hanging" (dō'xsEmt), meaning that in the same manner the copper is attached to the long line of blankets; or "taken in the hand, in order to lift the copper" (dā'g·ilēlEm). The owner of the copper loans these blankets out, and when he has called them in again, he repays the total amount received, with 100 per cent interest, to the purchaser. On the following day the tribes assemble for the sale of the copper. The prescribed proceeding is as follows: The buyer offers first the lowest prices at which the copper was sold. The owner declares that he is satisfied, but his friends demand by degrees higher and higher prices, according to all the previous sales of the copper. This is called g·i'na. Finally, the amount offered is deemed satisfactory. Then the owner asks for boxes to carry away the blankets. These are counted five pairs a box, and are also paid in blankets or other objects. After these have been paid, the owner of the copper calls his friends—members of his own tribe—to rise, and asks for a belt, which he values at several hundred blankets. While these are being brought, he and his tribe generally repair to their house, where they paint their faces and dress in new blankets. When they have finished, drums are beaten in the house, they all shout "hī!" and go out again, the speaker of the seller first. As soon as the latter has left the house, he turns and calls his chief to come down, who goes back to where the sale is going on, followed by his tribe. They all stand in a row and the buyer puts down the blankets which were demanded as a belt, "to adorn the owner of the copper." This whole purchase is called "putting the copper under the name of the buyer" (Lā'sa).

In this proceeding the blankets are placed in piles of moderate height, one pile close to the other, so that they occupy a considerable amount of space. In Fort Rupert there are two high posts on the beach bearing carved figures on top, between which the blankets are thus piled (Plate 5). They stand about 40 steps apart.

On the following day all the blankets which have been paid for the copper must be distributed by the owner among his own tribe, paying to them his old debts first, and, if the amount is sufficient, giving new presents. This is called "doing a great thing" (wā'lasila).

Coppers are always sold to rivals, and often a man will offer his copper for sale to the rival tribe. If it is not accepted, it is an acknowledgment that nobody in the tribe has money enough to buy it, and the name of the tribe or clan would consequently lose in weight. Therefore, if a man is willing to accept the offer, all the members of the tribe must assist him in this undertaking with loans of blankets.

Debts which are repaid in the wā′lasila were mostly contracted in this manner.

In order to better illustrate this curious proceeding, I will describe the sale of a copper which took place in the winter of 1894–95.

First, a feast was celebrated, in which the Ma′malēleqala offered the copper Mā′xts'ōlEm for sale to the Kwakiutl. Ma′Xua, chief of the clan Maa′mtag·ila, invited all the tribes to his house. Then he spoke:

"Come, tribe, to my house. This is the house of the first Mā′Xua at G·agaxsdals.

"This is the feast house of Mā′Xua here.

"This is the house to which Mā′Xua invited at Ēg·isbalîs.

"This is the house to which Mā′Xua invited at Qalō′gwîs.

"This is the feast house of Mā′Xua at G·ā′qîs.

"This is the house to which my father invited at Tsā′xîs.

"I take the place of my father now.

"I invited you, tribes, that you should come and see my house here.

"I am proud to speak of my ancestor, the chief who in the beginning of the world had the name Mā′Xua."

Then Mā′Xua turned to his own tribe and said: "Yes, K·'ēsōyag·ilîs. Yes, Mā′Xuag·ila. Let me speak of my ways, Wa, wa! thus I speak, my tribe." Then he turned again to the other tribes and told them to sing, saying, "Go on, tell the whole world, tribes! go on and sing; this was given to our ancestors in the beginning of the world by Kuēkuaxā′oē.[1]"

Now Mā′Xua stopped speaking, and Qoayō′Llas, chief of the Ma′malēleqala of the clan Wā′las, spoke: "Yes, Chief! it is true what you said. I thank you for your words, Chief! Our ways are not new ways. They were made by our chief (the deity) and marked out for us when he made our ancestors men. We try to imitate what our ancestors were told to do by the creator. Keep in your old ways, Kwakiutl; keep in the ways of your grandfathers, who laid down the custom for you." Then he turned to his own tribe and said: "That is what I say, Wā′k·as. That is what I say, NEg·ē′. The word of the chief shall not hurt me." Now he took the copper (Plate 6) and said: "Now sing my song!" His tribe sang, and after they had finished Qoayō′Llas spoke again: "Yes, my tribe! I can not help how I feel; I have nothing against the way, Kwakiutl, in which you treat me and my tribe. Now I will promise blankets to you, Kwakiutl, blankets to you, Guē′tEla, blankets to you, Q'ō′mōyuē, blankets to you, Q'ō′mk·ūtîs, blankets to you, Wālas Kwakiutl; this copper belongs to Ts'ā′xts'agits'Emqa, the son of Wālas NEmō′gwîs. Now take care, great tribe! This great copper has a high price; its name is Mā′xts'ōlEm (the one of whom all are ashamed). Now I am going to lay it down before you, Kwakiutl. Do not let me carry it myself, Lā′bid! Take it to the chiefs."

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[1] F. Boas, "Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas," Berlin, 1895, page 208.

CHIEF HOLDING HIS COPPER.

Then Lā′bid arose and spoke: "Say this again, my chief! Now look out, chiefs of the Kwakiutl, this is Sē′xitg·ila Mā′xts'ōlEm.[1] This I will bring to you."

Then he stepped toward the Kwakiutl, and put the copper on the floor where they were sitting. Now Owaxā′lag·ilîs arose, took the copper, and spoke: "Thank you, Wālas NEmō′gwis. Come now, salmon, for which our forefathers have been watching. This is Mā′xts'ōlEm. I will buy this Mā′xts'ōlEm. Now pay me, Kwakiutl, what I loaned to you, that I may buy it quickly, in order to keep our name as high as it is now. Don't let us be afraid of the price of Mā′xts'ōlEm, my tribe, wa, wa! Now put down the dishes, that our tribe may eat."

Owaxā′lag·ilîs sat down, the young man distributed the dishes, and all the tribes ate. Now Mā′Xua stepped up again and spoke kindly to the eating people. "Go on," he said, "eat, Wālas NEmō′gwîs; eat, Hē′Lamas; eat, NEg·ē′; eat you, Ma′malēleqala; eat, Lā′qōLas; eat, G·′ōtē, you NE′mqic; eat, Sē′wit'ē; eat, Ē′wanuX; eat you, Lau′itsîs; eat, Wā′k·as; eat, Pō′tLidē, you, Mā′t'ilpē; eat, Wāts'ē; eat, Hē′was, you T'Ena′xtax. Eat, all you tribes. Now it is done. I have already told you of my grandfather. This food here is the good will of our forefather. It is all given away. Now, look out, Kwakiutl! our chief here is going to buy this copper, and let us help him, wa, wa!" Then spoke Hâ′mEsk·inîs and said: "Your words are true, Chief! how true are your words. I know how to buy coppers; I always pay high prices for coppers. Now take care, Kwakiutl, my tribe, else you will be laughed at. Thus I say, Ō′ts'ēstalîs; thus I say, Wa′nuk^{u}; thus I say, young chiefs of the Kwakiutl; thus I say, Tsō′palîs; thus I say, Ō′gwîla; thus I say, Ō′mx·'it, young chiefs of the Q'ō′moyuē; thus I say, Qoē′mâlasts'ē; thus I say, Yēqawit, chiefs of the Q'ō′mk·ūtîs; thus I say, Qoayō′Llas; thus I say, Wā′kīdîs, young chiefs of the Wālas Kwakiutl. This is my speech for our children, Mā′Xuag·ila, that they may take care, wa, wa!" Then Qoayō′Llas stood up again and said: "Thank you; did you hear, Lābid? Ho, ho, ho, ho, uō, uō, uō. [The "ho" means the lifting of the heavy copper from the ground; the "uō" is the cry of the Ts'ō′nōqoa.][2] Now let me invite them, Ma′malēleqala; I believe they want to buy my copper. Now I will invite them." Then his tribe said: "Do it, do it," and he continued: "Now, Guē′tEla, behold the dance of La′qoag·īlayūkoa, the daughter of Wālas NEmō′gwîs. Now, Q'ō′mōyuē, see the dance of AomōLa, the daughter of Wālas NEmō′gwîs. Now, Q'ō′mk·utîs, see the dance of Mā′mx·oyūkoa, the daughter of Wālas NEmō′gwîs. Now, Wālas Kwā′kiutl, see the dance of Mā′Xualag·ilîs, the son of Wālas NEmō′gwîs. These are my words, wa, wa!"

Then all the guests went out. Later on Ōwaxā′lag·ilîs invited all the Kwakiutl, Ma′malēleqala, NE′mqic, Lau′itsis, T'Ena′xtax, and Mā′tilpē, because he intended to buy the copper Mā′xts'ōlEm that

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[1] The one who makes thirsty and of whom all are ashamed.

[2] See page 372.

morning on the beach. Then all the tribes assembled. Ōwaxā'lag·ilîs stood on the beach and spoke. He said:

"Now, come, chiefs of all the tribes. Yes, you come, because we want to do a great work. Now, I am going to buy the copper Mā'xts'ōlEm, of Wālas NEmō'gwîs. Only don't ask too high a price for it. And you, young chiefs of the Kwakiutl, take care and help me. Go now and bring the blankets from my house."

Then the young men went and piled up the blankets on the beach. Mā'Xua and O'ts'ēstalis counted them. One man of the Ma'malēleqala, one of the Nimkish, one of the Lau'itsis, kept the tally.[1]

Mā'Xua spoke: "It is my office to take care of the property of our chief. It was the office of my forefathers. Now I will begin." Then he counted one pair, two pairs, three pairs, four pairs, five pairs, six pairs, seven pairs, eight pairs, nine pairs, ten pairs. As soon as ten pairs were counted, he said aloud, "ten pairs," and the counters repeated, "twenty blankets," and put two stones aside. When Mā'Xua had counted another ten pairs, the counters said, "forty blankets," and put two more stones aside. They continued to put aside two stones for each ten pairs of blankets (Plates 7 and 8). Two men kept on piling up the blankets, and when they had piled up 1,000 blankets, Mā'Xua said aloud, "One thousand blankets." The blankets were piled up alongside of a carved beam standing on the beach (Plate 5). When the pile was high enough, a new one was begun right next to the first pile.

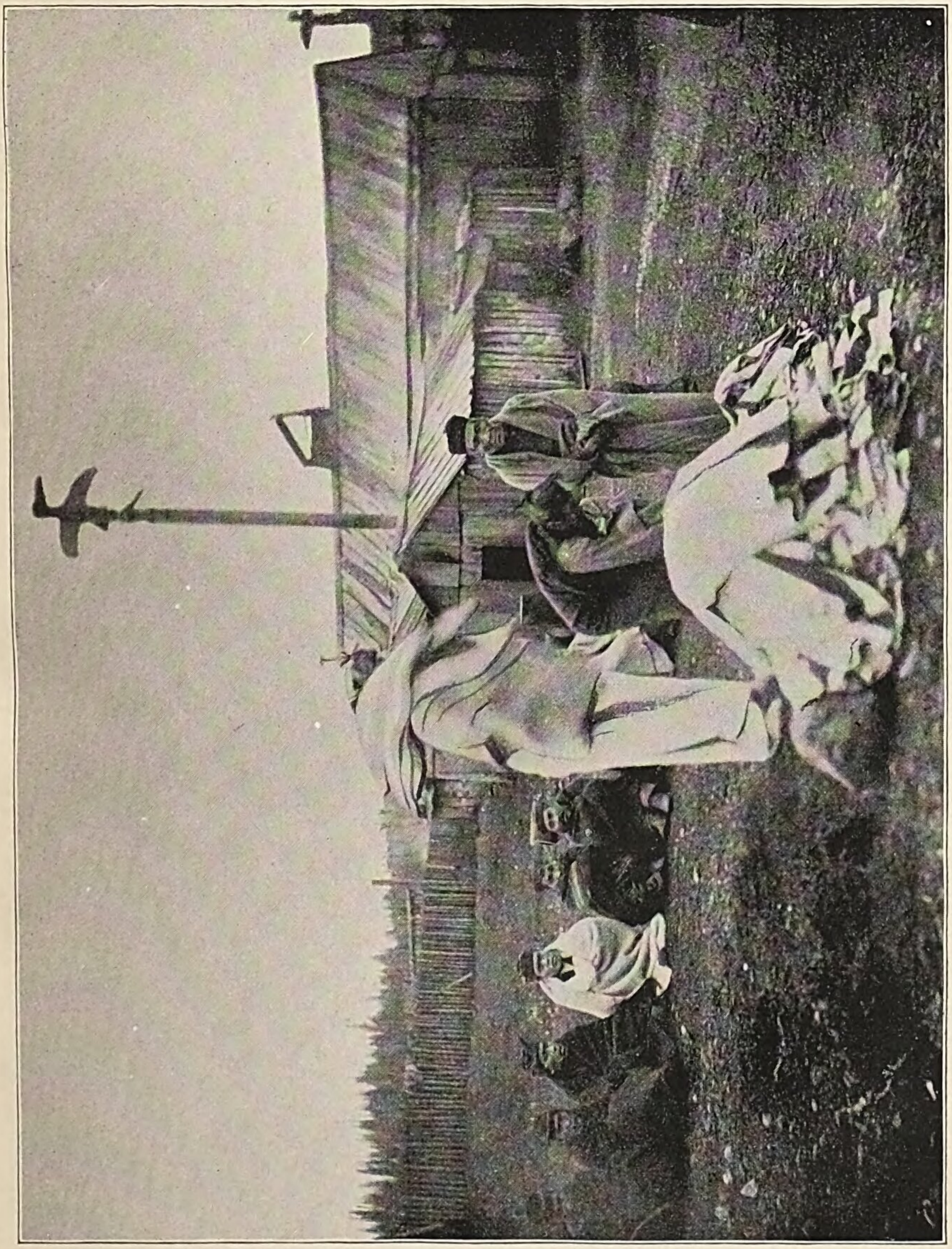
Then Owaxā'lag·ilis arose and spoke: "Tribes, I buy the copper Mā'xts'olEm with these 1,000 blankets. I shall not give any more unless the chiefs of all the tribes should ask for more, wa! That is my speech, chiefs of the Kwakiutl." Now he sat down and Wālas NEmō'gwîs arose. He said: "Ya, Ōwaxā'lag·ilîs! are your words true? Did you say it was enough?" Then he turned to his tribe and said, "Ya, Ōlsī'wit! Now rise, chief, and speak for me. That is what I say, Lā'bidē."

Then Olsī'wit arose (see Plates 9 and 10) and said: "Are those your words, Kwakiutl? Did you say this was all that you were going to give for the copper? Are there 1,000 blankets?" The counters replied, "Yes, there are 1,000 blankets." Olsī'wit continued: "Thank you, Ōwaxā'lag ilis, Chief. Do you think you have finished? Now take care, Kwakiutl! You, Chief, give twenty times ten pairs more, so that there will be 200 more." Then he turned to his tribe and said, "Chiefs of the Ma'malēleqala! Now, I have said my words, Chief Wālas NEmō'gwîs."

Then Ōwaxā'lag·ilîs arose and said: "Your speech, Ōlsī'wit, is good. It pleases my heart." And he said to the young men: "Go and bring 200 blankets from my house." They went at once and brought those blankets.

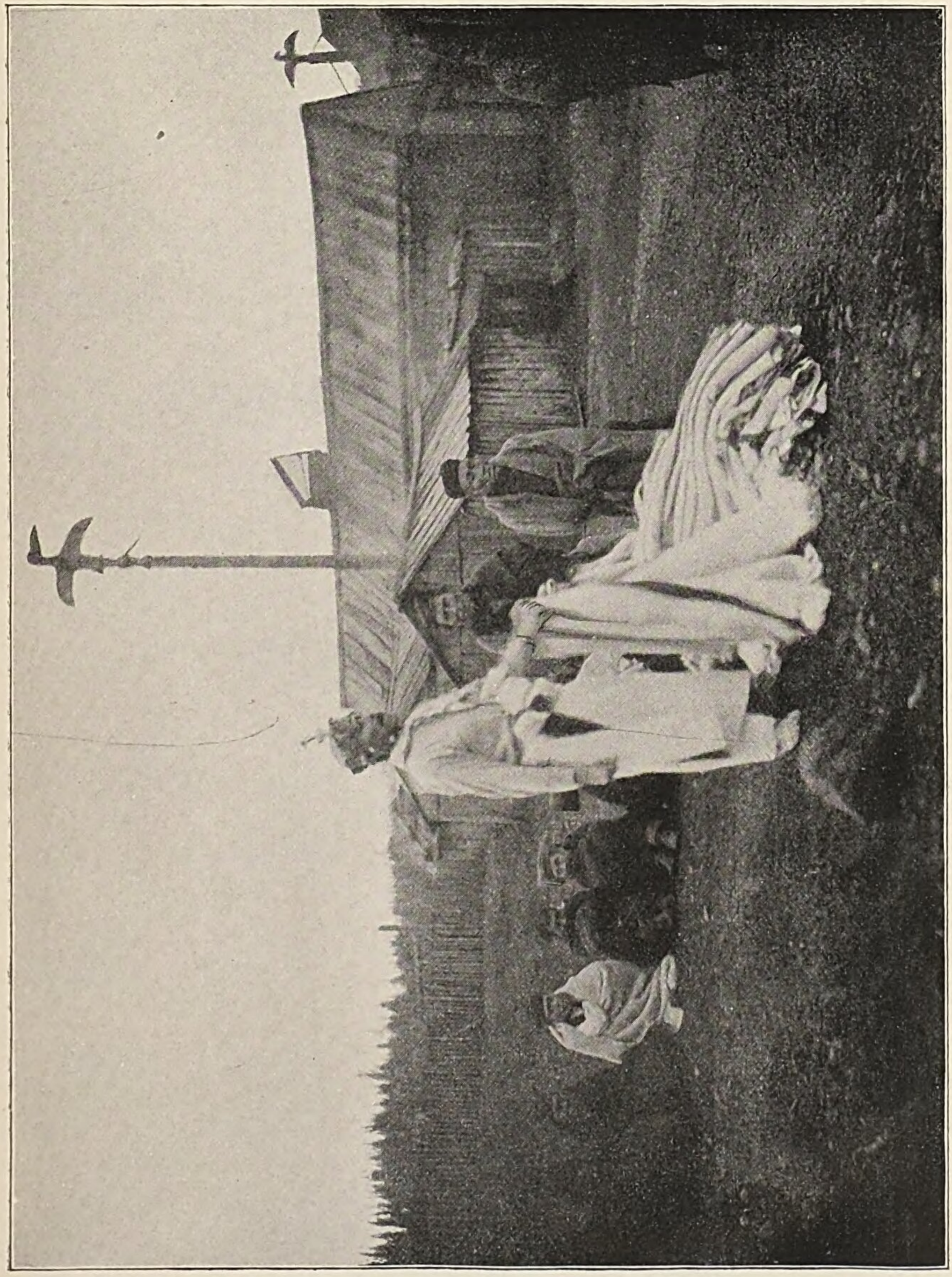
Then Ma'Xua arose and counted the blankets. He called out how

[1] Every tribe has a man to count blankets. This office is not hereditary. When coppers are traded, the song makers count blankets.

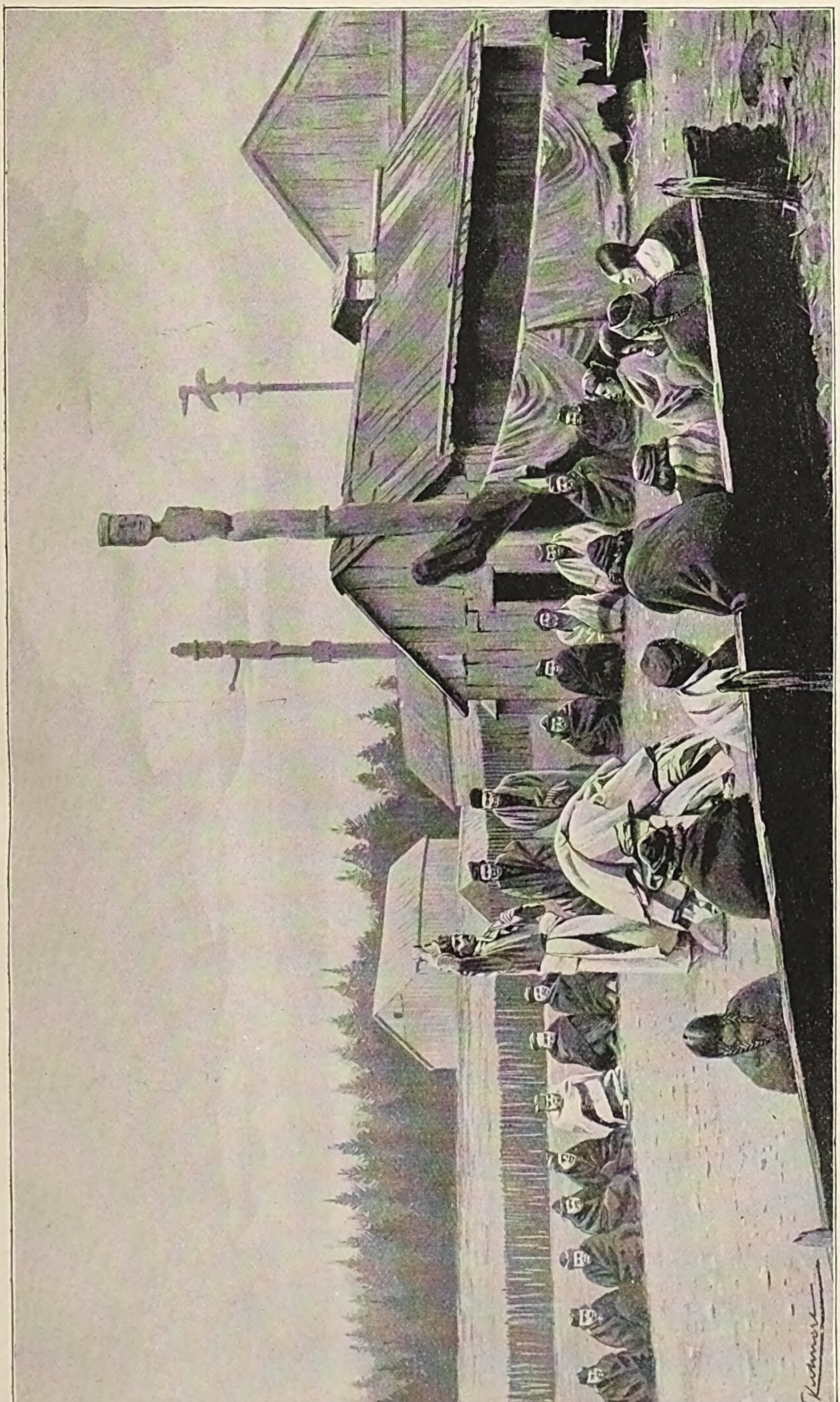


COUNTING BLANKETS.

COUNTING BLANKETS.



CHIEF DELIVERING SPEECH AT FESTIVAL.



CHIEF DELIVERING SPEECH AT POTLATCH FESTIVAL.

many there were. He said: "There are 1,200 blankets in a pile here, chiefs of all the tribes, wa, wa!"

Now Ōlsī'wit arose and said: "Thank you, Kwakiutl. Verily, I got all I asked for in my speech and we Ma'malēleqala are pleased, wa, wa!"

Again Wālas NEmō'gwîs arose and spoke: "Thank you, Ōwaxā'-lag·ilîs, thank you, Chief. It will not be my desire if all the chiefs of my tribe ask for more blankets. I am satisfied." Now he turned to his tribe and said: "Now we must speak, my tribe. Arise, G·ē'g·ESLEn. Speak, Chief! Speak more strongly."

Then G·ē'g·ESLEn arose and said: "How nice it is, tribes! I thank you for your words, Ōwaxā'lag·ilîs. Yes, Chiefs, that is our way, to which you must conform. You were not provident when you resolved to buy this great copper. My heart is well inclined toward you, Chief! You have not finished; you will give more. The price of the copper must correspond to my greatness, and I ask forty times ten blankets, that is 400 blankets more, Chief. That is what I mean, forty. Wa, Chief. I shall not speak again if I get what I ask from you." Then he turned to his own tribe. "Chief Wālas NEmō'gwîs, I have done what you asked of me. You asked me to speak strongly to that chief, wa, wa!"

Then Ōwaxā'lag·ilîs arose and spoke. He said: "Yes, Chief, your speech was good. You have no pity. Have you finished now asking for more, if I am willing to give your chief 400 blankets more? Answer me now!" Now G·ē'g·ESLEn spoke: "I shall not try to speak again." Owaxā'lag·ilîs sent two young men. They brought the blankets and put them down. Again Mā'Xua took the blankets and spoke:

"Ya, tribes! Do you see now our way of buying? The Kwakiutl, my tribe, are strong when they buy coppers. They are not like you. You always bring the canoes and the button blankets right away. Now there are 1,600 blankets in this pile that I carry here." He turned to the Kwakiutl and said: "That is what I say, Chiefs of the Kwakiutl, to those who do not know how to buy coppers. Now I begin again." He counted the blankets and went on in the same way as before. As soon as ten pairs of blankets were counted, they said aloud, "ten pairs," and the counters said aloud how many tens of blankets had been counted. When he had counted all, Mā'Xua spoke: "Wa, wa! Now I say to you, chiefs of all the tribes, it is really enough! I have pity upon my chief. That is what I say, chiefs."

Then Owaxā'lag·ilîs arose and spoke: "Wa, wa! I say it is enough, Ma'malēleqala. Now you have seen my name. This is my name; this is the weight of my name. This mountain of blankets rises through our heaven. My name is the name of the Kwakiutl, and you can not do as we do, tribes. When you do it, you finish just as soon as you reach the 1,000 blankets. Now, look out! later on I shall ask you to buy from me. Tribes! I do not look ahead to the time when you will buy from me. My chiefs! that is what I say, Ō'ts'ēstālîs; that is what I

say, Wā′kīdîs; that is what I say, Mā′Xualag·ilîs; that is what I say, Mā′Xuayalisamē. That is what I say for all of you from whom coppers may be bought, by the chiefs of these our rivals, the Ma′malēleqala, Wa, wa!"

Then Wālas NEmō′gwîs arose and spoke: "Yes, Chief, your speech is true, your word is true. Who is like you, Kwakiutl, who buy coppers and who give away blankets. Long life to all of you, chiefs of the Kwakiutl. I can not attain to your high name, great tribes." Then he turned to his tribe and said: "That is what I said, chiefs of the Ma′malēleqala, that we may beat these Kwakiutl. They are like a large mountain with a steep precipice. Now arise, Yā′qaLEnlîs, and speak, Chief! Let me see you that I may look up to you, Chief! Now call your name, Ts'ō′nōqoa, you, Chief, who knows how to buy that great copper. You can not be equaled by anybody. You great mountain from which wealth is rolling down, wa, wa! That is what I say, my tribe!"

Then Yā′qaLEnlîs arose and uttered the cry of Ts'ō′nōqoa: "hō, hō, hō, hō!" and he acted as though he was lifting the heavy weight of the copper from the ground. "You all know, Kwakiutl, who I am. My name is Yā′qaLEnlîs. The name began at the time when our world was made. I am a descendant of the chiefs about whom we hear in the earliest legends. The Hō′Xhoq came down to Xō′xop'a, and took off his bird mask and became a man. Then he took the name Yā′qaLEnlîs. That was my ancestor, the first of the Qoē′xsōt'ēnôx. He married Lā′qoag·ilayūqoa, the daughter of Wālas NEmō′gwîs, the first chief of the great clan Wēwamasqem of the Ma′malēleqala. That is the reason why I speak. I know how to buy great coppers. I bought this copper Mā′xts'ōlEm for 4,000 blankets. What is it, Chief? What is it, Ōwaxā′lag·ilîs? Come! did you not give any thought to my copper here? You always say that you are rich, Chief. Now give more, that it may be as great as I am. Give only ten times 100 blankets more, Chief Ōwaxā′lag·ilîs. It will not be much, give 1,000 more for my sake, wa, wa. This is what I say, Hā′wasalaL; that is what I say, Hē′Xuayus; that is what I say, Wawilapalasō; that is what I say for all of you, chiefs of the Ma′malēleqala, Wā, wā!"

Then Ōwaxā′lag·ilîs arose and spoke: "Yes, yes, you are feared by all, Great Chief! Do not show mercy in your speech. Now I am going to ask all of you, chiefs of the Ma′malēleqala, will you stop talking if I give you these 1,000 blankets in addition to the 1,600 blankets on this pile? If you say it is not enough after I have added the 1,000 blankets, then I will not force the purchase of the copper.

"Now answer me, Wālas NEmō′gwîs. I have seen no one giving 1,000 blankets more. I should tell a lie if I should say I had ever seen it done, as you demand, wa! That is what I say, chiefs of all the Kwakiutl."

Now Wālas NEmō′gwîs arose and spoke: "Chiefs, it is not my desire; it is the desire of all those chiefs who asked for more; I have enough.

Bring now the 1,000 blankets for which Chief Yā′qaLEnlîs asked, wa, wa! That is what I say, Ma′malēleqala, wa!"

Now Ōwaxā′lag·ilîs sent the young men to bring these 1,000 blankets. They brought them and Mā′Xua arose. He counted the blankets and called out every ten pairs. Then he made a speech: "Ya! tribes, have all the blankets here been counted?" The people replied, "Yes, yes. Do not maintain, Chief, that we lost run of the number of blankets." Then Mā′Xua continued: "There are 2,600 blankets. I am a Maa′mtag·ila, whose strength appears when they buy coppers. Take care, Chief Owaxā′lag·ilîs, else we shall be laughed at. Do not give in! Do not weaken, else you will not get that copper."

Then Owaxā′lag·ilîs arose and spoke: "Your words are good, Mā′Xua· It is good that you strengthen my heart. Now speak, Wālas NEmō′-gwîs! Speak, Chief, and tell me your wishes, else I shall be too much troubled. Now say your price and I will take it. That is what I say, Wā′kīdîs; that is what I say, Tsōpā′lîs, wa, wa!"

Ōwaxā′lag·ilîs sat down, and the tribes were silent. Nobody spoke, and Wālas NEmō′gwīs lay down on his back, covering his face with his blanket. For a long time nobody among all the men spoke. Then Yēqōk'uā′lag·ilîs, the younger brother of Wālas NEmō′gwîs, arose and said: "Chiefs of the Kwākiutl, I know what makes my brother here sad. Try, chiefs, that your speech may please the heart of my chief here. That is what I say, chiefs of the Ma′malēleqala, Wa, wa!"

Then Ha′mts'it arose and spoke: "Kwakiutl, I am afraid of the way in which my chief here is acting. He is making us asleep and all the tribes are asleep. That is always the way of the great chief. Now, Ōwaxā′lag·ilîs, try to please him!"

Then Ōwaxā′lag·ilìs arose and said: "Ha′mts'it! you said enough. Too many are your words. Let only him speak who knows how to buy that copper, Wālas NEmō′gwîs! Do not let these children speak. That is what I say, Kwakiutl, Wa, wa! Now look about in my house, if you find something to please the heart of this chief. Go! young men." They went, and soon they came back carrying blankets, which they put down. Ōwaxā′lag·ilîs arose at once and asked the young men how many blankets they had brought. They replied: "Six hundred blankets." He continued: "Is it true what you said? Now, chiefs of the Kwakiutl, I thank you for your words. Mā′Xua! Chief! count them!" Mā′Xua arose and counted the blankets. Then he said: "Ya! tribes, have you counted these blankets, also? There are now 3,200. Look out! chiefs of the tribes! for I shall ask you to buy our coppers also! That is what I say, NEg·ē′; that is what I say, Ē′wanuXts'ē, wa, wa! that is what I say, chiefs of the Kwakiutl, wa, wa!"

Now Wālas NEmō′gwîs arose and said: "Now take care, Ma′malē-leqala! Now, I take that price for our copper. Now give the boxes into which we may put the blankets. We need 50 boxes, and each will be worth 5 pairs of blankets."

Then Ōwaxā′lag·ilîs arose and spoke: "Thank you, Wālas NEmō′gwîs,

for your speech. You say you take the price. Now go, chiefs of the Kwakiutl, and bring the boxes! They will be 500 blankets' worth, to be paid in canoes." Then the young men went and brought short split sticks. They brought 5 sticks. Mā'Xua took them and spoke: "Ya! tribes! truly, you do not think that your words are hard against Ōwaxā'lag·ilîs? Truly, you get easily what you ask for, chiefs of the Ma'malēleqala. This canoe counts for a box worth 150 blankets. This canoe counts for a box worth 150 blankets. This canoe counts for a box worth 100 blankets. This canoe counts for a box worth 60 blankets. This canoe counts for a box worth 40 blankets, wa, wa! Enough, chiefs of the Ma'malēleqala. Now take pity on our chief here. That is what I say, Kwakiutl." Then Ōwaxā'lag·ilîs arose and spoke: "Ya, son Wālas NEmō'gwîs, I think your heart is pleased. Now there are 3,700 blankets. There are 700 of the fourth thousand. Come, Wālas NEmō'gwîs, and you, chiefs, arise, that I may adorn you." Then Wālas NEmō'gwîs arose and spoke: "Come, Mā'Xmawisaqamayē! Come, LĀ'bid! Come, Kwā'x·ilanōkumē! Come, NEmō'kwag·ilîs! Come, Hā'wasalaL! Come, Xuā'x·sistala! Come, Ōlsīwit! Come, G·ē'g·EsLEn! Come, Yā'qaLEnlîs! Come, Wā'k·asts'e! Come, Hâ'misalaL! Come, Ts'ō'xts'aîs! Let him who brought our copper look at us! Come, chiefs of the Ma'malēleqala." Then all the thirteen chiefs stood in a row, and Wālas NEmō'gwîs spoke: "This, Kwakiutl, is the strength of the Ma'malēleqala. These whom you see here are your rivals. These are the ones who have the great coppers which have names, and therefore it is hard work for you to rival them. Look out! chiefs of the Ma'malēleqala! in case they should bring us the copper Mā'xts'ōlEm, which we now sold, that one of you may take it up at once, or else we must be ashamed. That is what I say, chiefs of the Ma'malēleqala, Wa, wa! Now go on! Chief Ōwaxā'lag·ilîs!" Then Ōwaxā'lag·ilîs arose and spoke: "Yes, Wālas NEmō'gwîs, and you other good chiefs who are standing over there. Now, chiefs of the Kwakiutl, scurry about in my house for something with which I may adorn the chiefs." Then the young men went. Soon they came back, carrying 200 blankets and two split sticks, on which five straight lines were marked with charcoal.

Then Mā'Xua arose, took the split sticks, and said: "Thank you, chiefs of the Ma'malēleqala, for the way in which you act. It must be true that you are pleased with the way of our chief here. Now listen, chiefs! Adorn yourselves with this canoe, which is worth 50 blankets, and with this canoe, which is also worth 50 blankets, and with these 200 blankets here. Now there are 4,000 blankets in all, Wa, wa! Let me say, it is done!"

Immediately Wālas NEmō'gwîs made a speech, and said: "I take this price, tribes! Thank you, Chief Ōwaxā'lag·ilîs; thank you, Chief; thank you, Kwakiutl."

Now Ōwaxā'lag·ilis arose and spoke: "Ya, Wālas NEmō'gwîs. Have you taken the price, Chief?" Wālas NEmō'gwîs replied: "I have taken

the price." "Why, Wālas NEmō'gwîs," said Ōwaxā'lag·ilîs, "you take the price too soon; you must think poorly of me, Chief! I am a Kwakiutl; I am one of those from whom all your tribes all over the world took their names. Now you give up before I finished trading with you, Ma'malēleqala. You must always stand beneath us, wa, wa! Now go, young men; call our chief here, that he may come and see the tribes. Bring LĀ'qoag·ilak". " Then the young men went, and soon they returned. The sister of Owaxā'lag·ilîs followed them, carrying 200 blankets. Ōwaxā'lag·ilîs spoke: "Ya, tribes, come here! This is LĀ'qoag·ilak". That name comes from the oldest legends. Now, take her clothes and you, Mā'Xua, give them away!" Now Mā'Xua counted the blankets. There were 200 blankets of the fifth thousand. There were 4,200. "Wa, wa! Chiefs of the Ma'malēleqala," said he. Then Wālas NEmō'gwîs spoke: "Thank you, chiefs! Now, Ma'malēleqala, we will divide the property to-morrow, wa, wa!"

It was described above how a boy is introduced into the distributions of property going on among the tribe. It remains to state how he acquires his first copper. When the young man has acquired a certain number of blankets, one of his older friends invites him to take a share in the purchase of one of the cheaper coppers, which may have a value of, say, 500 blankets. The boy contributes 200 blankets as his share and the other man purchases it, announcing the young man as his partner in the transaction. The copper is delivered to the young man, who becomes a debtor to his partner for the amount of blankets contributed by the latter. He announces at once that he will sell the copper the following year, but that he is willing to deliver the copper on the spot. With these words he lays it down before the tribe. One of the chiefs of a rival tribe takes the copper and pays as a first installment 100 blankets. Then the boy promises a distribution of blankets (tsō'Xua) for the following year and loans out the 100 blankets which he has received. The next year he calls in his outstanding debts and invites all the neighboring tribes to a feast, to which his own tribe contributes food and fuel. In the course of the festival he pays the chief who took his copper 200 blankets, being the value of the 100 blankets received the previous year, together with 100 per cent interest (see p. 341). Then the purchaser pays the sum of 750 blankets for the copper, including boxes and belt, as described above. Of this amount 700 are distributed on the following day in the prescribed fashion among the neighboring tribes. Now the young man proceeds to loan out his blankets until within a few years he is able to repay the share of his partner who first helped him to buy the copper. When the time has come for this transaction, his partner pays him double the amount of what he (the partner) has contributed, and the young man returns to him double of this amount.

The rivalry between chiefs and clans finds its strongest expression in the destruction of property. A chief will burn blankets, a canoe, or

break a copper, thus indicating his disregard of the amount of property destroyed and showing that his mind is stronger, his power greater, than that of his rival. If the latter is not able to destroy an equal amount of property without much delay, his name is "broken." He is vanquished by his rival and his influence with his tribe is lost, while the name of the other chief gains correspondingly in renown.

Feasts may also be counted as destruction of property, because the food given can not be returned except by giving another feast. The most expensive sort of feast is the one at which enormous quantities of fish oil (made of the oulachon) are consumed and burnt, the so-called "grease feast." Therefore it also raises the name of the person who can afford to give it, and the neglect to speedily return it entails a severe loss of prestige. Still more feared is the breaking of a valuable copper. A chief may break his copper and give the broken parts to his rival. If the latter wants to keep his prestige, he must break a copper of equal or higher value, and then return both his own broken copper and the fragments which he has received to his rival. The latter may then pay for the copper which he has thus received. The chief to whom the fragments of the first copper are given may, however, also break his copper and throw both into the sea. The Indians consider that by this act the attacked rival has shown himself superior to his aggressor, because the latter may have expected to receive the broken copper of his rival in return so that an actual loss would have been prevented.

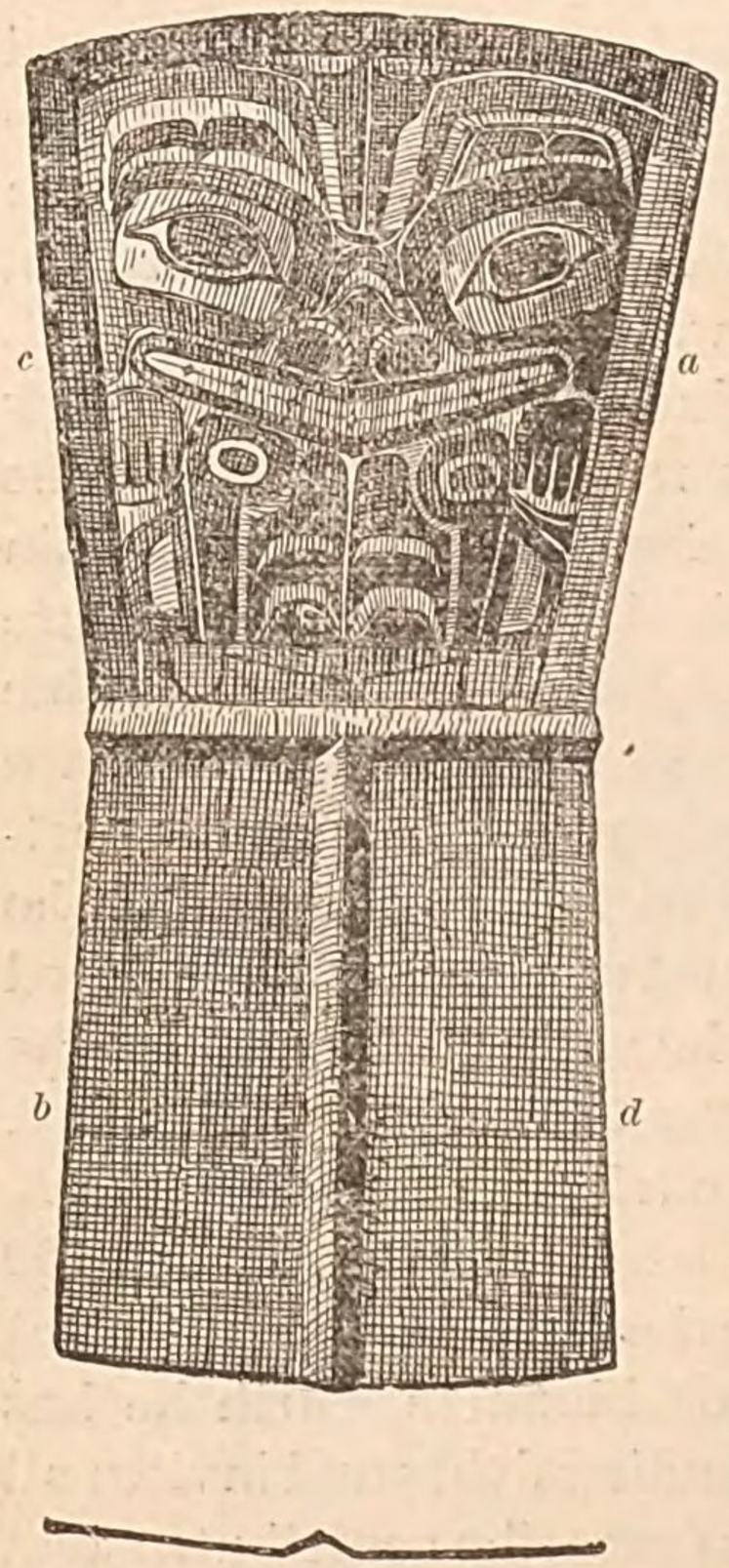


Fig. 4.

COPPER PLATE.

The order in which the sections are broken off and thrown away is indicated by the letters (*a*—*d*).

In by far the greater number of cases where coppers are broken the copper is preserved. The owner breaks or cuts off one part after the other until finally only the T-shaped ridge remains. This is valued at two-thirds of the total value of the copper and is the last part to be given away. The order in which the parts of the copper are usually broken off is shown in the accompanying illustration (fig. 4). The rival to whom the piece that has been broken off is given, breaks off a similar piece, and returns both to the owner. Thus a copper may be broken up in contests with different rivals. Finally, somebody succeeds in buying up all the broken fragments, which are riveted together, and the copper has attained an increased value. Since the broken copper indicates the fact that the owner has destroyed property, the Indians pride themselves upon their possession (see Plates 11 and 12).

CHIEF HOLDING BROKEN COPPER.

CHIEFTAINESS HOLDING BROKEN COPPER.

The rivalry between chiefs, when carried so far that coppers are destroyed and that grease feasts are given in order to destroy the prestige of the rival, often develop into open enmity. When a person gives a grease feast, a great fire is lighted in the center of the house. The flames leap up to the roof and the guests are almost scorched by the heat. Still the etiquette demands that they do not stir, else the host's fire has conquered them. Even when the roof begins to burn and the fire attacks the rafters, they must appear unconcerned. The host alone has the right to send a man up to the roof to put out the fire. While the feast is in progress the host sings a scathing song ridiculing his rival and praising his own clan, the feats of his forefathers and his own. Then the grease is filled in large spoons and passed to the rival chief first. If a person thinks he has given a greater grease feast than that offered by the host, he refuses the spoon. Then he runs out of the house (g·ē′qEmx'it=chief rises against his face) to fetch his copper "to squelch with it the fire." The host proceeds at once to tie a copper to each of his house posts. If he should not do so, the person who refused the spoon would on returning strike the posts with the copper, which is considered equal to striking the chief's face (k·î′lxa). Then the man who went to fetch his copper breaks it and gives it to the host. This is called "squelching the host's fire." The host retaliates as described above.

The following songs show the manner in which rivals scathe each other.

First NEqā′pEnk·Em (=ten fathom face) let his clan sing the following song at a feast which he gave:[1]

1. Our great famous chief is known even outside of our world, oh! he is the highest chief of all. [Then he sang:] The chiefs of all the tribes are my servants, the chiefs of all the tribes are my speakers. They are pieces of copper which I have broken.

[The people:] Do not let our chief rise too high. Do not let him destroy too much property, else we shall be made like broken pieces of copper by the great breaker of coppers, the great splitter of coppers, the great chief who throws coppers into the water, the great one who can not be surpassed by anybody, the one surmounting all the chiefs. Long ago you went and burnt all the tribes to ashes. You went and defeated the chief of all the tribes; you made his people run away and look for their relatives whom you had slain. You went and the fame of your power was heard among the northern tribes. You went and gave blankets to everybody, chief of all tribes.

2. Do not let us stand in front of him, of whom we are always hearing, even at the outermost limits of this world. Do not let us steal from our chief, tribes! else he will become enraged and will tie our hands. He will hang us, the chief of the tribes.

[Neqā′pEnk·Em sings:] Do not mind my greatness. My tribe alone is as great as four tribes. I am standing on our fortress; I am standing on top of the chiefs of the tribes. I am Copper Face, Great Mountain, Supporter, Obstacle; my tribes are my servants.

At another feast he let his people sing:[2]

1. Do not look around, tribes! do not look around, else we might see something that will hurt us in the great house of this really great chief.

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[1] See Appendix, page 667.

[2] See Appendix, page 668.

2. "Do not look around, tribes! do not look around, else we might see something formidable in the great house of this really great chief. His house has the Ts'ō'noqoa.[1] Therefore we are benumbed and can not move. The house of our double chief,[2] of the really great chief, is taking our lives and our breath."

3. "Do not make any noise, tribes! do not make any noise, else we shall precipitate a landslide of wealth from our chief, the overhanging mountain."

4. [Neqā'pEnk·Em sings:] "I am the one from whom comes down and from whom is untied the red cedar bark[3] for the chiefs of the tribes. Do not grumble, tribes! do not grumble in the house of the great double chief, who makes that all are afraid to die at his hands, over whose body is sprinkled the blood of all those who tried to eat in the house of the double chief,[4] of the really great chief. Only one thing enrages me, when people eat slowly and a little only of the food given by the great double chief."

While these songs are merely a praise of the deeds of the singer, the following reply by Hē'nak·alaɔō, the rival of NEqā'pEnk·Em is bitter to the extreme. In it the singer ridicules him for not yet having returned a grease feast.[5]

1. I thought another one was causing the smoky weather? I am the only one on earth—the only one in the world who makes thick smoke rise from the beginning of the year to the end, for the invited tribes.[6]

2. What will my rival say again—that 'spider woman;' what will he pretend to do next? The words of that 'spider woman' do not go a straight way. Will he not brag that he is going to give away canoes, that he is going to break coppers, that he is going to give a grease feast? Such will be the words of the 'spider woman,' and therefore your face is dry and moldy, you who are standing in front of the stomachs of the chiefs.

3. Nothing will satisfy you; but sometimes I treated you so roughly that you begged for mercy. Do you know what you will be like? You will be like an old dog, and you will spread your legs before me when I get excited. You did so when I broke the great coppers 'Cloud' and 'Making Ashamed,' my great property and the great coppers, 'Chief' and 'Killer Whale,' and the one named 'Point of Island' and 'The Feared One' and 'Beaver.' This I throw into your face, you whom I always tried to vanquish; whom I have maltreated; who does not dare to stand erect when I am eating; the chief whom even every weak man tries to vanquish.

4. Now my feast! Go to him, the poor one who wants to be fed from the son of the chief whose own name is 'Full of Smoke' and 'Greatest Smoke.' Never mind; give him plenty to eat, make him drink until he will be qualmish and vomits. My feast steps over the fire right up to the chief.[7]

In order to make the effect of the song still stronger, an effigy of the rival chief is sometimes placed near the fire. He is lean, and is represented in an attitude as though begging that the fire be not made any hotter, as it is already scorching him (Plate 13).

Property may not only be destroyed for the purpose of damaging the

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[1] A fabulous monster. See page 372.

[2] The war chief and potlatch chief.

[3] The emblem of the winter ceremonial. See page 435.

[4] This refers to the fact that he killed a chief of the Awī'k·'ēnôx in a feast.

[5] See Appendix, page 669.

[6] Namely, by the fire of the grease feast.

[7] The first grease feast went as far as the center of the house. As NEqā'pEnk·Em did not return it, the second one stepped forward across the fire right up to him.

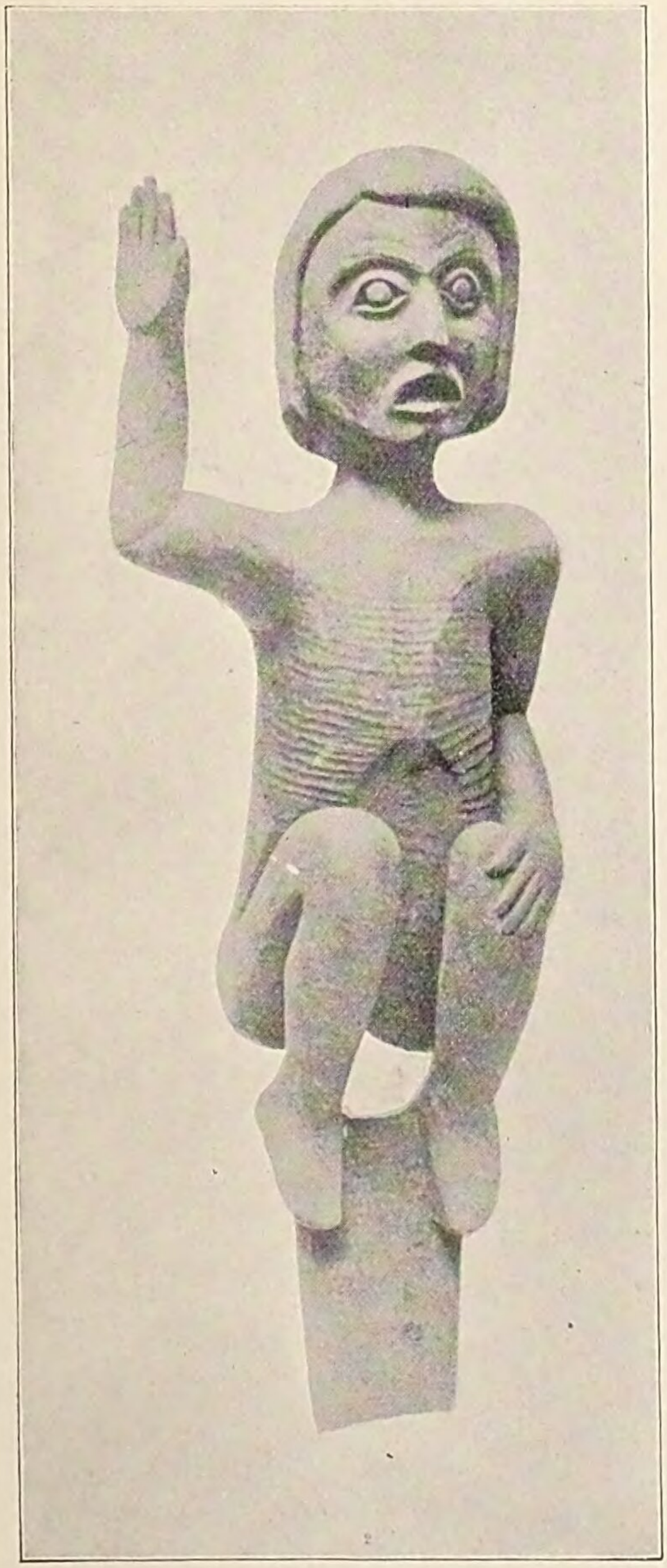
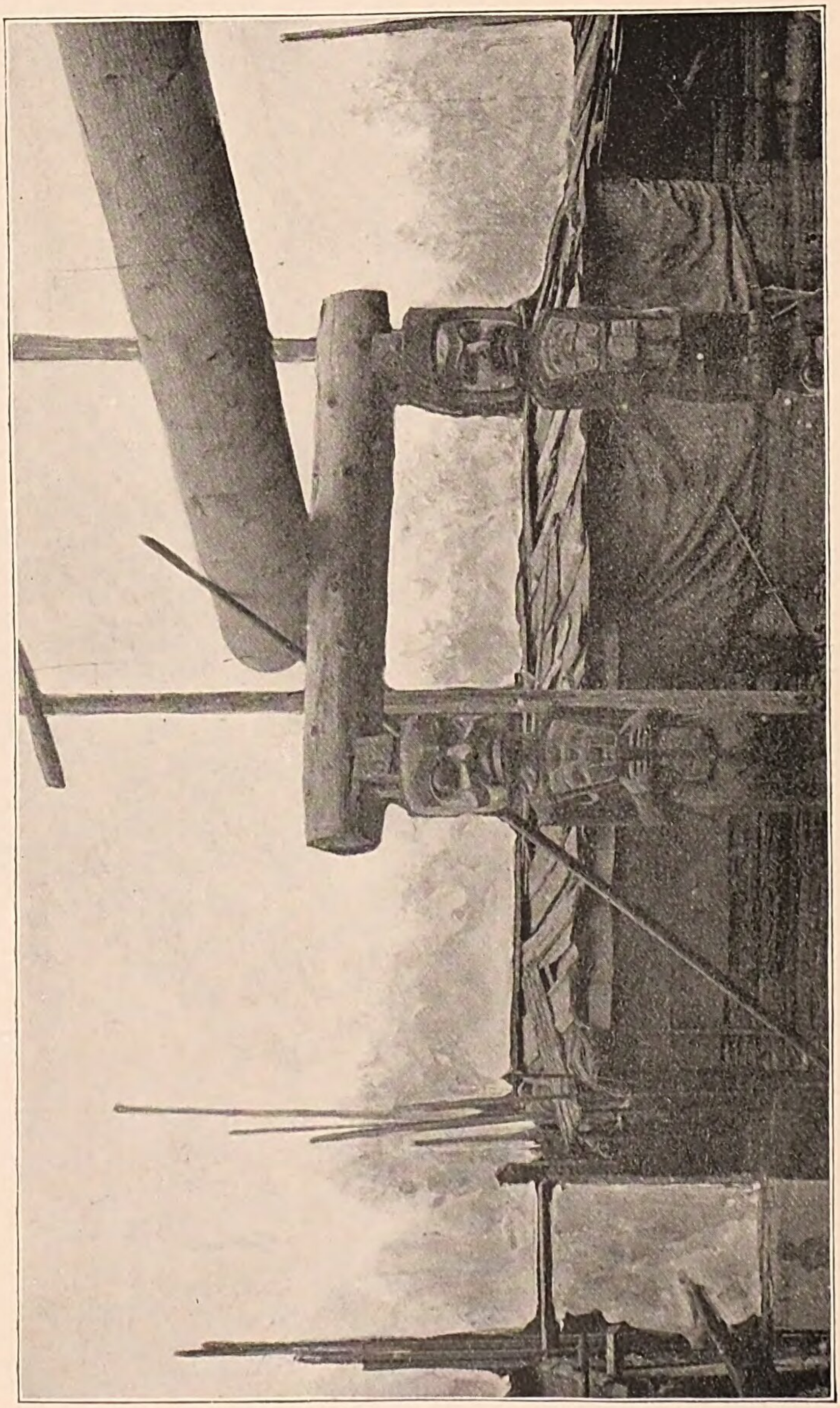


IMAGE REPRESENTING THE RIVAL CHIEF.

From A. Bastian, "Northwest Coast of America."
Original in Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin.



HOUSEPOSTS REPRESENTING ANIMALS HOLDING COPPERS.

prestige of the rival, but also for the sole purpose of gaining distinction. This is done mainly at the time when houses are built, when totem poles are erected, or when a son has been initiated by the spirit presiding over the secret society of his clan, to which ceremony reference has previously been made. It seems that in olden times slaves were sometimes killed and buried under the house posts or under totem posts. Later on, instead of being killed, they were given away as presents. Whenever this was done, the inverted figure of a man, or an inverted head, was placed on the pole. In other cases coppers were buried under the posts, or given away. This custom still continues, and in all such cases coppers are shown on the post, often in such a way that they are being held or bitten by the totem animals (Plate 14). At the time of the initiation of a member of the clan slaves were also killed or coppers were destroyed, as will be described in greater detail later on. The property thus destroyed is called the ō'mayū, the price paid for the house, the post, or for the initiation.

Fig. 5.

POTLATCH MASK OF THE K^{u}KWĀ'KUM.

Double mask capable of being opened and closed by means of strings. (*a*) Outer view, representing the ancestor in an angry state of mind, vanquishing his rivals. (*b*) The mask opened, representing the ancestor in a pleasant state of mind, distributing property.

IV A, No. 1243, Royal Ethnographical, Museum Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

The distribution or destruction of property is not always made solely for the purpose of gaining prestige for one's self, but it is just as often made for the benefit of the successor to the name. In all such cases the latter stands during the festival next to the host, or, as the Indian terms it, in front of him, and the chief states that the property is distributed or destroyed for the one "standing in front of him" (Lawu'lqamē), which is therefore the term used for the chief's eldest son, or, in a more general sense, for the heir presumptive.

At all these festivals masks are occasionally worn which represent the ancestor of the clan and refer to its legend. I will give one example: In the potlatch of the clan K^{u}kwā′kum of the Q'ō′moyuē, a mask representing one of the forefathers of the present clan (not their first ancestor), whose name was Nō′lis or Wa′tsē appears,—a double mask, surmounted by a bear (fig. 5). The bear broke the dam which prevented the property of Nō′lis going up the river. The outer mask shows Nō′lis in a state of rage vanquishing his rivals; the inner side shows him kindly disposed, distributing property in a friendly way. His song is as follows:[1]

1. A bear is standing at the river of the Wanderer who traveled all over the world.
2. Wild is the bear at the river of the Wanderer who traveled all over the world.
3. A dangerous fish is going up the river. It will put a limit to the lives of the people.
4. Ya! The sī′siuL[2] is going up the river. It will put a limit to the lives of the people.
5. Great things are going up the river. It is going up the river the copper of the eldest brother of our tribes.

Another song used in these festivals is as follows:[3]

1. The heat of the chief of the tribes will not have mercy upon the people.
2. The great fire of our chief in which stones[4] are glowing will not have mercy upon the people.
3. You, my rival, will eat what is left over when I dance in my grease feast, when I, the chief of the tribes, perform the fire dance.
4. Too great is, what you are doing, our chief. Who equals our chief! He is giving feasts to the whole world.
5. Certainly he has inherited from his father that he never gives a small feast to the lower chiefs, the chief of the tribes.

The clan Haā′naLino have the tradition that their ancestor used the fabulous double-headed snake for his belt and bow. In their potlatches the chief of the gens appears, therefore, dancing with a belt of this description and with a bow carved in the shape of the double-headed snake. The bow is simply a long carved and painted stick to which a string running through a number of rings and connecting with the horns and tongues of the snake is attached. When the string is pulled, the horns are erected and the tongues pulled out. When the string is slackened, the horns drop down and the tongues slide back again (Plate 15).

IV. Marriage.

Marriage among the Kwakiutl must be considered a purchase, which is conducted on the same principles as the purchase of a copper. But the object bought is not only the woman, but also the right of membership in her clan for the future children of the couple. I explained

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[1] See Appendix, page 670.
[2] See page 371.
[3] See Appendix, page 671.
[4] Stones heated in the fire for boiling the food to be used in the feast.

DANCE OF THE CHIEF OF THE HAÁ'NALINO CLAN.

before that many privileges of the clan descend only through marriage upon the son-in-law of the possessor, who, however, does not use them himself, but acquires them for the use of his successor. These privileges are, of course, not given as a present to the son-in-law, but he becomes entitled to them by paying a certain amount of property for his wife. The wife is given to him as a first installment of the return payment. The crest of the clan, its privileges, and a considerable amount of other property besides, are given later on, when the couple have children, and the rate of interest is the higher the greater the number of children. For one child, 200 per cent of interest is paid; for two or more children, 300 per cent. After this payment the marriage is annulled, because the wife's father has redeemed his daughter. If she continues to stay with her husband, she does so of her own free will (wulē'L, staying in the house for nothing). In order to avoid this state of affairs, the husband often makes a new payment to his father-in-law in order to have a claim to his wife.

The law of descent through marriage is so rigid that methods have developed to prevent the extinction of a name when its bearer has no daughter. In such a case a man who desires to acquire the use of the crest and the other privileges connected with the name performs a sham marriage with the son of the bearer of the name (Xuē'sa; Newettee dialect: dā'xsitsEnt=taking hold of the foot). The ceremony is performed in the same manner as a real marriage. In case the bearer of the name has no children at all, a sham marriage with a part of his body is performed, with his right or left side, a leg or an arm, and the privileges are conveyed in the same manner as in the case of a real marriage.

It is not necessary that the crest and privileges should be acquired for the son of the person who married the girl, but they may be transferred to his successor, whoever that may happen to be.

As the acquisition of the crest and privileges connected with it play so important a part in the management of marriages, references to the clan traditions and dramatic performances of portions of the myth are of frequent occurrence, as may be seen from the following descriptions:

I will describe first the marriage of a Ma'malēleqala Chief.

NEmō'kulag·ilîsts'ē called all the young men of all the tribes to come to his house. After a second call all the young men came. Then he arose and spoke: "Thank you, my brothers, for coming to my house. You know what is in my mind—that I want to marry to-day. You know that I wanted you to come that I might ask my brothers to invite all the people. Now dress yourselves; there is the paint and the eagle down."

The Lā'g·us arose and spoke: "Yes, NEmō'kulag·ilîsts'ē, these are your words. I and my friends will go now to make war upon the daughters of all the chiefs all over the world. Now take care, my friends!

young chiefs of all the tribes; paint yourselves and put down on your heads." Then the young men painted themselves and put down on their heads, and went out to the north end of the village. First they went into the house of Hä'masaqa. As soon as they had entered they all said, "Listen!" and Lā'g·us spoke: "Hear me, tribes! go and help to bring my bride into my house." Here he stopped, and one of the men living in the house said: "We will do so." Now they went from house to house and spoke in the same way. Then they all went back into the house of NEmō'kulag·ilîsts'ē. Then they went at once to call the tribes, and they all came. Now Wālas NEmō'gwîs spoke: "Come, chiefs of all the tribes, to hear the words of our chief. We will make war upon the tribes. Something great is in the door of the house of our future wife. That is all." Then Wālas NEmō'gwîs counted the blankets and the counters kept tally. When 200 were counted, he said: "We pay for our wife these 200 blankets here." Then he counted 100 blankets more, and said: "With these 100 blankets we will lift her. We must lift a heavy weight for the son of LĀ'lawig·ila." All the men replied: "True, true are your words, chief." Wālas NEmō'gwîs counted 100 blankets more, and said: "These are intended for calling our wife. Wa, chiefs! there are 400 blankets here, by means of which we are trying to get the daughter of LĀ'lawig·ila."

Then Hē'LAmas arose and spoke: "Yes, son, your speech is good. All our tribes heard what you said. Now take care, else a mistake might be made. Thus I say, chiefs of all the tribes. Now arise, ƛĀ'qōLas, and you, Mā'Xmawisaqamaē, and you, Yā'qaLEnlîs, and you, Mā'Xuayalits'ē; we want to go to war now. Now ask if it is all right." They gave them each a single blanket to wear. Then these four men arose and went to the house of LĀ'lawig·ila. They sat down in the doorway, and ƛĀ'qōLas spoke: "We come, chief, to ask you about this marriage. Here are 400 blankets ready for you. Now we are ready to take our wife. That is all."

Then spoke LĀ'lawig·ila: "Call my future son-in-law, that he may come for his wife; but let him stay on the beach. You all shall stay there; only the blankets shall come into my house." Then Yā'qaLEnlîs spoke: "Thank you, Chief, for your words. Now let us tell our chief." Then they went to the house of NEmō'kulag·ilîsts'ē. They went in, and ƛĀ'qōLas told the answer of LĀ'lawig·ila to the chiefs of all the tribes, saying: "He told us to come soon to take our wife." Then all the young men took the blankets. They put them on the shoulder of other young men and all walked out. They put the blankets down on the beach. Then Hē'LAmas arose and spoke: "All the tribes came; I came, LĀ'lawig·ila, to take from your arms your daughter to be my wife. Now count the blankets which we brought."

Then Wālas NEmō'gwîs arose. He took the blankets and spoke: "Yes, chiefs of all the tribes, I am not ashamed to tell about these blankets. My grandfather was a rich man. Therefore I am not

ashamed to speak." "True, true!" said all the men, "who would gainsay it, Chief!" Wālas NEmō'gwîs counted the blankets. When five pairs of blankets were counted, he put them on the shoulder of one of the four men, who carried them into the house of LĀ'lawig·ila. Thus they did until 200 blankets were counted and carried into the house. He said: "With these blankets they are married. Now we will try to lift our wife from the floor." He took the blankets and said: "With these we lift her from the floor." He counted again five pairs, put them on the shoulder of one of the young men, who carried them into the house, until 100 were counted. Then Wālas NEmō'gwîs said: "There are 100, as we told you, chiefs! Now we will call our wife." He took a blanket and said: "We call her with these," and counted in the same manner as before. When 100 blankets had been counted, he said: "There are 100 blankets here." When the four men had carried all into the house of LĀ'lawig·ila, he came out and said: "That is what I wished for. All the tribes came to marry my daughter. Let my son-in-law hear it. He shall come into my house if his heart is strong enough, wa wa!" As soon as his speech was finished, eight men brought burning torches of cedarwood. Four stood on the right-hand side of the door and four on the left-hand side. They put the burning ends of the torches close together, just wide enough apart for a man to pass through.

Now Mā'Xua arose. He was to pass through the fire. He ran up to it, but as soon as he came near it, he became afraid and turned back. Now he called NEmō'kulag·ilîsts'ē: "Hear it! his heart must be strong if he wants to accomplish what I attempted in vain." NEmōkulag·ilîsts'ē arose and said: "Yes, Mā'Xua, your word is true. Now look out, chiefs! else we shall not get my wife and I shall be ashamed of it. That is the legend which my father told me, how the daughter of Nū'nemasEqâ was married at ƛā'ɣaxsdalîs. A fire was at the door of her house. Now arise, LĀ'LiliLa, take two pairs of blankets and give them to him whose heart is strong, else our friends will try in vain to get my wife." Then LĀ'LiliLa arose, took the blankets and carried them to Wālas NEmō'gwîs, who spoke: "Tribes! Let him whose heart is strong go up to that house. These two pairs of blankets are for him who will go there." Then Mā'Xuag·ila the Koskimo arose and spoke: "I am not frightened. I am LE'lpēla. This name comes from the oldest legend. He knew how to jump into the fire. Now I will go, you beat the boards!" As soon as the men began to beat the boards he ran up to the fire, and although the torches were close together, he ran through them into the house. He was not hurt. When he got into the house, NEmō'kulag·ilîsts'ē said: "Ho, ho, ho, ho. He has succeeded! Thank you, my tribe." As soon as MāXuag·ila had entered the house the fire disappeared. LĀ'Lawig·ila came out and spoke: "Come now and take your wife, son in-law!" They brought out blankets and LĀ'Lawig·ila said: "Now I give you a small gift, son-in-law. Sell it for food. There

are 200 blankets." Then Wālas NEmō'gwîs arose: "Don't sit down, tribes. Let us sing a song of joy! Take care, chiefs of the Ma'malēleqala, we will make fun of the Kwakiutl. My chief has again given blankets. The name of my tribe is Ma'malēleqala, who vanquish all. I am feared by all the tribes. I can not be lifted. I know how to buy great coppers. I make chiefs out of poor men. Whenever I give away blankets, I do so in Tsā'xis on account of the legend of Mā'lēleqala, who was first transformed into a man at this place."

Thus spoke Wālas NEmō'gwîs and all arose and sang:

1. The deer went on the water, and tried to make war on his younger brother.
2. Kuēkuaxā'oē gave up the chase, trying to make war on his younger brother.
3. Only I do this way. Only I am the great one who takes away the daughter of chiefs, the younger brother of Kuēkuaxā'oē.

When they stopped singing, NEmō'kulag·ilîsts'ē said, "Hō, hō, hō, hō," and he promised to give away blankets. He said: "These are blankets for you, Guē'tEla; blankets for you, Q'ō'mōyuē; blankets for you, Wālas Kwakiutl; blankets for you, Q'ō'mk·ūtîs. They belong to TĀ'qoaqa, the daughter of NEmō'kulag·ilîsts'ē," and he said, "Now go to take my wife and the blankets."

Then the men went to the house of LĀ'lawig·ila, and after a short time they came back. Ts'ā'ts'alkoalîs, his daughter, was among them. Then all the men went home. He did not give away the blankets at once. She went to live with her husband.

Here is the description of another marriage: The successor of Mā'Xua, chief of the Gua'ts'ēnôx, was engaged to marry Hē'nĒdemîs, daughter of Ya'qaLasamē, chief of the Qō'sqēmuX. Then Mā'Xua sent four men—Kasā'lîs, Ā'witē, NEmē'mâlas, and Yā'ʒidē—to ask if Ya'qaLasamē agreed to the marriage. As soon as the four men entered his house, Kasā'lîs spoke: "I come, chief! sent to you by the son of Mā'Xua. He has 400 blankets ready to be given to you to buy in marriage your daughter, and also to take home your daughter, Ya'qaLasamē. We beg of you, O, Chief! to bend your heart to our wishes, for you have nothing to complain of. We all are of one descent. We are sent by your uncle, chief, and by your great-grandson, the successor to Mā'Xua. Thus I say, NEmē'mâlas. Now we have said our speech, Ā'witē, Yā'ʒidē. Now, Ā'witē, you speak to our uncle here." Then Ā'witē spoke: "Let me speak next, Kasā'lîs. I came, sent as a messenger by your uncle. Let us try to get our relative. Now, Yā'ʒidē, you speak next." He said: "I am the double-headed snake.[1] There is nothing in the world that I am unable to obtain. Now move your tongue, and give us an answer."

Then Ya'qaLasamē spoke: "You have finished your speeches that you were to deliver to me, chiefs of the Gua'ts'ēnôx. Only let your tribe take care, Ā'witē. Now you may have my daughter. Come here to-morrow, but strengthen your hearts. Now go and tell Chief Mā'Xua

[1] See page 371.

that I will show my legend—the fire in the house. If you do not run away from the heat of my fire, you may have my daughter. Now go, masters!"

Then the four men left the house. They went and reported the words of Ya'qaLasamē to Mā'Xua, who prayed his tribe not to fear the fire.

As soon as they had left, Ya'qaLasamē carved a large mask representing the "Sea Bear," the mouth of which opened, and attached it to a bearskin which his dancer was to wear. Then he took a basket and went to the graveyard, where he took seven skulls and other bones, which he carried home in his basket. Then he opened the mouth of the bear mask and put the skulls and the other bones into it. Next he prepared the seats for Mā'Xua and his friends close to the fireplace. He poured several bottles of grease into a wooden box and built up a high pyre, on top of which he placed the box containing the grease.

On the following day Mā'Xua called his tribe, and all prepared to go to Ya'qaLasamē's house. When they entered, Mā'Xua said: "Now be very careful, my tribe! Do not forget how kindly I feel toward all of you. If ever you ask me to help you, I do not spurn you, but I feel proud of your kind feeling toward me. Now chiefs! Ā'witē, and you, NEmē'mâlas, and you, Yā'ʒidē, do for me as I have done toward you. I fear he will show his great fire, then let us take care, my tribe! The first Gua'ts'ēnôx were never afraid; they never fled from anything. Therefore we, our present generation, must not fear anything, wa!"

Then Yā'ʒidē spoke: "Let us stand by our chief, Gua'ts'ēnôx! Let us stand by our chief! The name Mā'Xua comes from the time long before our grandfathers. Now our generation is living. Take care, Mā'Xua, and you, my grandson, ƥā'ʒaxidalaLē, for the people of our tribe have seen your kind heart, wa!"

Then they loaded four canoes with the blankets, for it is a long way from the village of the Gua'ts'ēnôx to that of the Qō'sqēmuX. They paddled, and when they arrived at the village of the Qō'sqēmuX, Ā'witē arose in the canoe and said: "Now, show yourselves, Qō'sqimuX! I am of the Gua'ts'ēnôX tribe and come to get Hē'nEdemîs, the daughter of your chief, Ya'qaLasamē, as wife for my grandson, ƥā'ʒaxidalaLē. Now, NEg·ē'tsē and Ā'witē, count the blankets!" Now they counted the blankets. As soon as there were five pairs of blankets, Ā'witē said: "Ten I am paying for my wife," and when another five pairs were counted, he said so again, and so on until all the blankets were counted. Then Ya'qaLasamē went out of the house and said: "Come, Gua'ts'ēnôx, come up from the beach into my house." Then they all went ashore and entered Ya'qaLasamē's house. When all were in, Goax·i'lats'ē spoke: "Welcome, Gua'ts'ēnôx! Come, Mā'Xua; come, Yā'ʒidē; come, NEmē'mâlas; come, Ā'witē; come, Kā'salîs. Thank you for coming, Chief L'E'nk·alas. Now take care, Gua'ts'ēnôx, for here is the Q'ō'mōqoa, a sea monster, who swallows everything, and there in

the rear of the house is he who devoured everyone who tried to marry the daughter of Ya′qaLasamē, and this fire has hurt everyone who tried to marry Hē′nEdemîs. Now, Chief Ya′qaLasamē, light your fire and let the chief get our daughter here."

Then Ya′qaLasamē lit the fire and all the Gua′ts'ēnôx sat down close to it. When the fire was burning, Ya′qaLasamē spoke: "Now take care, Gua′ts'ēnôx, for I intend to try you. You said you were not afraid of Ts'ō′nōqoa? Now I will try all of you, chiefs of the Gua′ts'ēnôx. On account of this fire nobody can get my daughter."

When the grease began to burn, all the Gua′ts'ēnôx lay down on their backs and their blankets were scorched. Now the fire died out, and then Kasā′lîs spoke: "Ya, Qō′sqēmuX! This is my way. I am afraid of nothing. Even if you should begin to murder us, I should not run away. Now, Gua′ts'ēnôx, we have our wife. Here, Chief Ya′qaLasamē! Look at our blankets which we are giving you." Then Ya′qaLasamē spoke: "Chiefs of the Gua′ts'ēnôx, I have seen you are really a savage people, and everyone fears you. I am afraid of you, for you are the first ones who have not run away from my fire. If you had run away, you would not have obtained my daughter for your wife." Then he shouted: "Take her, Gua′ts'ēnôx! Now you, devourer of all tribes, step forward, that Mā′Xua and ƞa′ƹaxidalaLē may see who has eaten the suitors of my daughter. Now look, NEmē′mâlas; look, Ā′witē; look, Yā′ƹidē; and you, Kasā′lîs, and see the devourer of the tribes." Then Ya′qaLasamē took a pole and poked the stomach of the devourer of the tribes who had come forward. Then the mask vomited the seven skulls and the other bones and Ya′qaLasamē continued: "Now look at it, Gua′ts'ēnôx. These are the bones of the suitors who came to marry my daughter and who ran away from my fire. The devourer of tribes ate them. That is what he vomited. Now come, Hē′nEdemîs, and go to your husband!"

Then she came and went into the canoe of the Gua′ts'ēnôx. They all went into the canoe and returned home.

I will give still another example, namely, the marriage ceremony of the L'ā′sq'ēnôx, which is founded on the following tradition: A chief of the L'ā′sq'ēnôx speared a sea otter which pulled his canoe out to sea. He tried to cut the line, but it stuck to the canoe. Finally the mountains of his country went out of sight. After a long time he saw a black beach, and when he came near, he saw that it was the place where all the coal of fires goes when it drifts down the northward current of the sea. He passed this place and came to the place where all the dry sand is drifting to and fro. The sea otter continued to pull him on, and he arrived at the place where the down (of birds) is drifting on the water. He passed those and came to the place where the toilet sticks[1] are going. Finally he discovered a village on a beach. The sea otter jumped ashore and was transformed into a man, who entered the chief's

[1] Cedar splints used in place of toilet paper.

house. The chief's speaker invited the man to enter, and asked him what he wanted. The person who sees peoples' thoughts sat to the right of the door and said: "He comes to get a magical treasure." Then the chief of the sea otter, for it was he whose house he had entered, gave him a harpoon and said: "You will be the chief of the world. Do you want anything else?" "Yes," replied the man, "I want to marry your daughter." She was sitting on a platform in the rear of the house. He married her, and the chief gave him four men to show him the way home. The girl's names were Tsē'saqa (sea otter pup woman) and G·ā'laxa-îs (first to receive gifts). When they approached the village of the L'ā'sq'ēnôx, Tsē'saqa commanded her husband to throw the man who was sitting in the bow of the canoe into the water. He made him lay off his mask and threw him into the water. His name was Xa'yā'la (sound of stones rolling on the beach). Then the sea began to roll in heavy waves. The woman ordered him to throw the three other men into the water. He did so, and they were tranformed into three islands, which protect the beach of the L'ā'sq'ēnôx village. Since that time the L'ā'sq'ēnôx use four masks representing these men in their marriages.

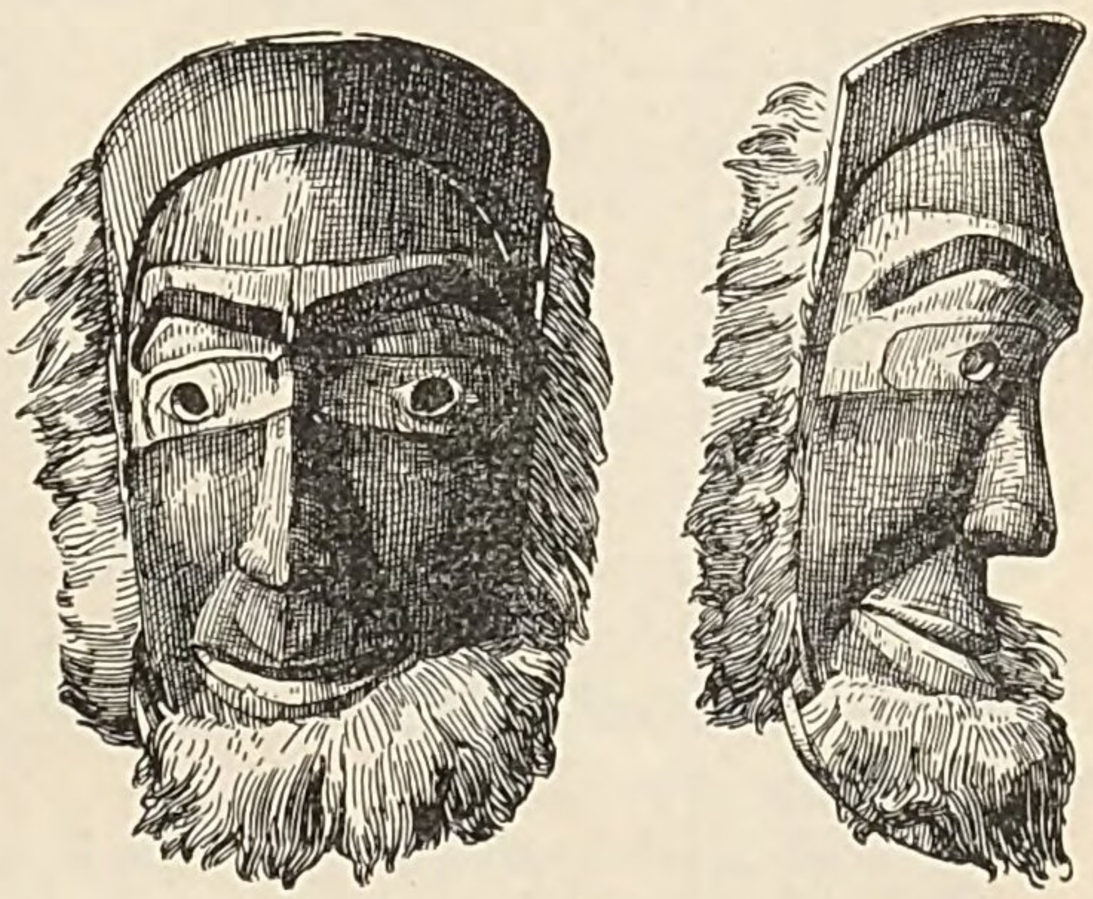

Fig. 6.
MARRIAGE MASK OF THE L'Ā'SQ'ĒNÔX.
Height 14 inches.
IV A, No. 1291, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

The bridegroom's tribe go in canoes to the girl's house. When they arrive in front of her house, four old men who wear the masks representing the four men referred to step ashore. They walk four steps and then perform a dance. They look at the girl's tribe and point toward the house as though directing their friends. Then they go back into the canoe and take their masks off. Figure 6 represents the mask of Xa'yā'la. I have not seen the three other masks belonging to the ceremony. The broad band on top of the mask represents the head ornament of cedar bark which Xa'yā'la is said to have worn. The four men receive in payment of their dance a blanket each from the bridegroom.

At this place I can describe only a portion of the ceremonial prescribed for the return of the purchase money and the delivery of the crest to the son-in-law, as it is in most cases performed as a part of the winter ceremonial and must be treated in connection with the latter subject. (See p. 421.) The return of the purchase money is called qautē'x·a, and the particular manner of return, which will be described here, LEnE'mXs'a.

The people are all invited to assemble in the house of the wife's father.

When all the guests have assembled, the father-in-law of the young man enters, accompanied by his clan. Four of them are carrying the mast of a canoe, one holding it at the top, another one at the butt, and two at intermediate points. They walk to the right and stand on the right-hand side of the door on the front side of the house, facing the middle.[1] Then the wife's father calls his son-in-law, who steps forward and stands in the right-hand rear corner of the house. The other speaker tells him that the mast represents lids of boxes (g·ī′sExstâla, see p. 421) tied together (LEnk^{u}), and that they contain everything that he owes his son-in law. The latter replies, asking if the coppers, house, its posts, and his father-in-law's names are in it also. Even if the old man should not have intended to give all of this, he must comply with this demand and promise to give it all to his son-in-law. Next, the young man's wife is sent by her father to fetch the copper. She returns, carrying it on her back, and the young men of her clan bring in blankets. All of this is given to the young man, who proceeds at once to sell the copper off-hand. This is called "holding the copper at its forehead" (dā′g·iuē). In such a case less than one-half of the actual price is paid for the copper. If it is worth 6,000 blankets, it will bring only 2,500 blankets. The buyer must pay the price on the spot, and the blankets which the young man obtains in this manner are distributed by him right away. By this distribution he obtains the right to live in the house which his father-in-law has given to him.

Although in most marriages the house and name of the bride's father are promised to be transferred to the young man, this is not necessarily the case. The dower agreed upon may consist only of coppers, canoes, blankets, and the like.

I learned about a curious instance how a man punished his father-in-law who had long delayed the return of the purchase-money and was evidently evading the duty of giving up his name and home to his son-in-law. The latter carved an image representing his wife and invited all the people to a feast. Then he put a stone around the neck of the image and threw it into the sea. Thus he had destroyed the high rank of his wife and indirectly that of his father-in-law.

V. The Clan Legends.

It appears from what has been said before that, in order to fully understand the various ceremonies, it is necessary to be familiar with the clan legends. In the following chapter I will give a selection of legends which will make clear their connection with the carvings used by each clan and the ceremonials performed on various occasions.

It seems desirable to introduce at this place a fuller description of

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[1]The positions in the house are always given according to the Indian method: The fire is the outer side (LĀ′sak), the walls the back side (Ā′La). Thus right and left are always to be considered the corresponding sides of a person who is looking toward the fire from the front or rear of the house.

the plan of the house than has heretofore been given. The houses of the Kwakiutl form a square, the sides of which are from 40 to 60 feet long. (Figs. 7 and 8.) The door (D) is generally in the center of the side nearest the sea, which forms the front of the house. The latter has a gable roof, the ridge of which runs from the front to the rear. The walls consist of boards, which are fastened to a framework of poles. The sides of the door are formed by two posts (A) from 6 to 8 inches in diameter and standing about 4 feet apart. Over the door they are con-

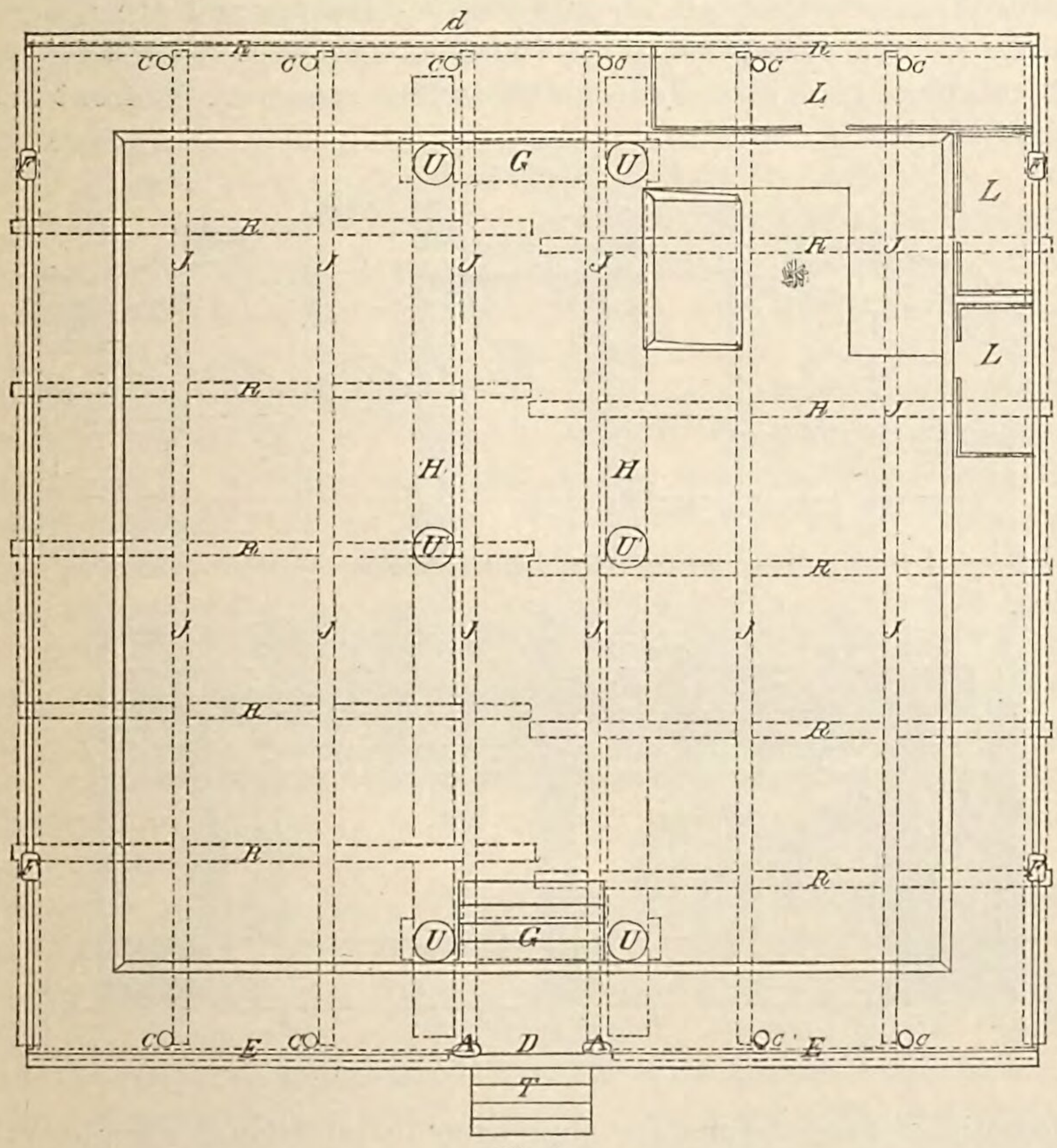


Fig. 7.

GROUND PLAN OF KWAKIUTL HOUSE.

nected by a crossbar (B). (Fig. 8.) Sometimes the framework of the door is made of heavy planks. The framework of the house front consists of two or three vertical poles (C), about 3 inches in diameter, on each side of the door. They are from 8 to 10 feet apart. Their length diminishes toward the sides of the house according to the inclination of the roof. These poles are connected by long crossbars (E), which are tied to their outer side with ropes of cedar bark at half the distance between the roof and the ground. The framework of the rear part is similar to that of the front, but that of the sides is far stronger, as it

has to support the roof. Two heavy posts (F), about 9 inches in diameter, are erected. Their heads are cut out and a beam of the same diameter is laid over them. At the joints it is cut out so as to fit into the heads of the posts. On both sides of the door and in the corresponding part of the rear side, about 3 feet distant from the central line of the house, the supports (U) of the roof are erected. These form the principal part of the framework, and are the first to be made when the house is built. They stand about 3 feet from the wall, inside the house. These uprights are about 2 feet in diameter and are generally connected by a crosspiece (G) of the same diameter. On each side of the crosspiece rests a heavy beam (H), which runs from the front to the rear of the house.

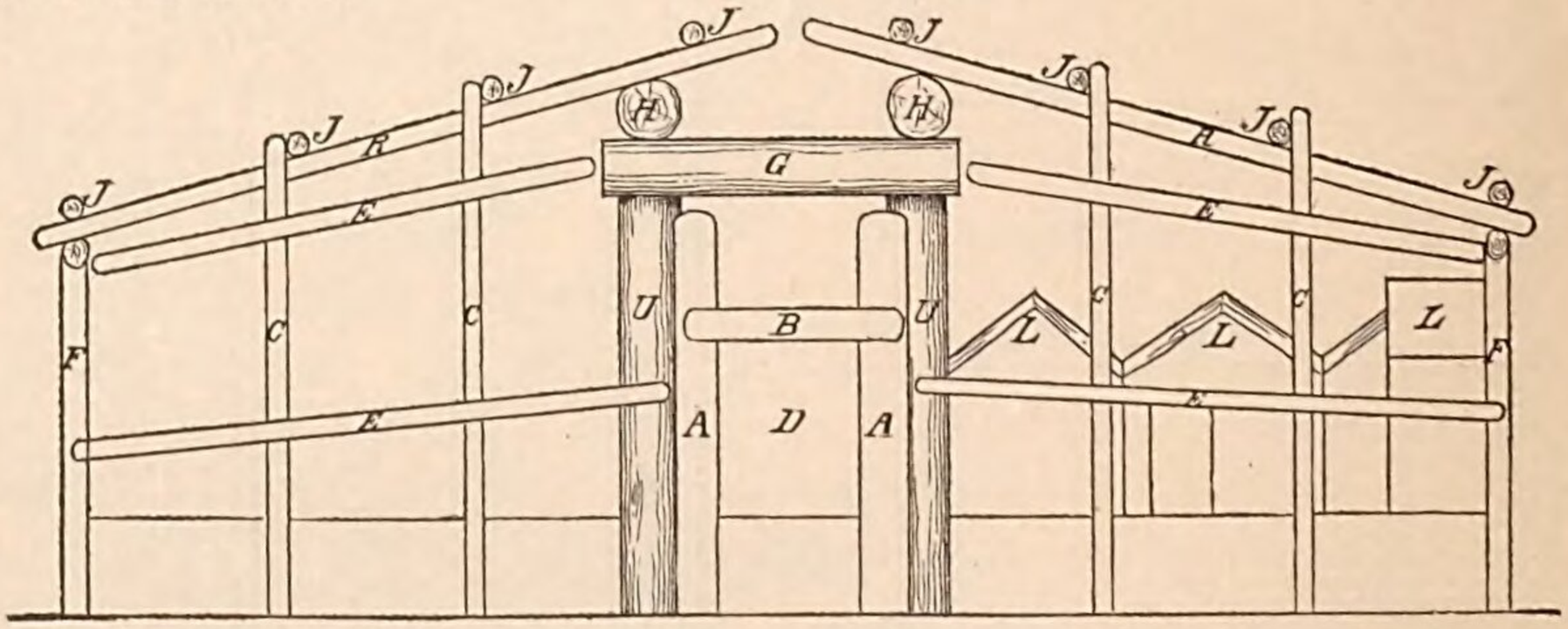


Fig. 8.

ELEVATION AND SECTION OF KWAKIUTL HOUSE.

Sometimes these beams are supported by additional uprights (U′), which stand near the center of the house. The rafters (R) are laid over these heavy timbers and the beams forming the tops of the sides. They are about 8 inches in diameter. Light poles about 3 inches thick are laid across the rafters. They rest against the vertical poles (C) in the front and rear of the house. After the heavy framework which supports the central part of the roof is erected, a bank about 3 feet in height is raised all around the outlines of the house, its outer side coinciding with the lines where the walls are to be erected. Long, heavy boards 4 or 5 inches thick are implanted lengthwise along the front of the house, their upper edges standing $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 feet above the ground. Then the earth forming the bank is stamped against them, and thus a

platform is made running along the front of the house. Later on this is continued all around the house. The framework of the front is the next to be erected. The poles (C) stand in the dirt forming the platform. The upper edges of the front boards which were implanted into the ground are grooved, and in this groove the boards forming the front wall stand. They are tied or nailed to the crossbar (E) and to the foremost rafter, which is connected with the framework of the front. The next thing to be done is to make the rear wall and the sides. The former exactly corresponds to the front, the door only being wanting. The boards forming the side walls are implanted in the ground, standing vertically, their upper ends being tied to the beam forming the top of the framework. The platform running along the inner sides of the walls is finished by stamping the earth against the side walls. The roof consists of a peculiar kind of boards, which run from the gable to the sides of the house. They lap on their edges like Chinese tiles. This arrangement has the effect that the rain runs from the roof without penetrating into the house. The house front is generally finished by cutting the boards off along the roof and by finishing them off with a molding. A few logs are placed in front of the door, forming steps (T) that lead to the platform. Steps of the same kind lead from the platform to the floor of the house. The board forming the inner side of the platform slopes slightly inward. The house has no smoke escape, but several of the boards forming the roof can be pushed aside. During the night these openings are closed, but in the morning one board over every fireplace is pushed aside by means of a long pole. As it is necessary to look after the roof from time to time, a stationary ladder is leaned against the side of the house. It consists of one-half of the trunk of a tree or of a heavy board, into the upper side of which steps are cut.

The house is inhabited by several families, each of whom has a fireplace of its own. The corners belonging to each family are divided off from the main room by a rough framework of poles, the top of which is used for drying fish or other sorts of food. On each side of the fire stands the immense settee (fig. 11), which is large enough for the whole family. It has no feet, is about 7 feet long and 4 feet deep, and its sides slope slightly backward, so as to form a convenient support for the back. Boards are laid along the base of the rear and front platform and on the side of the fire opposite the settee. The arrangement is sometimes made a little different, the settee being wanting, or in some instances standing on the rear side. Often long boards are placed edgewise near the fire, serving as a back support. They are supported by plugs which are rammed into the floor and lean slightly backward, thus forming a convenient back support. The bedrooms have the form of small houses which are built on the platform running around the house. Most of these bedrooms have gable roofs, and their fronts are finished off with moldings. The section *c–d* (fig. 8) explains the

arrangement better than any description can do. Sometimes these rooms are enlarged by adding a low extension to the house, the floor of which is elevated as high as the platform. In the center of such rooms there is a small fireplace. The plans of the houses of the separate gentes show slight differences. In some instances the heavy beams (H) rest on the uprights (U), the crosspiece (G) being wanting (fig. 9). In other instances there is only a single timber resting on the crosspiece (G). When festivals are celebrated, all the partitions, seats, and fires are removed, and one large fire is built in the center of the house. For such occasions the floor is carefully leveled and swept. Each house has its name, as will be seen from the view of the village of Xumta′spē (fig. 26, p. 391), in which the names of four of the houses are given. In front of the village the bight Ōkuiuā′Le is seen, bounded by the narrow point Lā′sōta, on which the natives grow some potatoes in a small inclosure. Behind this point the hills of Galiano Island, KaxaxLā′ and Wē′xōeoa, are seen, which are frequently mentioned in the legends of these tribes. The island is divided from Hope Island by the Strait of Ōxsâ′.

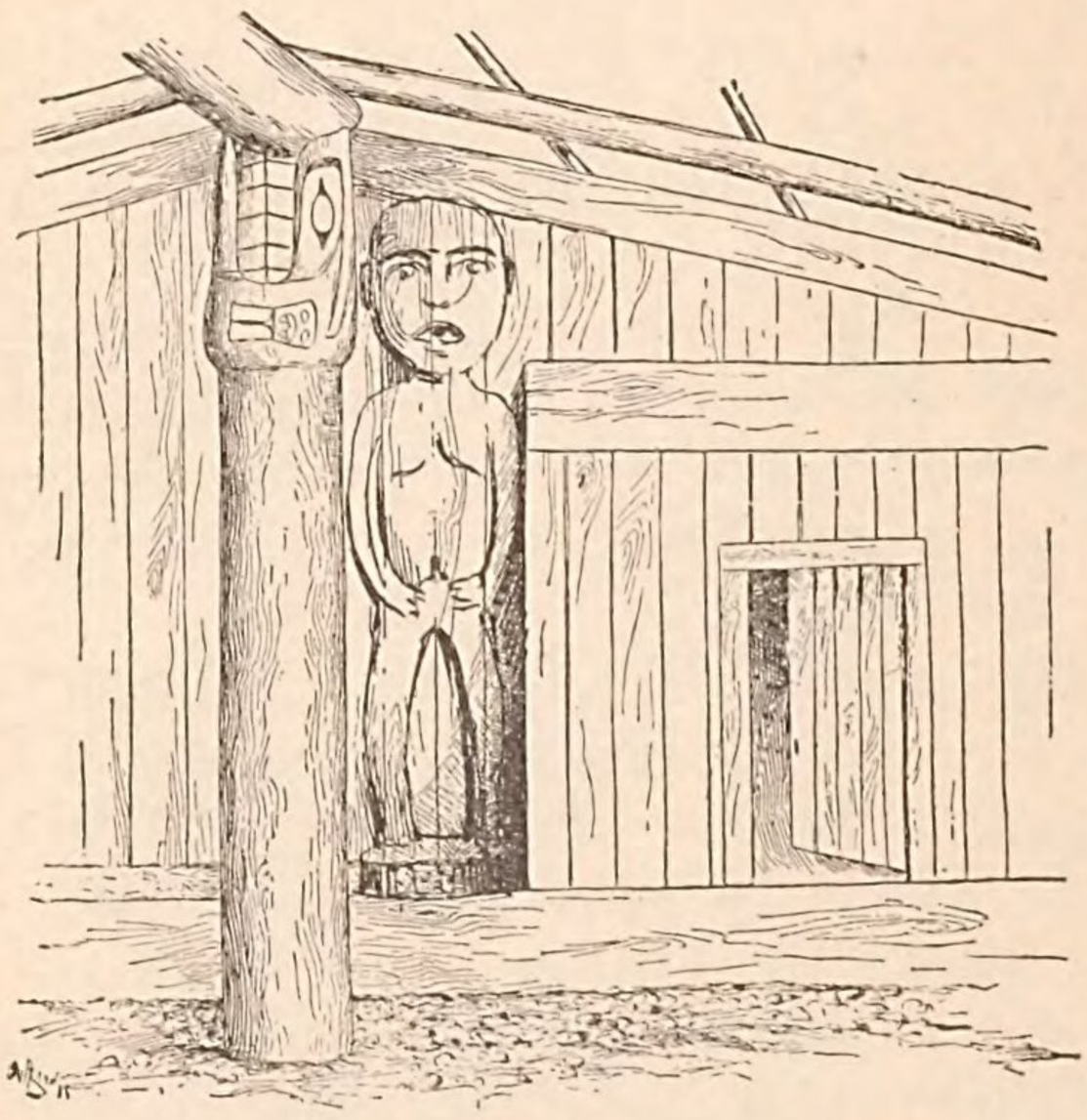


Fig. 9.

VIEW OF REAR PART OF HOUSE IN XUMTA′SPĒ.

From a sketch by the author.

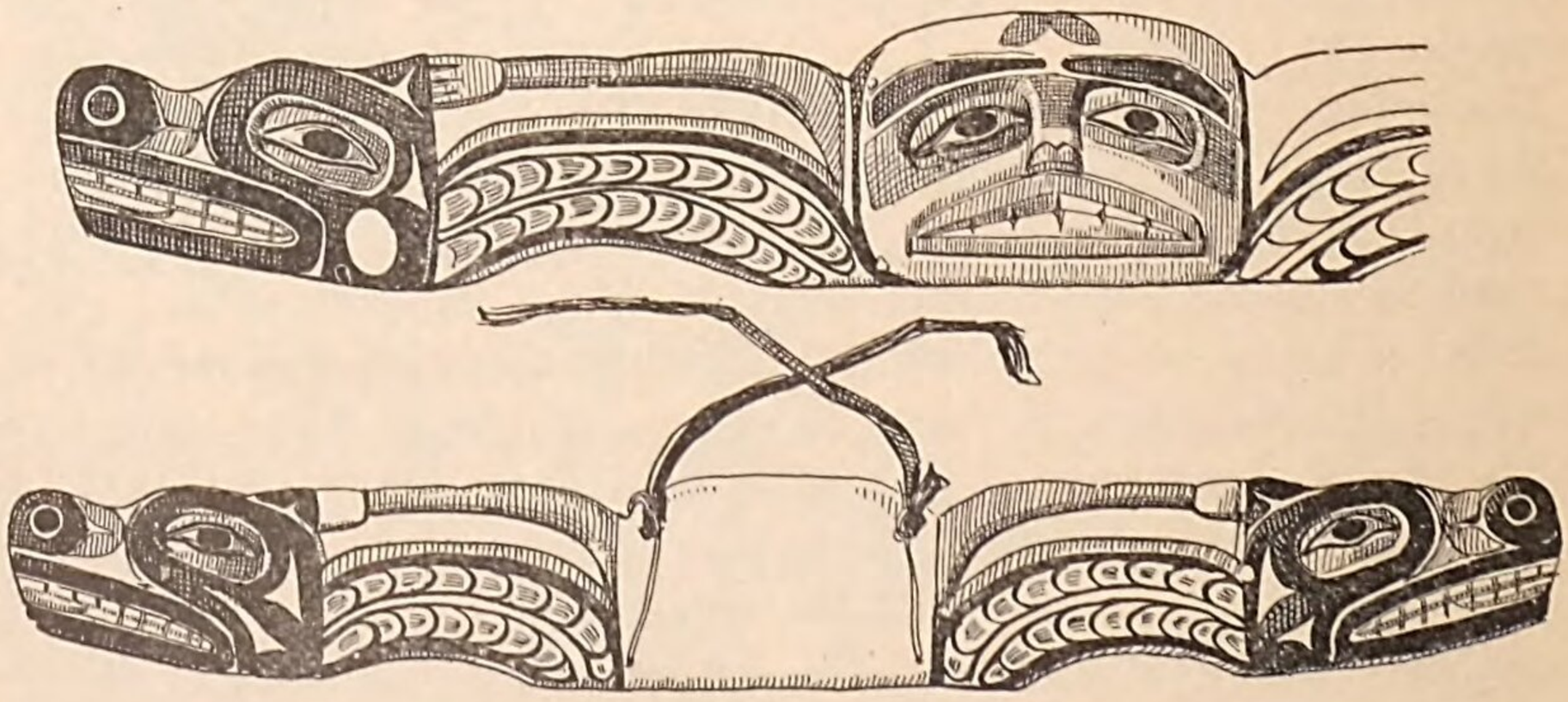


Fig. 10.

WOOD CARVING REPRESENTING THE SI′SIUL.

Worn in front of the stomach and secured with cords passing around the waist.

Length 42 inches.

IV A, No. 6891, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by F. Boas.

The houses generally face the beach and are built in a row. (See fig. 26, p. 391.) In front of the town there is a street, which is carefully leveled, the lower side being supported by an embankment of heavy logs. From here steps lead down to the beach, where the canoes are lying. Oppo-

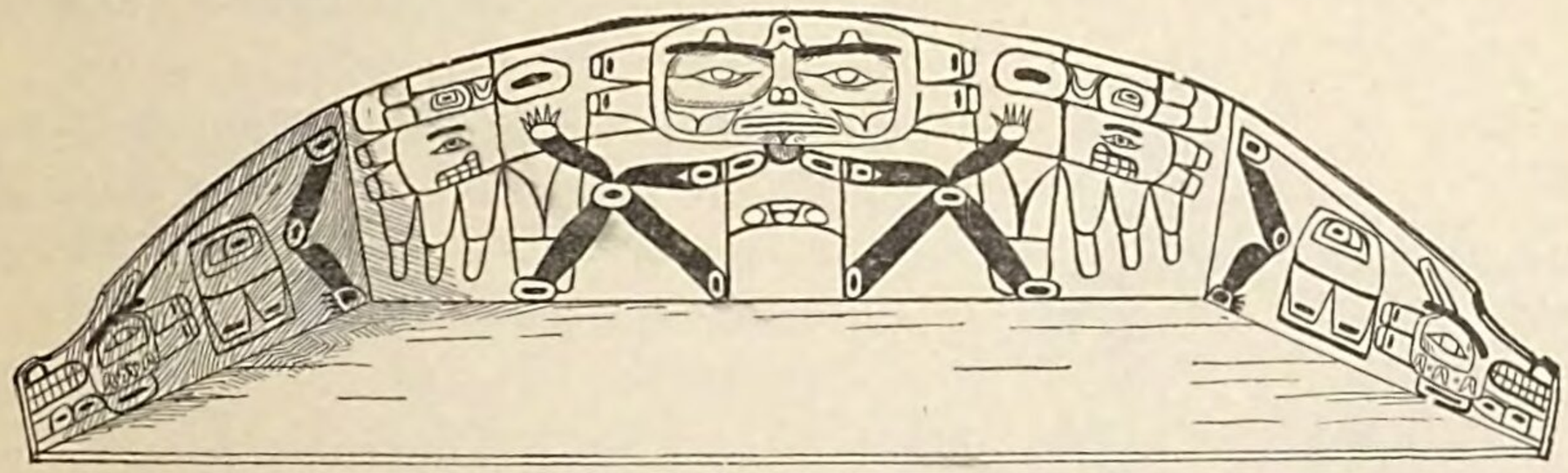


Fig. 11.

SETTEE, WITH CARVING REPRESENTING THE SĪ'SIUL.

From a sketch by the author.

site to the houses, on the side of the street toward the sea, there are platforms; summer seats, on which the Indians pass most of their time, gambling and conversing. The platform rests on a framework of poles and on the embankment of the street, as shown in fig. 26.

I proceed now to a discussion of the clan legends.

First of all, it is necessary to describe and enumerate a number of supernatural beings who may become the supernatural helpers of man, as they appear over and over again in the clan legends. Besides a number of animals, such as wolves, bears, sea lions, and killer whales, which, however, do not play a very important part as protectors of man, we find principally a number of fabulous monsters whose help was obtained by the ancestors, and who therefore have become the crest of the clan.

Fig. 12.

THE SĪ'SIUL.

From a painting by a Kwakiutl Indian.

Perhaps the most important among these is the SĪ'SIUL, the fabulous double-headed snake, which has one head at each end, a human head in the middle, one horn on each terminal head, and two on the central human head. (Fig. 10.) It has the power to assume the shape of a fish. To eat it and even to touch or to see it is sure death, as all the joints of the unfortunate one become dislocated, the head being turned backward. But to those who enjoy supernatural help it may

bring power; its blood, wherever it touches the skin, makes it as hard as stone; its skin used as a belt enables the owner to perform wonderful feats; it may become a canoe which moves by the motions of the sī′siuL fins; its eyes, when used as sling stones, kill even whales. It is essentially the helper of warriors.

Fig. 13.

MASK REPRESENTING THE TS'Ō′NOQOA.

Cat. No. 129516, U.S.N.M. Collected by Franz Boas.

I give here a few forms in which the sī′siuL is represented (figs. 11, 12. See also, figs. 166–169, pp. 514, 515, Plate 15). In fig. 12 only one-half of the sī′siuL is shown. The terminal head, with its horn laid backward, is plainly seen. The upper line behind the head designates the body, from which downward and forward extends one leg, the foot of which is quite clear. One of the central horns is shown over the point of attachment of the leg.

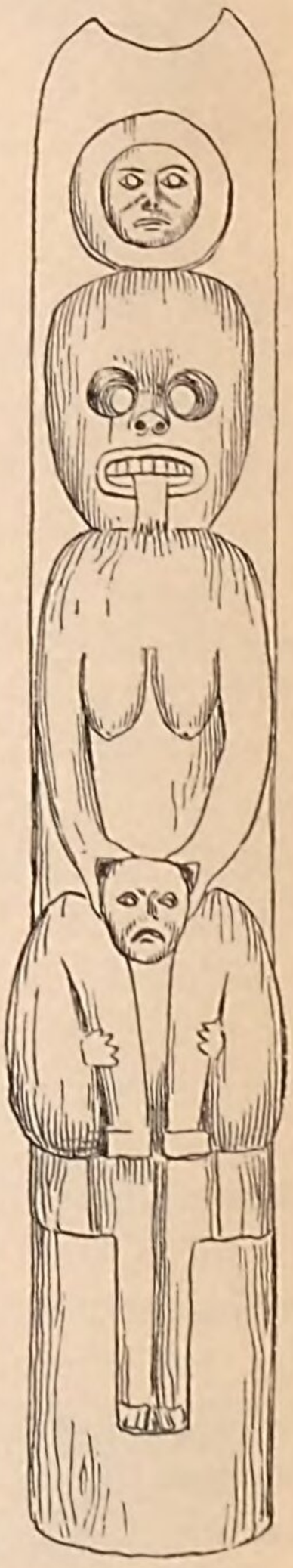


Fig. 14.

HOUSE POST IN XUMTA′SPĒ REPRESENTING THE TS'Ō′NOQOA.

From a sketch by the author.

Another being which figures largely in the clan legends of the Kwakiutl is the Ts'ō′noqoa, a wild woman who resides in the woods. She is represented as having enormous breasts and as carrying a basket, into which she puts children whom she steals in order to eat them. Her eyes are hollow and shine with a wild luster. She is asleep most of the time. Her mouth is pushed forward, as she is, when awake, constantly uttering her cry, "ū, hū, ū, ū." This figure belongs to a great many clan legends, and is often represented on house posts or on masks (figs. 13, 14).

The following tradition describes this spirit quite fully:

The first of the L'ā′sq'ēnôx lived at XānX. On the one side of the river lived the clan Wī′sEnts'a. One day the children went across the river to play there. They made a house of fir branches and played in it. One of the boys went out of the house and he discovered a giantess who was approaching the house. He told his friends, who came running out of the house. The giantess was chewing gum which was as red as blood. The children wanted to have some of the gum. Then she called them and gave them some. They asked her: "Where do you get your gum?" "Come," she replied,

"I will point it out to you." Then the children crept into the basket which she carried on her back and she went into the woods. She was Aō'xLaax (or Ts'ō'noqoa). She carried them far into the woods. Then she put the gum on their eyes and carried them to her house. She was a cannibal. Among the children were two sons of the chief of the Wī'sEnts'a; LŌ'pEk·'axstElîL[1] was the name of the chief. His wife was LE'wag·ilayuqoa. Then she cried, and sometimes she would blow her nose and throw the mucus on the ground. Suddenly she discovered a little boy lying on his back on the floor. He had originated from the mucus of her nose. She took the boy up and carried him into the house. He grew very quickly; after four days he was quite strong. Then he asked for a bow and two arrows. Now he was called LE'ndEqoayats'EwaL. When he had received his bow and arrows, LE'wag·ilayuqoa asked him not to go across the river, but he did so against her request. He followed the trail which he found on the other side. He came to a house and entered. There he saw children sitting on the floor, and a woman named L'ō'pEk·'axstElîL, who was rooted to the floor. The latter spoke: "Don't stay long, Chief! She is gone after water; if she should come back, she will kill you." Then he went out and followed the trail. All of a sudden he saw the Ts'ō'noqoa coming. She carried a bucket in each hand. The little boy climbed a tree, in order to hide in its branches. The Ts'ō'noqoa saw his image in the water and made love to him. She looked up and discovered him. Then she called him to come down. Now he came down to her and that woman asked him: "How does it happen that you look so pretty?" The boy said: "I put my head between two stones." She replied: "Then I will take two stones too." He sent her to fetch two stones and soon she came back carrying them. She put them down. The boy said: "Now lie down on your back." Then the boy put the one stone under her head and told her to shut her eyes. Then he took the other stone and dropped it as hard as he could on her head. Her head was smashed and her brains were scattered. She was dead. The boy broke her bones with the stones and threw them into the water. Then he went into her house. As soon as he had entered, the woman who was rooted to the floor said: "Now do not stay long. I know that you have tried to kill the Ts'ō'noqoa. It is the fourth time that somebody tried to kill her. She never dies; she has nearly come to life. There in that covered hemlock branch (knothole?) is her life. Go there, and as soon as you see her enter shoot her life. Then she will be dead." She had hardly finished speaking when the Ts'ō'noqoa came in, singing as she walked:

I have the magical treasure,
I have the supernatural power,
I can return to life.

That was her song. Then the boy shot at her life. She fell dead to the floor. Then the boy took her and threw her into the hole in which she

[1]This does not seem quite clear. The name means: "Rooted to the floor," and appears farther on as that of a woman living in the Ts'ō'noqoa's house.

was going to roast the children. He washed their eyes with urine and took them home to XanX. They were all alive again. Then LE'ndE-qoayats'EwaL went back to heaven.

Of less frequent occurrence is the spirit of th esea, Q'ō'mōqoa, the protector of the seals, who kills hunters. There are a number of tales relating how he took the ancestor of a tribe to the bottom of the sea and gave him his crest. I will give here a legend of the clan G·ēxsEm, of the La'Lasiqoala, which shows how they came into the possession of the Q'ō'mōqoa carving: Ō''meaL, the Raven, the ancestor of the clan G·ē'xsEm, had a daughter named Hā'taqa. One day the crow, who was Ō''meaL's sister, and Hā'taqa went down to the beach to gather sea urchins. Soon they had filled their baskets. The crow carried them into the woods, broke the shells, and prepared them. Then she offered some to Hā'taqa, who refused them, for fear of her father. The crow, however, promised that he would not tell on her, and prompted Hā'taqa to eat of the sea urchins. She had hardly begun to eat when the crow jumped upon a log of driftwood, shouting, "Qāx, qāx, qāx, qāx! Hā'taqa is stealing sea urchins." Hā'taqa asked her, "Please stop, and I will give you my blanket." The crow, however, did not cease shouting, although Hā'taqa offered her her bracelets of abalone shells. But already Ō''meaL had heard what the crow said. He was enraged, and ordered his tribe to load their canoes and to extinguish the fires. Then he and his whole tribe left Hā'taqa all alone in the deserted village. Hā'taqa's grandmother, however, had pity upon the girl, and before she left she had hidden some fire in a shell. A dog and a bitch were the only living beings that were left in the village besides Hā'taqa. As soon as the canoes were out of sight, the dog, by dint of scratching and howling, attracted her attention to the shell. She found the glowing embers and started a fire. She built a hut of cedar twigs, in which she lived with her dogs. The following morning she sent them into the woods and ordered them to fetch withes. They obeyed, and Hā'taqa made four fish baskets. At low water she placed them on the beach, and at the next tide she found them full of fish. But on looking more closely she discovered a man in one of them, Aik·a'a'yōlisāna, the son of Q'ō'mōqoa. He came from out of the basket, carrying a small box. He said to her, "Carry this small box to your house. I came to marry you." Although the box was small, Hā'taqa was unable to lift it, and he had to carry it himself. When he arrived in front of the house, he opened it, and, behold! a whale was in it. Aik·a'a'yōlisāna built a large house and married Hā'taqa. Then he invited all the tribes and distributed the whale meat. His descendants use his mask (fig. 15), and when it is shown, sing as follows:

It is a tale which came down to us from the beginning of the world.
You came up, bringing the house of Q'ō'mōqoa, you "Growing rich,"
"Wealth coming ashore," "Covered with wealth," "Mountain of property."
"Really great Mountain." It is a tale which came down to us from the beginning of the world.[1]

[1] See Appendix, page 673.

Whatever the tradition of the clan may be, the figures with which house and implements are ornamented refer to this legend. I am not familiar with all the legends, which often are quite trivial, merely stating that the ancestor met such and such a being. I give here a number of figures, which will illustrate the connection between the clan legend and the ornamentation of various objects. Fig. 16 shows the house front of the clan G·ē′xsEm of the La′Lasiqoala. It represents the thunder bird squatting over the door, and the sun at each side. While the former belongs to the G·ē′xsEm, the sun was obtained from the clan Q'ō′mk·utîs of the Goasi′la. Fig. 17 shows the house front of the clan G·ī′g·îlqam of the same tribe. The bears on each side of the door are the crest of this clan, which was obtained by their ancestor

Fig. 15.

MASK REPRESENTING AIK·A'A′YŌLISĀNA.

The face is painted red and black; the hat is of muslin, with a painting on the front representing the sea monster ts'ē′qîc, one on the back representing a starfish, and another the feather of a thunder bird. The revolving carved figure on top represents a cod. Scale of front view, $\frac{1}{8}$

IV A, No. 6889, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by F. Boas.

Kuē′xag·ila, the son of Hā′taqa. (See p. 374.) Around the door is the crest of the mother of the house owner, who belonged to the Goasi′la tribe. It represents the moon, G·ā′loyaqamē (=the very first one), and inside the ancestor of the clan, LE′lnakulag·ilak·as'ō, who was taken up to the moon by G·ā′loyaqamē. The feet of this figure are drawn like frog's feet, but I did not learn any particular reason for this fact. Fig. 18 shows the house front of the clan G·ī′g·îlqam of the Nimkish. It represents the

thunder bird lifting a whale, which is its food, from out of the water. According to the clan tradition, the G·ī′g·îlqam are the descendants of the thunder bird. This house front was excellently painted, but has been whitewashed, owing to the misplaced zeal of a missionary. The beak was carved and fastened to the house front. The owner had one of his coppers tied to the pole on top of the house. In fig. 20 is shown a house post which represents a sea lion. I was not able to learn to what clan it belongs. It is found in a house at Xumta′spē with the post shown in fig. 36, p. 414. The owner belongs to the clan G·ē′xsEm, of the Naqô′mg·ilisala. The carving is said to have come from Yā′qaL'nala (Hope Island), which is the territory of the La′Lasiqoala. When the Naqô′mg·ilisala moved to the present village of Newettee they brought it with them. Fig. 19, which represents a statue in a house at Xumta′spē, has a curious

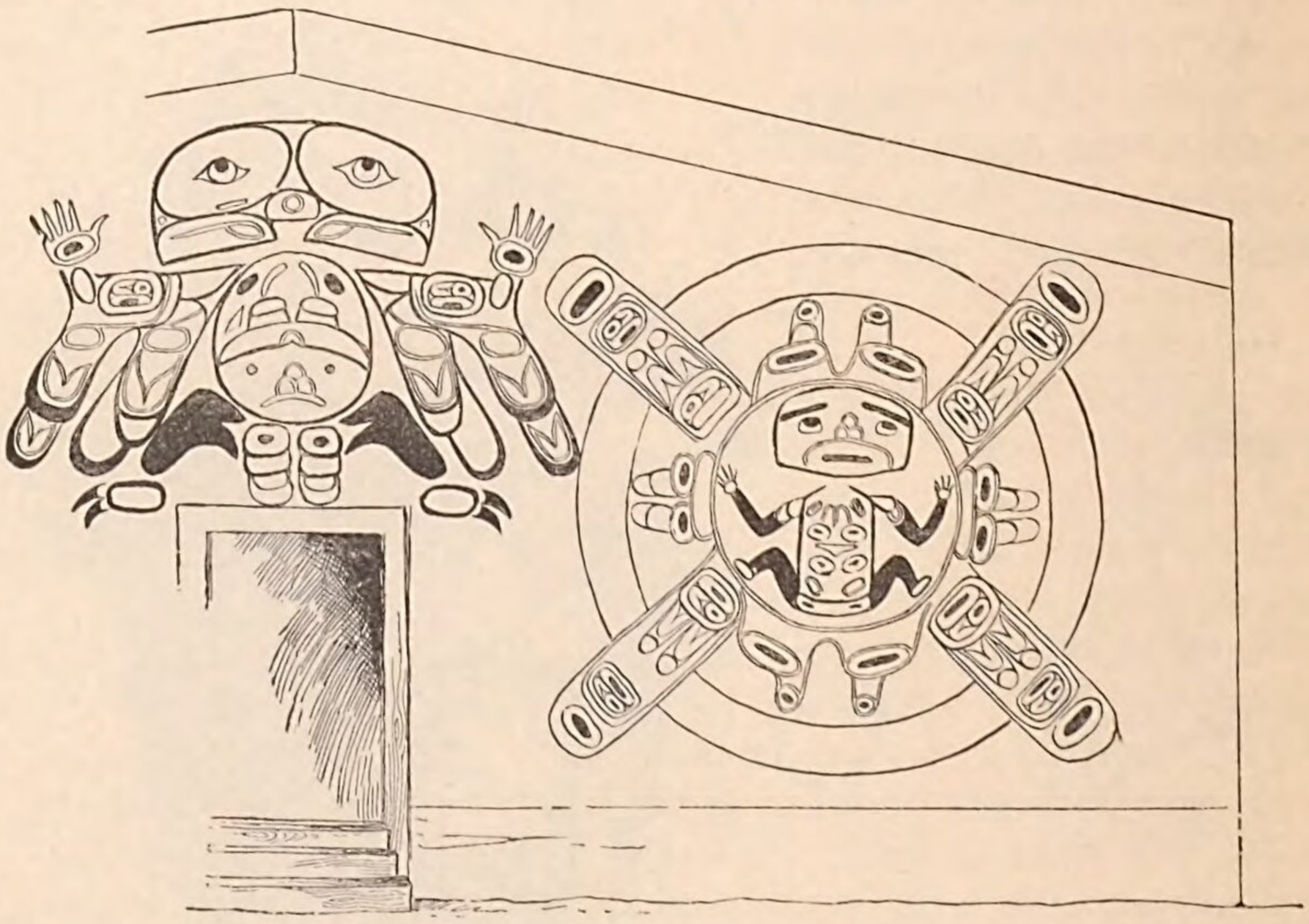


Fig. 16.

HOUSE FRONT OF THE CLAN G·Ē′XSEM, LA′LASIQOALA.

From a sketch by the author.

explanation. It belongs to the subdivision Mē′Emaqâaē (Mē′Emaqaua in the Naqô′mg·ilisala dialect) of the Naqô′mg·ilisala. These are the descendants of Lē′laxa (=coming often from above) the son of Q'ē′q'a-qaualîs, whose legend will be found below (p. 416). Their original home is the island G·ig·ē′LEm, one of the small islands southeast of Hope Island. LElā′k·En was a later chief of the clan. His daughter was Laō′noqumēqa. They moved to the island Q'oā′sqEmlîs and built a village. The chief made a statue like the one represented here. It is hollow behind and its mouth is open. In the potlatch the chief stands behind the mouth of the statue and speaks through it, thus indicating that it is his ancestor who is speaking. LElā′k·En had one dish representing a wolf, another one representing a man, and a third one in the

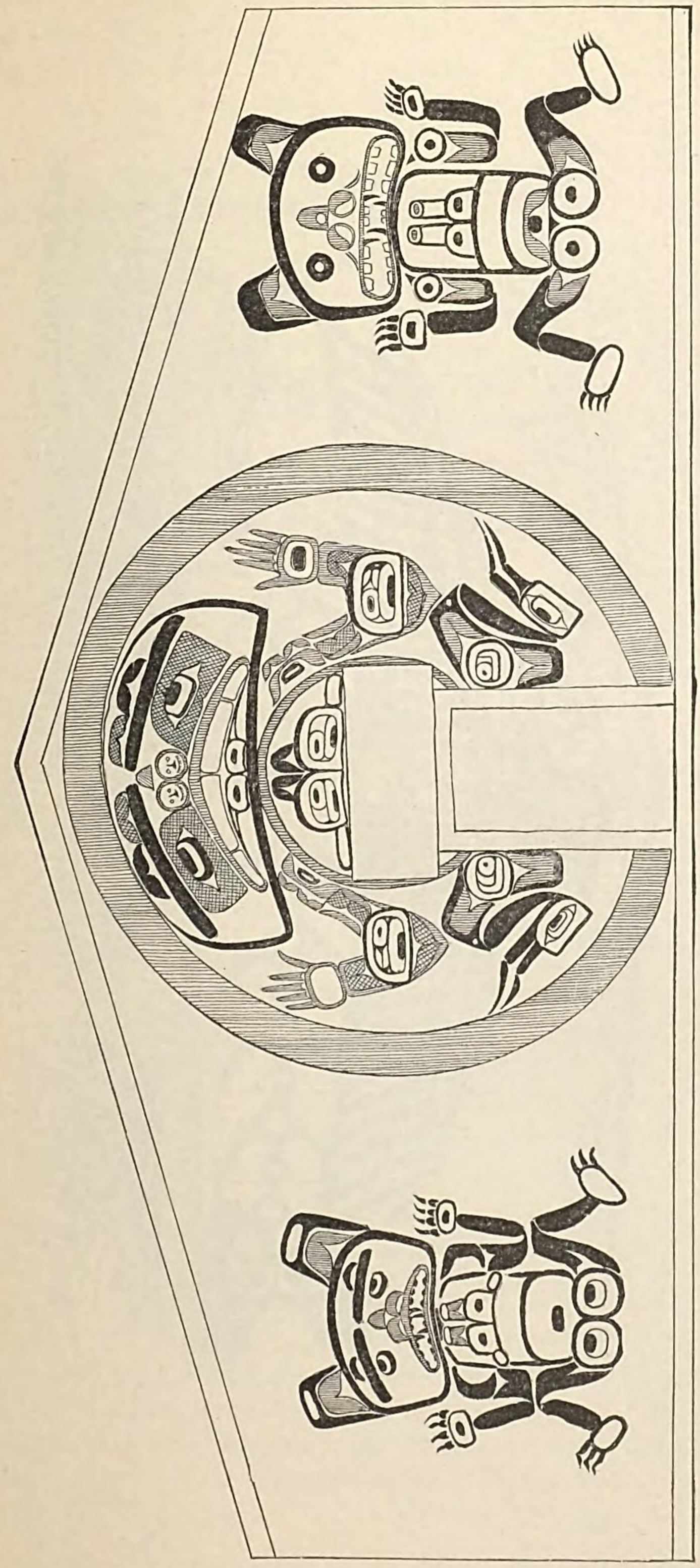


Fig. 17.

HOUSE FRONT OF THE CLAN G·Ī'G·ÎLQAM, LA'LASIQOALA.

From a sketch by the author.

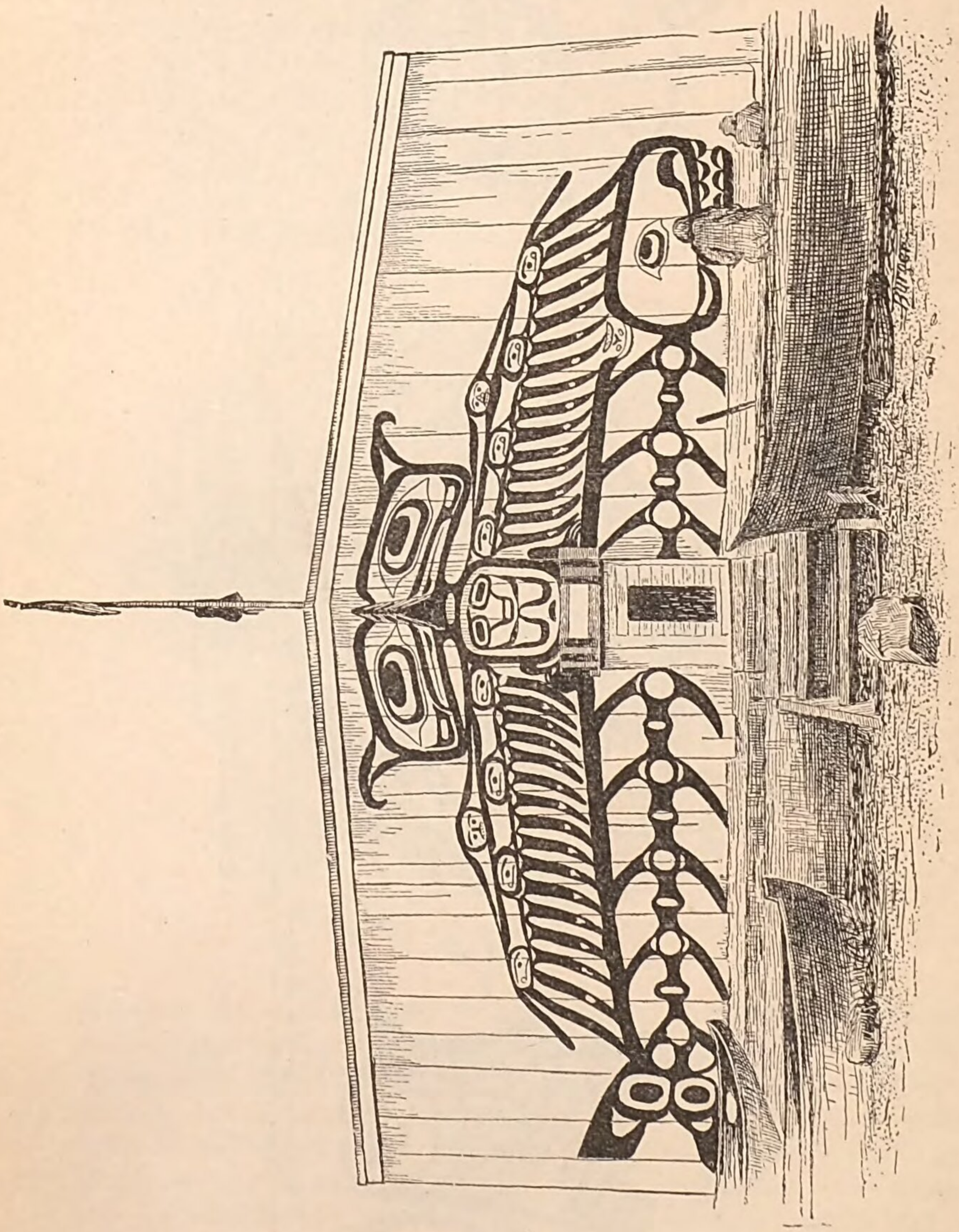
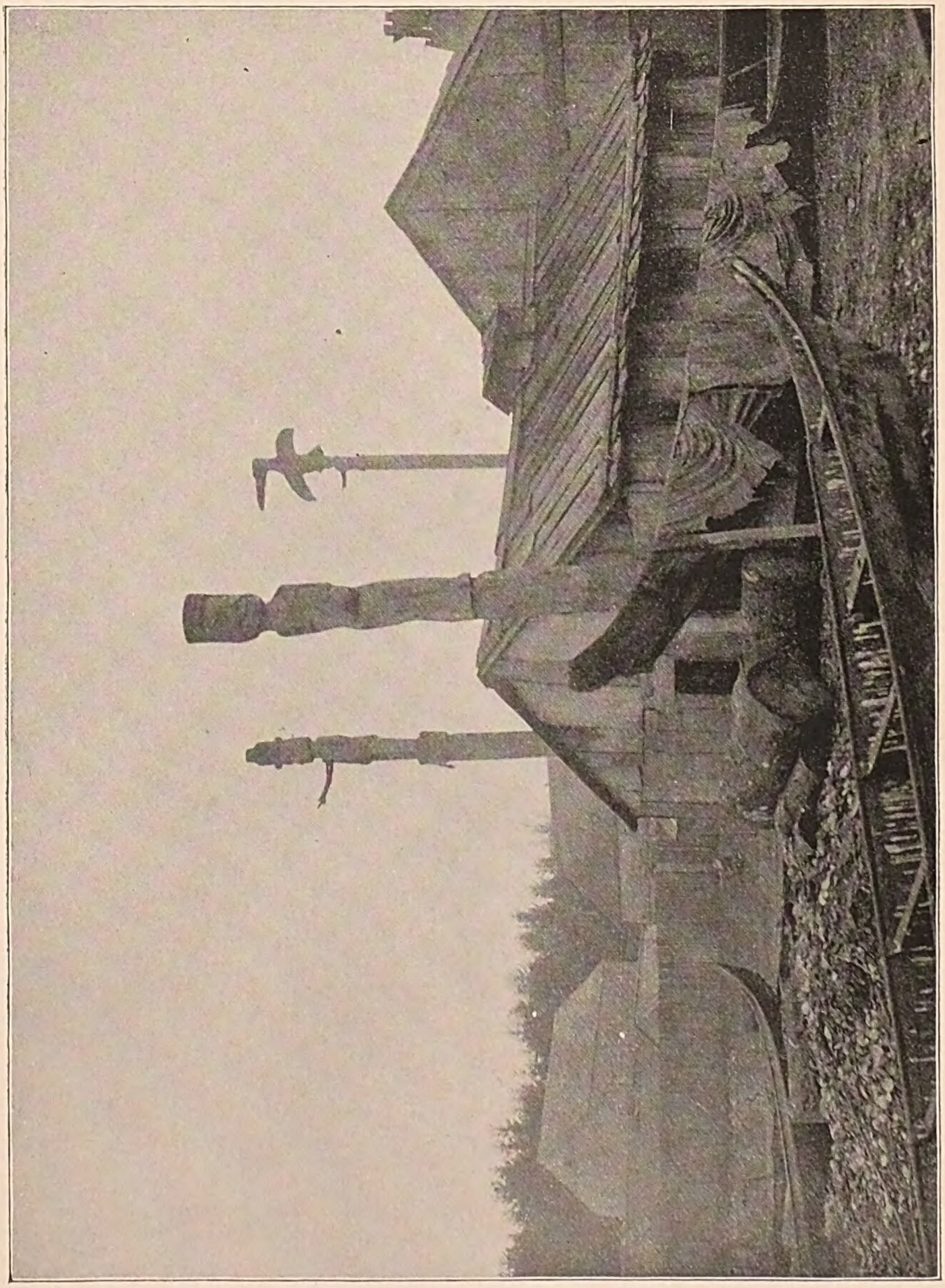


Fig. 18.

HOUSE FRONT OF THE CLAN G'Ī'G'ÎLQAM, NIMKISH.

From a photograph.



COLUMNS IN FORT RUPERT.
From a photograph.

shape of a bear. As the man who made the present statue was too poor to have all these carvings made, he had them carved on the statue instead.

Figure 21 represents a totem pole, which was standing until a few years ago in front of a house in Xumta′spē (Newettee). The crest belongs to the subdivision G̱·’ēk·’ō′tē of the clan G·ī′g·îlqam. According to the legend, these people are the descendants of G̱·’ōtē, the son of K·ēpusalaōqoa, the youngest daughter of Kuē′xag·ila, the son of Hātaqa, the daughter of Ō″meaL. (See p. 374.) They have the Ts’ō′noqoa, a man split in two, another man, wolf, beaver, and the sea monster ts’ē′qic for dishes. A man named NE′mqEmalîs married a daughter of the G̱·’ēg·’ō′tē chief, and he had all these dishes made. Later on, a man named Qoayō′LElas married NE′mqEmalîs’s cousin. Then he was told to unite the dishes and to carve a totem pole. He did so. The second figure from below is placed upside down because the dish was in the back of the man, while all the others were in the bellies of the carvings. This history may also explain the fact that all the figures are separated on this column, while in most other totem poles they overlap, one holding the other or one standing on the other.

From the same clan was obtained the crane surmounting the speaker on the post farthest to the right on Plate 16.

The three posts in figs. 22 and 23 are the front and rear posts of the house Qoā′qoak·imlilas of the clan G·ē′xsEm of the Naqô′mg·ilisala. The posts

Fig. 19.

STATUE FROM HOUSE IN XUMTA′SPE.

From a sketch by the author.

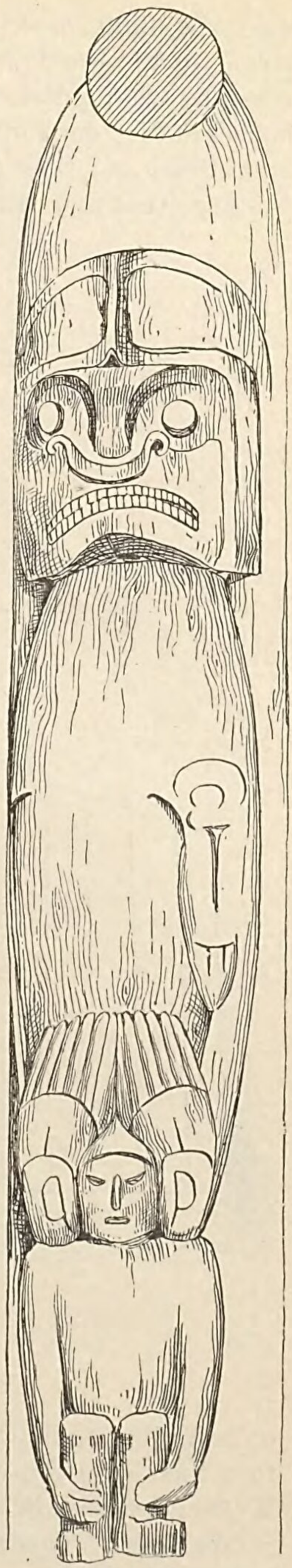


Fig. 20.

HOUSE POST REPRESENTING A SEA LION.

From a sketch by the author,

were on exhibition at the World's Columbian Exposition and were transferred to the Field Columbian Museum. The name of the house was given by Q'ā'nig·ilakᵘ, the great transformer, who, it is said, made two houses of dirt, one for himself, one for his brother NEmō'gwîs. He blew upon them and they grew large. He called the first Qoā'qoak·imlilas (so large that one can not look from one corner across to the other), the

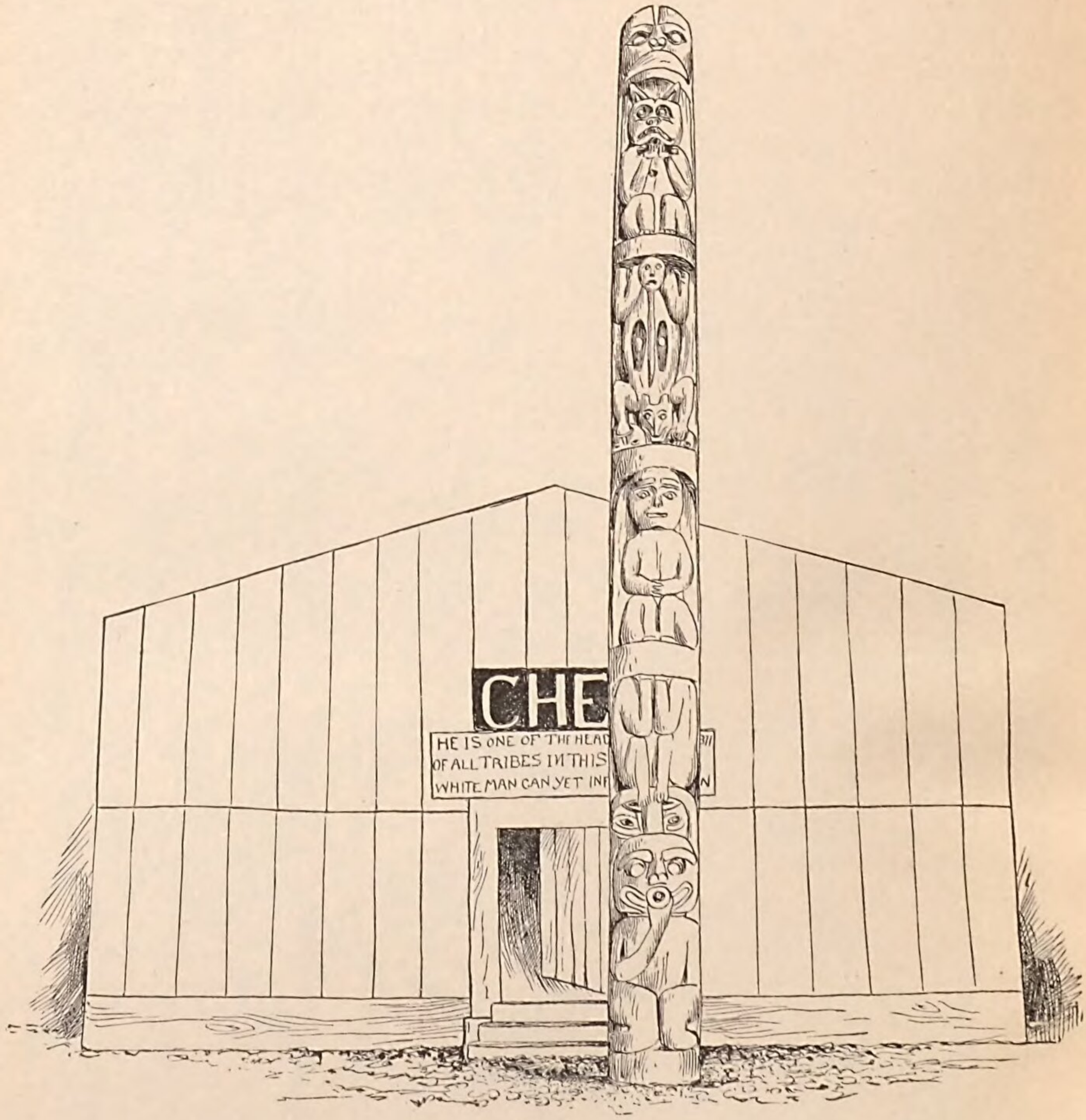
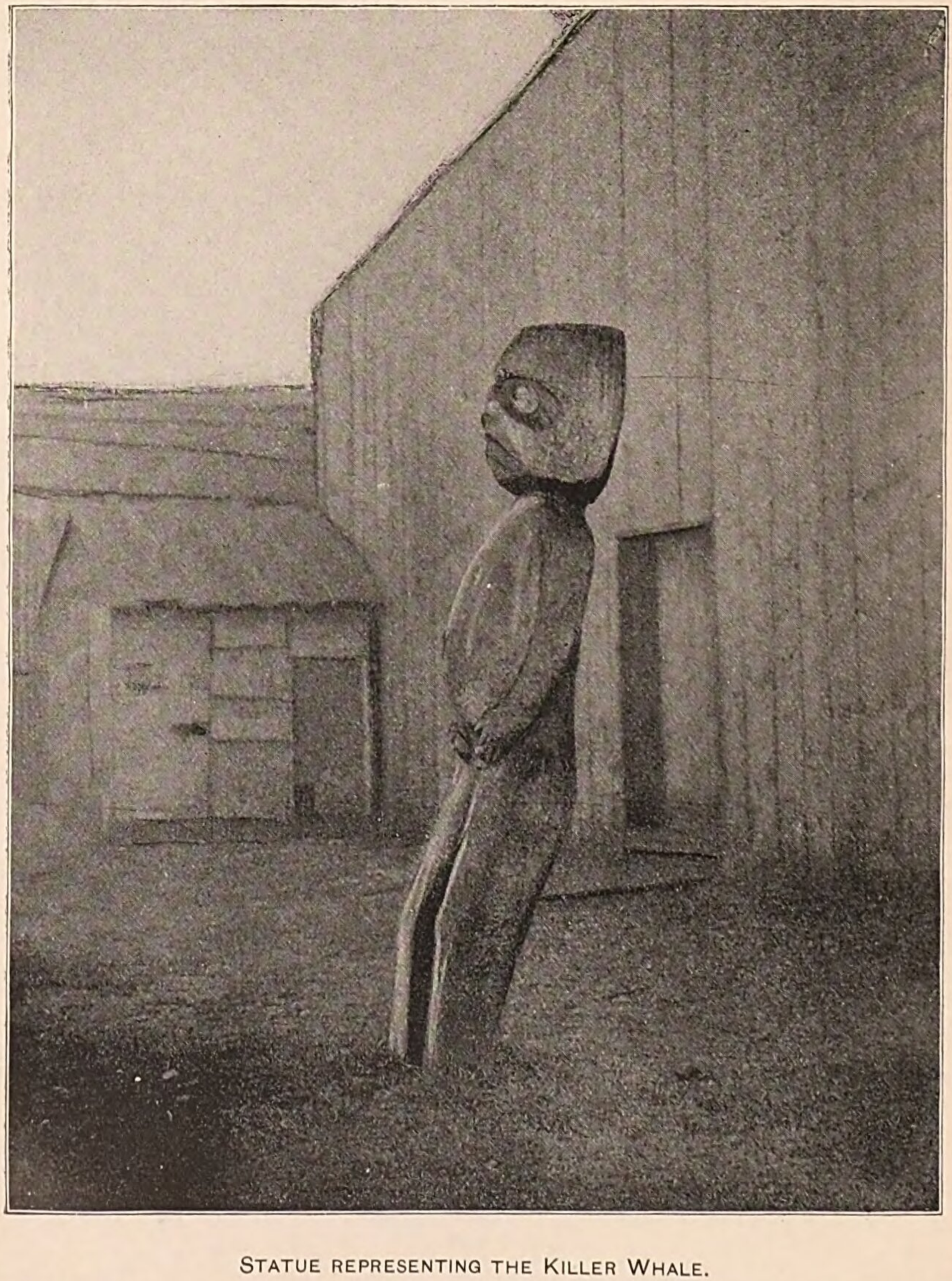


Fig. 21.

HERALDIC COLUMN FROM XUMTA'SPĒ.

From a sketch by the author.

other Yuibā'lag·ilîs (the wind blowing through it all the time). He carved four men of cedar wood, and called them T'ōxtowā'lîs, QāLqap'ālîs, K·'ētoqâlîs, and Bēbekumlisī'la. He made them alive and they lived in his house. Three of these men are represented on the posts. There was another post, on which the fourth one was carved, but it was so rotten that the owner of the house removed it. Post No. 1 (fig. 22) represents on top QāLqap'ālîs, below a Ts'ō'noqoa, which the owner

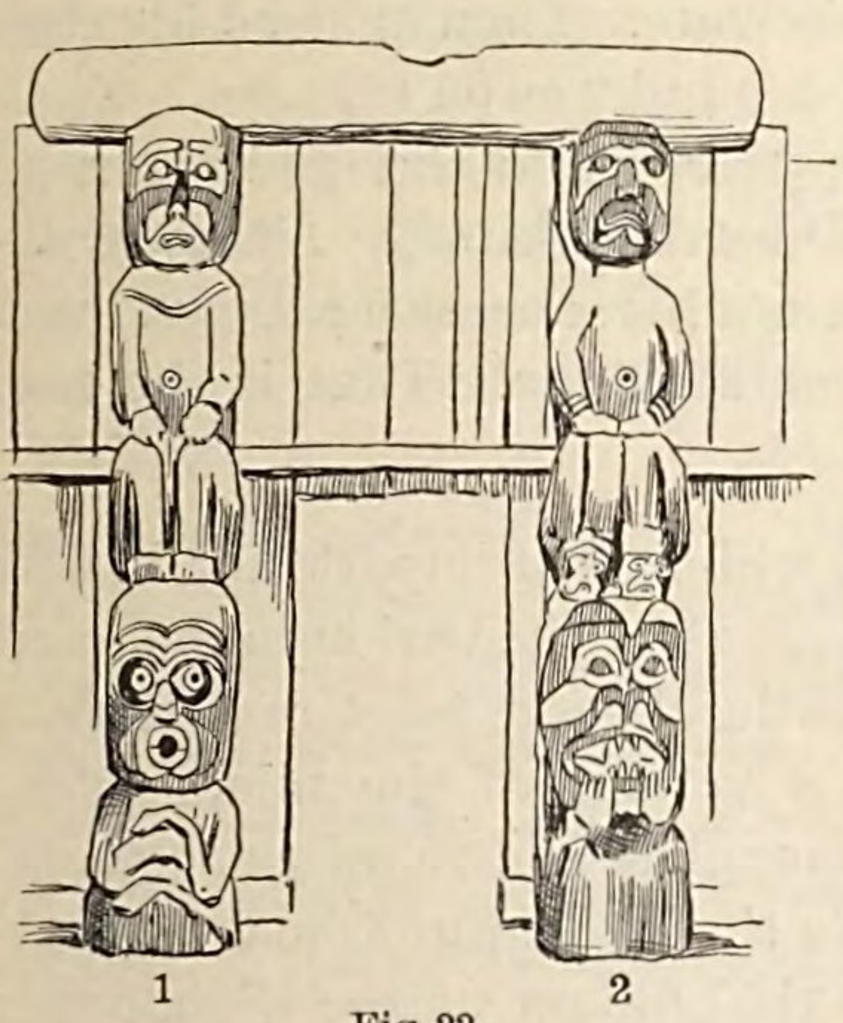


STATUE REPRESENTING THE KILLER WHALE.

Fort Rupert.

From a photograph.

had obtained from the G·ī′g·îlqam of the La′Lasiqoala, who have inherited it from Kuē′xag·ila. Post No. 2, of the same figure, shows K·’ētoqâ′lîs on top. The heads underneath represent two slaves which were sold for the post (ō’mā′yū), its price. The figure underneath is a bear (nān), which belongs to the clan La′lāuiLEla of the same tribe. Figure 23 shows the only preserved rear post in the same house. On top the figure of of Bēbekumlisī′la is seen. The bear underneath was obtained from the clan Kwā′kok·uL of the Nā′q’oaqtôq. The broken copper which it holds is the price paid for the post.



1 2

Fig. 22.

POSTS IN THE HOUSE OF THE CLAN G·Ē′XSEM, NAQÔ′MG·ILISALA.

From a sketch.

Plate 17 shows a wood carving which stands on the street of Fort Rupert. It represents the killer whale, a crest of the clan Lā′alaxsEnt’aiō.

A very characteristic tradition is that of the clan NūnEmasEqâlîs of the Lau′itsîs:

In the beginning NōmasE′nxēlîs lived at Â′g·iwa’laa, in front of Tsā′xis. He had a house there. His son was L’ā′qoag·īlaqEmaē. NōmasE′nxēlîs came up with his copper. It is said that in the beginning he lay on it with his knees drawn up, and therefore his child was called L’ā′qoag·īlaqEmaē. Then Yix·ā′qEmaē, NōmasE′nxelîs’s uncle, asked him to get a wife for him. Yix·ā′qEmaē lived at LîXsī′waē. He induced NōmasE′nxēlîs to come there and live with him. His son was to marry the daughter of Sâ′g·iyē. Yix·ā′qEmaē desired to have Sâ′g·iyē’s house and carvings, therefore he wanted to marry his daughter. A killer whale was the painting of the house front. Gulls were sitting on its roof. Various kinds of carvings were in the house. Then NōmasE′nxēlîs went out of the canoe to speak. He took his staff (fig. 24); therefore his staff has a hand on top of it, because he carried there on his hands the chief’s daughters of all the tribes. Then he got the daughter of Sâ′g·iyē. Only NōmasE′nxēlîs and Yix·ā′qEmaē lived in that house. Now, when it was time to go to Ts’ā′watē,[1] they made themselves ready. NōmasE′nxēlîs wanted to give a feast from the sale of his copper. They paddled and stopped at L’ā′qoaxstElîs. There he wanted to take a stone and put it into his house. They tried to take the stone into the canoe when they were

Fig. 23.

POST IN HOUSE OF THE CLAN G·Ē′XSEM, NAQÔ′MG·ILISALA.

From a sketch.

[1] Namely, to fish for oulachon.

going to Ts'ā'watē. They were not strong enough to take it. Then he put his copper under the stone. Therefore the stone received the name "copper under it." Then he said he had received the stone as price for his copper. Now they arrived at Ts'ā'wate. Then he used his staff with a copper on top. A hand was on top also. Then he gave a feast to many tribes, and changed his name and took the name Kuax·îlanō'kumē. L'ā'qoag·ilaqEmaē was now the name of his successor; Ts'âmâ was the name of another child of his. That is the end. (Appendix, p. 673.)

Fig. 24.

SPEAKER'S STAFF.

Two hollow pieces of cedar, filled with pebbles. Length, 62 inches.

IV A, No. 1127, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

There is one legend which is of importance in this connection, because the rank of the various names and the laws governing potlatch and feast are derived from it. I give here a version of the tale, which, however, is not quite complete and requires some additional remarks. It is the legend of Ō'maxt'ā'laLē, the clan legend of the G·ī'g·îlqam of the Q'ō'moyuē:

A bird was sitting on the beach at TE'ng·is. He took off his mask, and then his name was NEmō'gwîs. He became a man. Then he moved to K·'ā'qa. He had a son whom he named Ō'maxt'ā'laLē. The child grew up fast; he became a real man. He was very strong. He walked with his uncle LŌ'La'watsa on the beach of Tsā'xis and clubbed seals. They were walking back and fro clubbing seals. Then NEmō'gwîs spoke to his younger brother LŌ'La'watsa: "Friend, don't let us go on in this manner. Let us try to arrange that our son may go out to sea." He desired to have more game than the sea otters and seals which they were able to club on the beach of Tsā'xis. Therefore they wanted to go to the islands. Then NEmō'gwîs and his younger brother burnt the inside of a cedar and burnt its ends, thus making a canoe. They finished it. Then they launched the canoe that they had made for the child. They tried the canoe that the child was to use when going to Deer Island. O'maxt'ā'laLē was annoyed, and when he came back, his canoe was full of sea otters and seals. He kept on going out every day and caught many sea otters and seals. Then he said: "Let us try to discover how many tribes there are. Let someone go and call them." Then NEmō'gwîs's younger brother LŌ'La'watsa paddled. He was going to La'lā'tē to call Hai'alik·awaē. Then he arrived at Qag·'axstE'ls and called Mā'tag·i'la. He arrived at G·'ōtaqa'la and called

L'ā'xLaqoaXLa the Lau'itsis, who, it is said, was a man. He arrived at Sē'lats'ē and called Mā'leleqala. He moved on and came to Lā'L'aq'uxLa. There he called Ts'E'nXq'aiō. He arrived at Tā'yaxqōL and called Lā'laxsEnt'aiō. Then he went to the town at Q'ō'quē'taxsta'yō and called Wā'xap'alasō. Then he went up the bay to Â'g·iwa'laa and called Nū'mas. Then he went up the Sound to LîXsī'waē and called Sâ'g·iyē. He came to XutsEtsâ'lis and called YîXā'qEmaē. Then he went to the right side of the river of LîXsī'waē and called SE'nLaē. Then he paddled to Ō's'eq and called Hē'ilik·inakula; then to Nā'laxLala near the mouth of Ts'ā'watē and called Yā'xLEn.

Meanwhile the child of Nemō'gwîs was clubbing and harpooning seals for his father's feast. His house was already full of sea otter furs, which were used for blankets by the people of old. They were sewed together. Now the tribes gathered. He met his guests and distributed seals among them. He gave them their seats and gave his gifts to the chiefs. Nemō'gwîs kept for them the belly part. He gave the hind legs to the chiefs of another tribe. He gave the flippers to the second-class chiefs, and the bodies to the common people. He gave each clan its place. He gave the bellies to the highest chief. He bit off these parts and had messengers to pass them on to his guests. It is said he bit off whatever he gave to his guests. Then he was called Wālas Nemō'gwîs and he called his successor Ō'maxt'ā'ḷaLē. Then he gave out the blankets to all the clans, giving the law for later generations. Some of the guests stayed with him and became his tribe.

Now O'maxt'ā'laLē said to his father: "I shall go a little farther this time. Do not expect me; but first I will go bathing." Then Ō'maxt'ā'laLē went in the morning. After he had bathed he heard the sound of adzes. He made up his mind to look where the sound came from, because the sound was near when he first heard it. But it moved away as he followed it and Ō'maxt'ā'laLē came to a pond. He bathed again and the sound came still nearer. He followed the sound, which was going before him. He came to another pond and bathed again. Then the sound of adzes came still nearer. He followed it as it went before him. Now he found still another pond. He bathed, and the sound came still nearer. He went toward it and now he saw a canoe. A man was sitting in the canoe working on it with his adze. In the bow of the canoe lay a harpoon shaft and two paddles. Ō'maxt'ā'laLē stood behind the man. He was the grouse. Then Ō'maxt'ā'laLē spoke: "Thank you, that I have found what you are working on." The grouse looked at him and disappeared. Thus Ō'maxt'ā'laLē found the canoe, the harpoon shaft, and the paddle.

Then he put his nettle line into his canoe. He and his uncle L'ō'L'awatsa went out. He went across the Sound trying to reach Noomas Island. Then he saw a canoe coming from YaaiXugiwanō. They met at Noomas Island, and held the sides of each other's canoe.

"Good day, brother," said O'maxt'ā'laLē to Qā'watiliqala, "I do not come without purpose. My father sent me, because you are the only one whose daughter I will marry." Qā'watiliqala replied: "Paddle behind me and follow me to my house." Ō'maxt'ā'laLē said: "I will give you my harpoon line, friend, my nettle line, my harpoon shaft, and my mat." Qā'watiliqala then gave his leather line to his brother and they exchanged their canoes and everything in the canoes that they used. Then Ō'maxt'ā'laLē said: "Let us go back. That smoke belongs to our house." "No," replied Qā'watiliqala, "Let us go on to my house. You said you wanted to be engaged to my daughter." Then the two paddled side by side together. They reached the lower part of the river at Gua'ē. "Take care, brother, when we enter my house. When we enter my house, follow close on my heels," said Qā'watiliqala. He told his brother that the door of his house was dangerous. They walked up to the door together. The door had the shape of a raven. It opened and they jumped in and the raven snapped at him. All the images in Qā'watiliqala's house were alive, the posts were alive, and the sī'siuL beams. Then Ō'maxt'ā'laLē married Wilx·stasīlayuqoa, the daughter of Qā'watiliqala. The house and the images and all kinds of food were given him in marriage, and blankets of lynx, marmot, wolverine, mink, and dressed elk skins. Then his father-in law and his tribe brought him home. They brought everything, also the house. He built a house at K·'ā'qa. That is why the place is called K·'ā'qa, because logs were placed all around for the foundation of the house which he had obtained in marriage. Then Omaxt'ā'laLē invited all the tribes with what he had obtained in marriage from his wife. (See Appendix p. 675.)

In the feast referred to in the preceding legend NEmō'gwîs is said to have given each of his guests his seat, which their descendants have retained. He also arranged how the parts of the seal with which he fed his guests were to be distributed. The chest was given to the head chief, the next in rank received the hind flippers, and the young men of the nobility the fore flippers. He also instituted at the feast the laws according to which blankets are given away and returned later on.

This legend is so important that I will give another version which I obtained at Fort Rupert:

NEmō'gwîs lived in a village at Wēkawāyaas. He was the ancestor of the G·ī'g·îlqam of the Q'ō'mōyuē. He wore the sun mask on his face. He had a slave named ŦŌ'ŦatsA and had a boy. This son was growing up quickly and he came to be a man. Now NEmō'gwîs took a walk and saw a village at Tā'yaguL. There he saw a man who wore a bird mask sitting on the ground. The mask had a small hooked nose. Then NEmō'gwîs spoke to him: "O brother! thank you for meeting me here. Who are you?" The other one replied, "I am Ts'E'nXqaiō, brother." Then NEmō'gwîs asked Ts'E'nXqaiō: "Who is living in the house beyond?" Ts'E'nXqaio replied: "I do not know him." NEmō'gwîs walked on to the east end of Tā'yaguL, where the other house was

standing. He discovered an old man sitting outside the house. He wore a bird mask. NEmō′gwîs spoke: "O, brother! thank you for meeting me here. Who are you?" The old man replied: "I am Lā′laXsEnt'aiō." Then NEmō′gwîs asked him: "Who is living in the house at the river?" Lā′laXsEnt'aiō replied: "I do not know him." Then NEmō′gwîs walked on and arrived at Tsā′xis. There he beheld a man sitting on the summer seat outside the house, and NEmō′gwîs spoke to him and said: "O, brother! thank you for meeting me here. Who are you?" The man replied at once: "I am Kuax·ilanō′kumē and my tribe are the G·ī′g·îlqam." And he asked NEmō′gwîs: "Who are you, brother? Where is your village?" NEmō′gwîs replied: "I am NEmō′gwîs. My younger brother is Bō′nakwala. We and my son, we three, live in my village, Wēkawāyaas." Then spoke Kuax·ilanō′kumē: "Thank you, brother, for meeting me here." And NEmō′gwîs went home to Wēkawāyaas. When he arrived there, he told his younger brother and his son what he had seen.

He spoke to his son: "O, child, see the sea otters, the seals, and the sea lions on Shell Island." Then his son wanted to go there. Bō′nakwala and ʇo′ʇatsa rolled a drift log into the water. The son of NEmō′gwîs was to use it in place of a canoe. They brought it to the beach in front of NEmō′gwîs's house and showed it to the young man. He sat on top of it and went to the island in order to club sea otters and seals. When he arrived at the island he began clubbing the sea otters and seals. He finished, and put them on his drift log. Then he went home. Bō′nakwala and ʇo′ʇatsa met him on the beach and they unloaded the log. NEmō′gwîs spoke: "O, child, now your name is Ō'maxt'ā′laLē on account of your game." He invited Ts'E′nXqaio and Lā′laXsEnt'aiō and Kuax·ilanō′kumē and Mā′tag·ila. The four men came to the house and sat down. Then Bō′nakwala put stones into the fire and singed the seal. When he had done so, he cut it up. He filled the kettle with water and then threw the red-hot stones into the water until it began to boil. Then he put the pieces of seal meat into the boiling water and added more red-hot stones. After a short while the seal was done. Bō′nakwala took the meat out of the water, and NEmō′gwîs took the breast piece first. He bit it and gave it to Ts'E′nXqaiō, saying: "You shall always be the first one to receive his share, and you shall always have the breast piece." Next he took the hind leg and gave it to Kuax·ilanō′kumē, saying: "You shall always have this piece, and it shall be given to you next to Ts'E′nXqaiō." Then he took up the foreleg of the seal, bit it, and gave it to Mā′tag·ila, saying: "You shall always have this piece." Then he gave a whole seal to Ts'EnXqaiō, Kuax·ilanō′kumē, and Mā′tag·ila, and told them the name of his son. He said: "I invited you to show you my son. This is O'maxt'ā′laLē." Bō′nakwala now addressed the guests. Therefore the people nowadays make speeches in their feasts, because NEmō′gwîs began making speeches and distributing blankets and canoes among all the tribes.

After the feast they all left the house. Bō'nakwala looked for a good log of cedar wood. He found one and brought it to the beach in front of NEmō'guîs's house. When the tide had fallen, he burnt its ends and the middle, thus hollowing it out. It was to be the canoe of Ō'maxt'ā'-laLē. As soon as it was completed, he gave it to O'maxt'ā'laLē. The latter went at once to Shell Island and clubbed sea otters. He did not club any hair seals. When he came home, Bō'nakwala and ʇo'ʇatsa skinned the sea otters. Then Bō'nakwala spoke: "O, child! Ō'maxt'-ā'laLē! I will go now. Do not feel uneasy if I should stay away long." O'maxt'ā'laLe replied: "Go on, but take good care of yourself." His uncle Bō'nakwala went and came to Gā'yux. At night he bathed in water and rubbed his body with hemlock branches. On the following morning he went on and heard the sound of an adze close to where he was. He went up to the sound. Then it stopped, and reappeared a long ways off. Then Bō'nakwala went again, and bathed in the water and rubbed his body with hemlock branches. He went on and again he heard the sound of an adze near by. He went to see what it was, and again the sound stopped and reappeared a long ways off. He went at once to the water and bathed again and rubbed his body with hemlock branches. He went on and heard again the sound of an adze near by. When he went up to the sound it stopped, and reappeared a long ways off. Again he bathed and rubbed his body with hemlock branches. When he had finished, he went on and suddenly he beheld a pretty hunting canoe lying on the ground. He went up to it and pushed it into the water, into the river of Gā'yux. He went in it down the river. In the canoe were two paddles and a harpoon. He rested at the mouth of the river and then paddled home to Wēkawāyaas. When he arrived at the beach of NEmō'gwîs's house, O'maxt'ā'laLē came down to meet him. Then Bō'nakwala spoke: "O, child, I obtained a canoe for you." Ō'maxt'ā'laLē made ready at once to go to Shell Island and asked the slave ʇo'ʇatsa to steer the canoe. They started, and when they arrived at Shell Island, Ō'maxt'ā'laLē clubbed the sea otters. Then he loaded his canoe, which was full of sea otters. When they were going home, the slave said: "O, master, let me see how you spear a sea otter with your harpoon." Then Ō'maxt'ā'laLē said: "Steer toward that sea otter and I will spear it." The slave turned the bow of the canoe toward the sea otter and O'maxt'ā'laLē threw and hit it. Then they returned home. When they arrived at the beach, Bō'na-kwala came to meet them. They unloaded the canoe, and Bō'nakwala and ʇo'ʇatsa skinned the sea otters and stretched the skins. After that they ate. Then Ō'maxt'ā'laLē spoke: "O, father! I will go and see who lives east of us." NEmō'gwîs replied: "Child, beware of storms when you cross the sea. Go, and take ʇo'ʇatsa along." Early the next day O'maxt'ā'laLē and ʇo'ʇatsa started. They spread the sea-otter skins over the bottom of their canoe and paddled straight across to the north end of the island at the mouth of Knight Inlet.

When he approached YaaiXugiwanō, he saw a canoe with two men coming up. O'maxt'ā'laLē paddled toward this canoe. When the canoes were side by side, the men took hold of each other's gunwale and Ō'maxt'ā'laLē said: "Where are you going, brother?" The one in the bow of the other canoe replied: "Brother, I am hunting among these islands here. I thank you for meeting me here. I am Qā'watiliqala. Who are you, brother?" O'maxt'ā'laLē replied: "Thank you, brother, for meeting me here. I am Ō'maxt'ā'laLē. Let us go to my house, the smoke of which we see there on the other side. It is not far. Come, take my canoe; it is yours now." Then Qā'watiliqala spoke: "Brother, now this my canoe is yours and everything that is in it." He meant the mountain goat skins with which it was covered and his harpoon. But Ō'maxt'ā'laLē's canoe was all covered with sea-otter skins. His blanket was made of sea otter and his harpoon line of the guts of the sea lion, while Qā'watiliqala's line was of cedar bark and his blanket made of mountain goat skin. Ō'maxt'ā'laLē spoke: "Thank you, brother. Now come across to your canoe and let me go into the canoe you gave me." Qā'watiliqala arose and went into Ō'maxt'ā'laLē's canoe, and Ō'maxt'ā'laLē arose and went into Qā'watiliqala's canoe. This was as though they had exchanged their hearts so that they had only one heart now.

Then Qā'watiliqala spoke: "That is done. Now, brother, come to my house. It is beyond this point." They paddled on, and when they had nearly reached Qā'watiliqala's house, he said: "Brother, take care. When I jump into my house, you and your slave must jump in at the same time." Now they arrived at the beach in front of the house of Qā'watiliqala. They went ashore and walked up to the house. When they arrived in front of the house, the mouth of the door of Qā'watiliqala's house opened. They jumped in all at the same time and it bit only a corner of Lo'Latsa's blanket. Then the posts at the sides of the door spoke, and the one to the right-hand side said: "You made them come to your house, Qā'watiliqala;" and the post on the left-hand side said: "Now spread a mat and give your guests to eat, Chief." It is said that the cross-beams over the rear posts were double-headed snakes (sī'siuL), which were constantly playing with their tongues. The posts in the rear of the house were wolves, and a grizzly bear was under each of the wolves. Carved images were all round the house. O'maxt'ā'laL and Lo'Latsa were sitting in the house and were given mountain goat meat to eat. When they had finished eating, the speaker of the house said: "What do you want here?" Now O'maxt'ā'laLē beheld the daughter of Qā'watiliqala, who was sitting in the rear of the house. He thought: "I will say that I came to marry her." Then the thought hearer of the house spoke: "Chief Ō'maxt'ā'laLē came to marry Qā'watiliqala's princess." Qā'watiliqala said at once: "O, brother! thank you that you want to marry my daughter. It has been my desire that you should marry her, brother Ō'maxt'ā'laLē. Now you marry my princess and you shall have this house for your house as a gift from your

wife and the great wolf dance Walas'axa'.[1] Its names are G·alg·ayalîs and G·alqEmalîs and QEmō'ta'yalîs and QEmōtilelag·ilîs, and your summer names will be NEg·ē' and Neg·ē'ts'ē and Qoaxō'L and G·'īg'EsLEn. The great dance Walas'axa' has forty songs. You will use this house for the celebration of the winter ceremonial, my son-in-law. That is all." Thus spoke Qā'watiliqala to O'maxt'ā'laLē. The latter replied: "Thank you, Chief Qā'watiliqala. I am glad on account of your speech, father-in-law. Now teach me the songs of the dance Walas'axa', for I will at once invite all the tribes when I reach home." Thus spoke O'maxt'ā'laLē.

The speaker of the house said: "O, Chief Qā'watiliqala! Let us have the winter ceremonial to-night, that our son-in-law may see our ways." Qā'watiliqala answered: "My speaker, your advice is good," and, turning to the wolf posts of the house, he continued: "Now take care, friends, you, QEmō'ta'yalîs, and you, QEmōtilElag·ilîs. Howl, that our friends G·alalaLila and his children may come." When he had finished, Ō'maxt'ā'laLē said: "O, father-in-law! I now invite you and your tribe to bring my house, myself, and my wife to my place. I can not withstand your words, father-in-law! I say, thank you! Now let me watch your supernatural dances to-night, else I shall not know what you are doing in this great dance."

At night the speaker of the house said: "Now, magicians, howl! that G·alalaLila and his children may come." Then QEmō'ta'yalîs and QEmōtilElag·ilîs, the posts of the house, howled four times each. At once a howl like theirs was heard back of the house. Then Qā'watiliqala called his tribe, the ancestors of the Ts'ā'watEēnôx. They entered their chief's house, and as soon as they had assembled the wolves came in. All the men cried: "Yīhīī, hū, hū, hū, hū, hū!" Four times they did so, and then they sang:

I.

1. He was made to sit between the wolves, hāi.
2. He was taken around the world by Lālîstālaqa, the wolf, hāi.

II.

For four years I was coming home. Then Mā't'Em took me away.

III.

1. My poor younger brother, ƛāƛukuēdanuLas, who lives on the other side, lies ihī a, for you said long ago that he was the first to show the wolf dance, my younger brother, ƛāƛukuēdanuLas, who lives on the other side, i hayo īhī, iyihō ō, ihī, iyihō, ō iyi, hayō, ō, ihī, iyihō, ō, iyī, ihī, iyihō, ō.
2. My poor younger brother ƍamtalaL the T'Ena'xtax, lies, ihī a, for you said that long ago he was the first to show the wolf dance, my younger brother, ƍamtalaL the T'Ena'xtax, i hayō ihī, iyihō ō, ihī, iyihō, ō iyī, hayō, ō, ihī, iyihō, ō, iyī, iyihō, ō.

IV.

1. Come, come, come, come and make love to the son of the wolf! Come! yīhī, yīhī, ī ī, wō ō ō ō ō ō.
2. LēLatalaēnôx, the wolf, has been all around the right-hand side of the world.

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[1] See page 477.

These are all the songs I know. If you will go to the Ts'ā'watEēnôx you can learn all the forty songs of the Wālas'axa'.

When the dance of the wolves was at an end, Qā'watiliqala said: "O, friends, I invited you, my tribe, that you may know that I give my daughter in marriage to O'maxt'ā'laLē, chief of the G·ī'g·îlqam on the other side. Now let us go and take our son-in-law, his wife, and his house home. And he shall take this great dance. Let us go to-morrow!" Then the people left the house and the next day they made ready to start. They went across, taking the house and Qa'watiliqala's daughter. They stopped at Gā'yuX. They built a foundation of drift logs. In four days they finished the house.

Then Ō'maxt'ā'laLē went to tell his father NEmō'gwîs. He entered the house and said: "Come, father! let us go to my house at Gā'yux. I have married the daughter of Qā'watiliqala. I brought my father-in-law and his tribe, and also the house and the great dance Wālas'-axa', and a great box and three baskets. I do not know what is in them." NEmō'gwîs replied: "Let us invite Ts'E'nXqaio and Lā'laX-sEnt'aiō and Kuax·ilanō'kumaē, that they may see your house." And he sent Bō'nakwala to invite the tribes. Then O'maxt'ā'laLē and his father went, and O'maxt'ā'laLē said: "Take care, father! As soon as I jump through the door of my house you jump with me." When they arrived at the house, the mouth of the door opened and the father and son jumped in. Then the posts said: "Go on! greet them who come into your house, Chief!" NEmō'gwîs spoke: "Welcome, Brother Qā'wa-tiliqala. I have heard about you. I thank you for having given your daughter and your house to my son." Qā'watiliqala replied: "O, brother, I am glad that I have seen you. From now on your name will be Great NEmō'gwîs (Wā'las NEmō'gwîs). This box filled with curried skin blankets is for you, and the basket filled with marten skins, the one filled with mink skins, and this one filled with lynx blankets." Then Ō'maxt'ā'laLe left his house, because he heard men speaking outside. He saw his uncle Bō'nakwala and the guests whom he had invited. Then Ō'maxt'ā'laLe said: "Now let us jump into my house all at the same time." When they were all ready, the door opened and they all jumped in. Then the posts spoke: "Go on! greet them who come into your house, Chief!" The guests sat down, and were given to eat. When they had finished, they performed the winter ceremonial. Ō'maxt'ā'laLe showed the Wālas'axa'. Afterwards he gave sea otters to Qā'watiliqala's tribe, and he gave blankets made of curried leather, marten blankets, mink blankets, and lynx blankets to Ts'E'nXqaiō, Lā'laxsEnt'aiō, and Kuax·ilanō'kumaē. His winter dance lasted four days. He was the first who gave away blankets to all the tribes, and who gave a seal feast. That is the end.

Before leaving this subject I must mention that all the clans authenticate the claim to their rank and to the greatness of their ancestor by telling of a meeting between him and one of the two deities which prevail in the mythology of these tribes, Q'ā'nig·ilakᵘ in the Newettee

group, and Kuēkuaxā′oē among the other tribes. The Lā′lauiLEla of the La′Lasiqoala, for instance, say that their ancestor, NōmasE′nxēlîs, knew that Q'ā′nig·ilakᵘ was coming. Then he told his son LExx·a′lix·ila'yu to go to Xu′spalîs (Newettee Bar) and there to await Q'ā′nig·ilakᵘ's arrival. He himself remained, and was transformed by Q'ā′nig·ilakᵘ into a stone, which may still be seen on Hope Island. LExx·a′lix·ila'yu went to Xu′spalîs, but Q'ā′nig·ilakᵘ did not molest him, because he was afraid of him.

The G·ī′g·îlqam of the same tribe say that he met O″meāL, who pointed his forefinger at him when he saw him coming. At once his head was perforated. Q'ā′nig·ilakᵘ retaliated, and they saw that they were equally strong.

I do not need to enter into these legends any farther, because they are all of the same character and are merely intended to show that the ancestors of these clans were present at the time of the transformation of men into animals, and that they were as strong as the deity himself. For the details of the Q'ā′nig·ilakᵘ legend I refer to my book.[1]

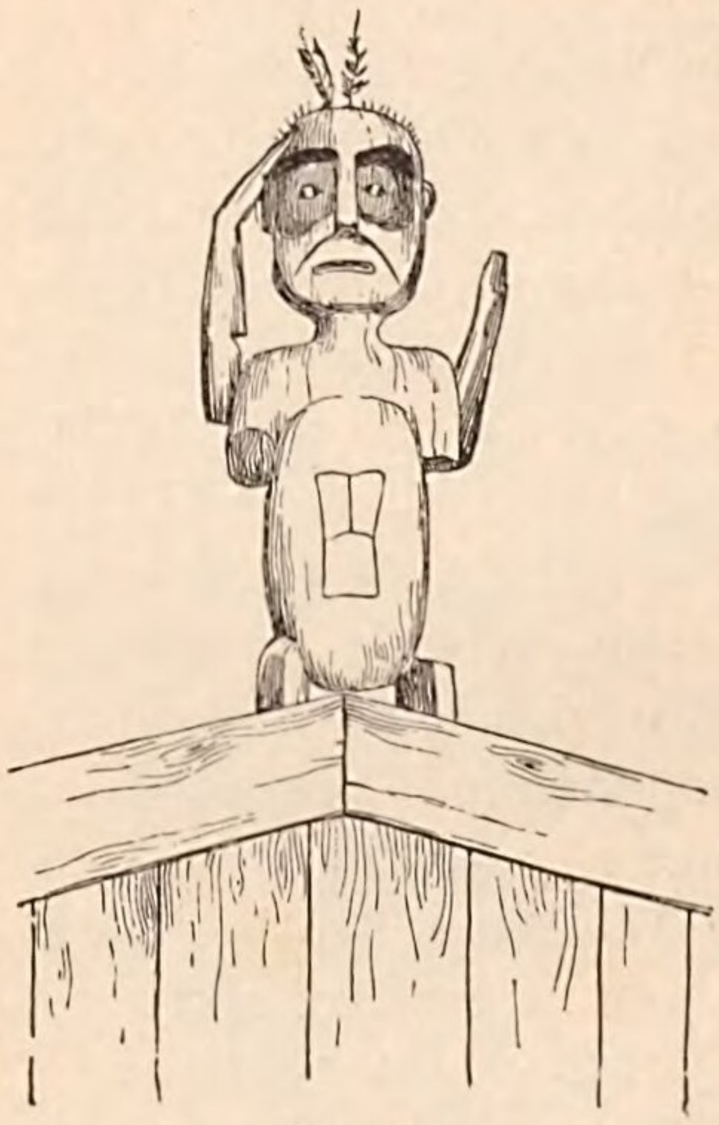


Fig. 25.

STATUE OF SPEAKER TALKING TO THE PEOPLE.

Alert Bay.

From a sketch by the author.

With this I will leave the clan legends and their connection with the crest and the potlatch. Incidentally I will mention here that figures commemorating distributions of property, the breaking of coppers, and grease feasts are often placed on top of the house or on the poles. To this class belongs the statue of the speaker under the sun mask (fig. 1, p. 338), and the speaker on top of a house in Alert Bay (fig. 25). Other statues of the same class are shown in Plate 18, representing a chief who gives away coppers in a feast, and Plate 19, representing a chief breaking a copper. This last figure is placed on top of the house at the time when the father-in-law refunds the purchase money with which his daughter has been bought.

In order to convey a better idea of the arrangement of the whole village, I give here a sketch of the village of Newettee as it appeared in 1886 from a sketch taken by myself at that time (fig. 26). The names printed in Roman letters designate the names of the houses, those in Italics names of mountains on Galiano Island, and the one in Italic capitals is the name of the bay. The house Wā′tsuxūioa will be recognized as fig. 17 (p. 377). The post in front of it is shown in fig. 21 (p. 380).

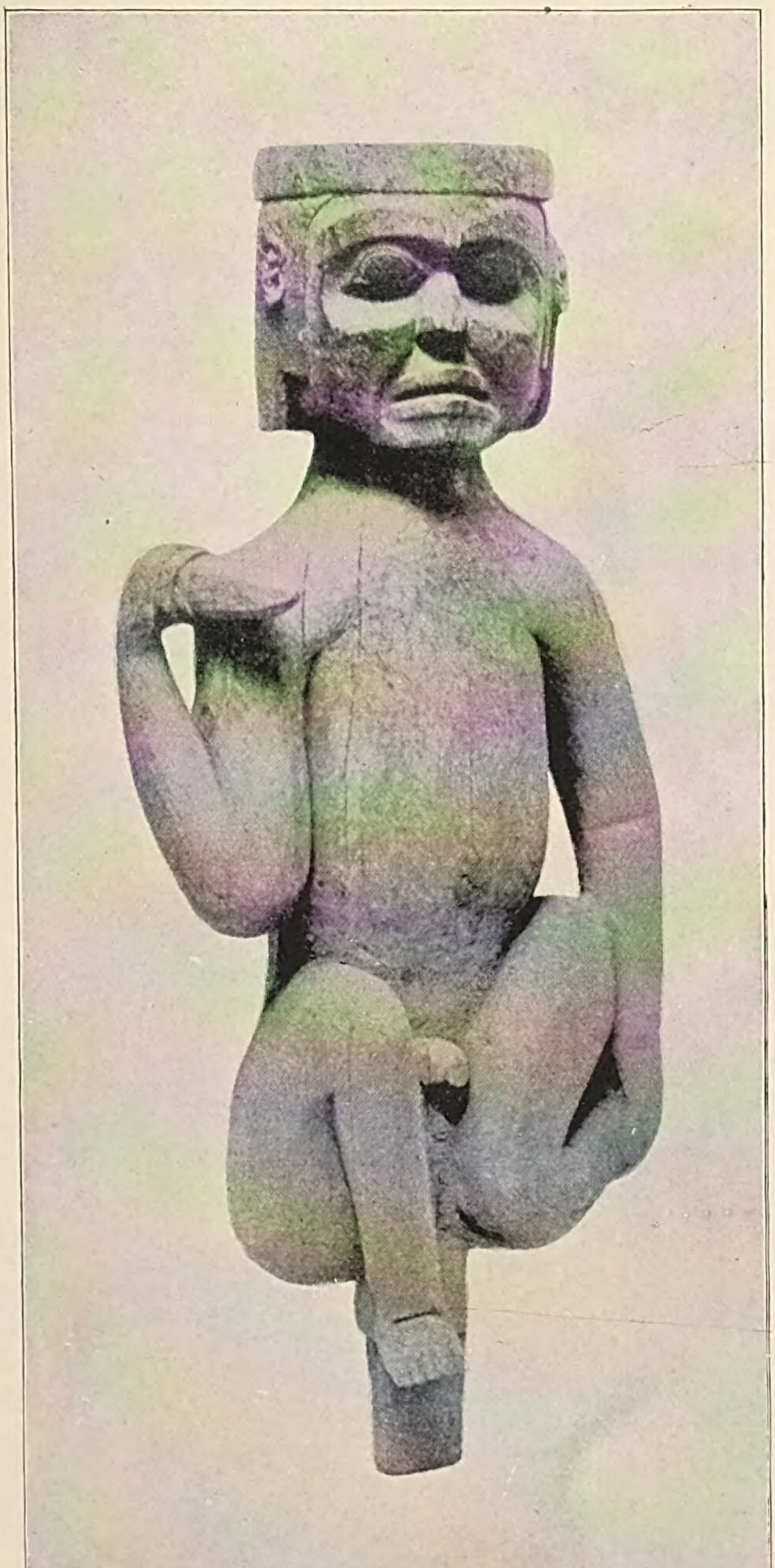
I have referred several times to the fact that the clans also have peculiar carvings which are used as dishes. A few of these are represented on Plates 20 and 21 and in figs. 27–34. The dish shown in the upper figure of Plate 20 represents the Ts'ō′noqoa (see figs. 13 and 14,

[1] "Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste," Berlin, 1895, p. 194."

STATUE OF CHIEF SELLING A COPPER.

From A. Bastian, "Northwest Coast of America."

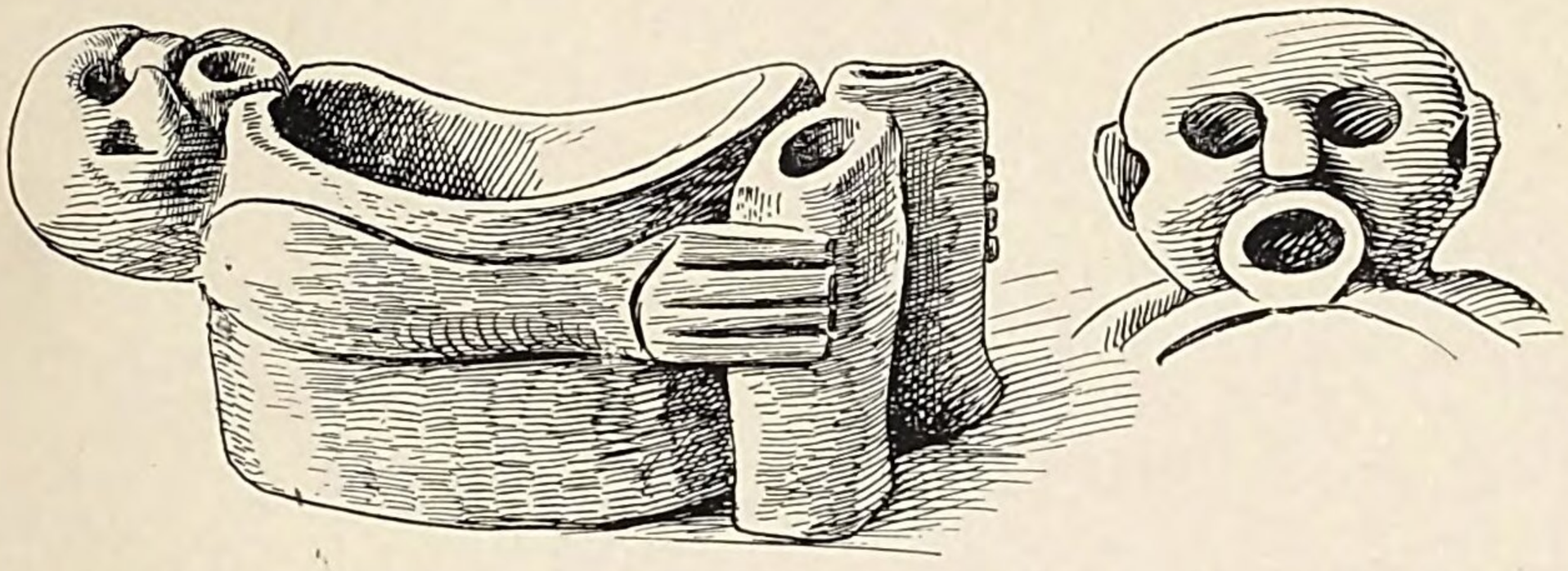
Original in Royal Ethnographical Museum. Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

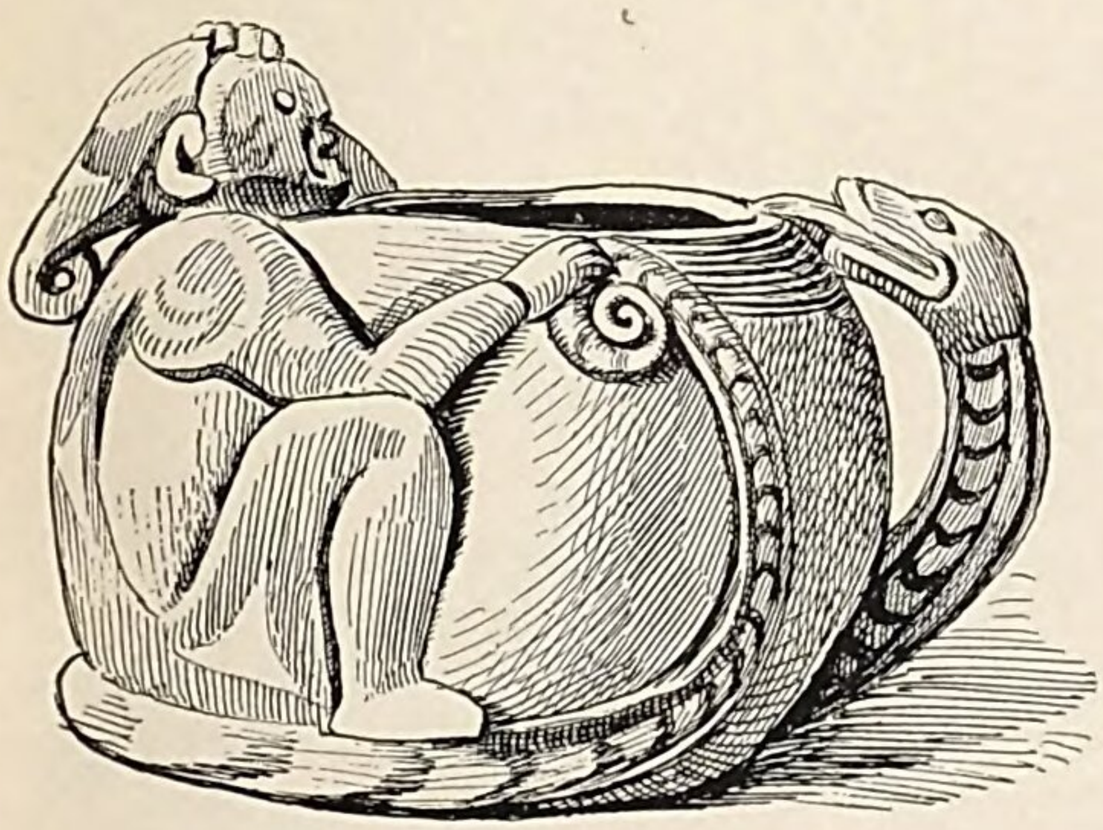


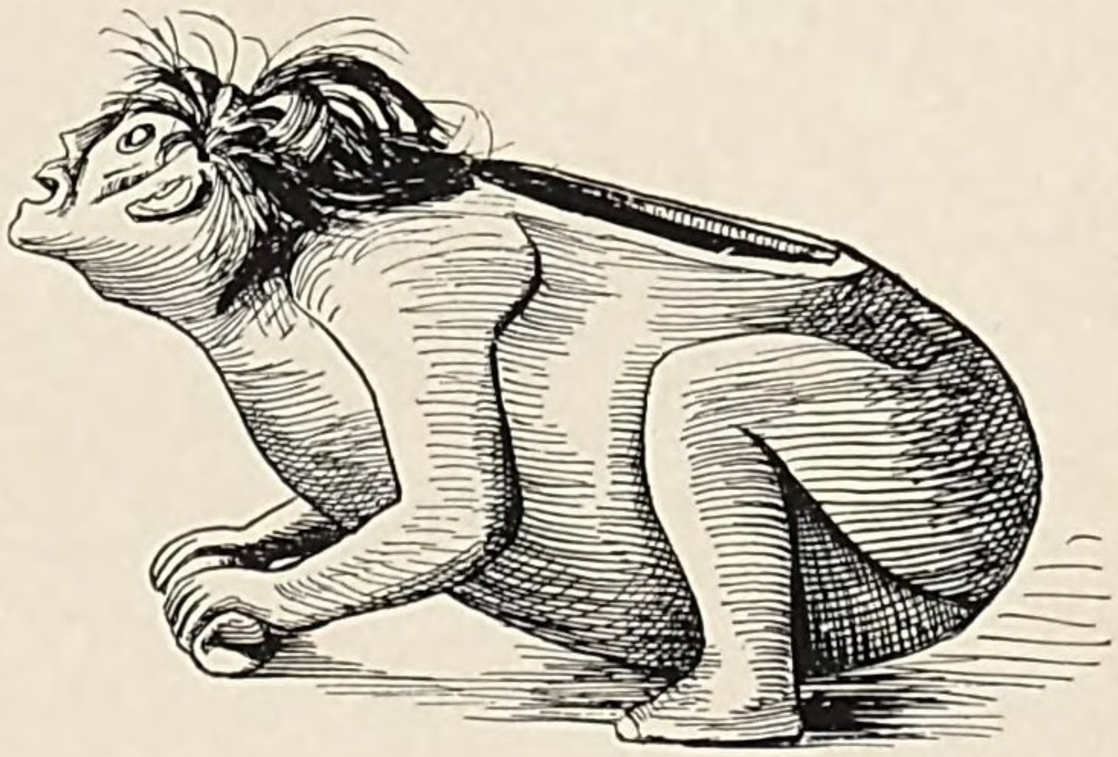
STATUE OF CHIEF BREAKING A COPPER.

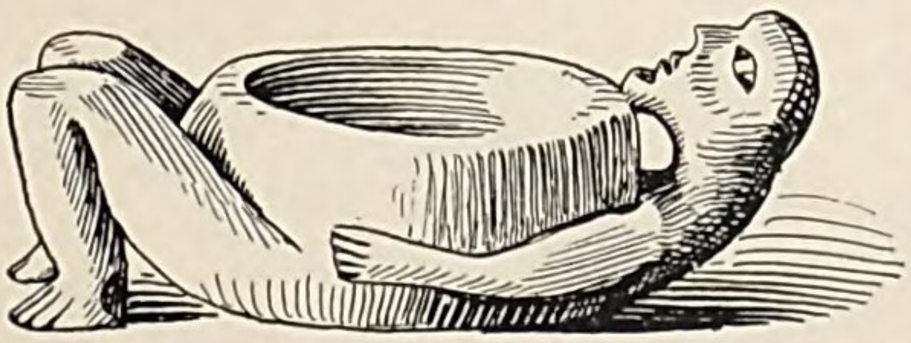
From A. Bastian, "Northwest Coast of America."

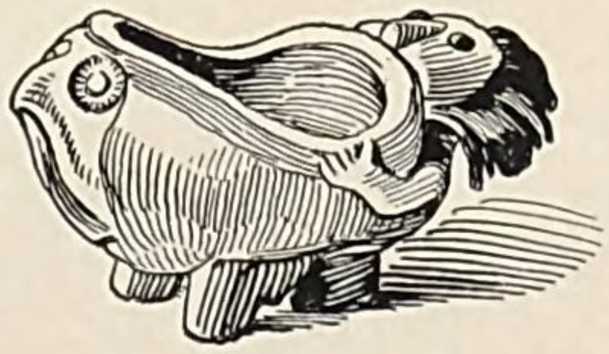
Original in Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.







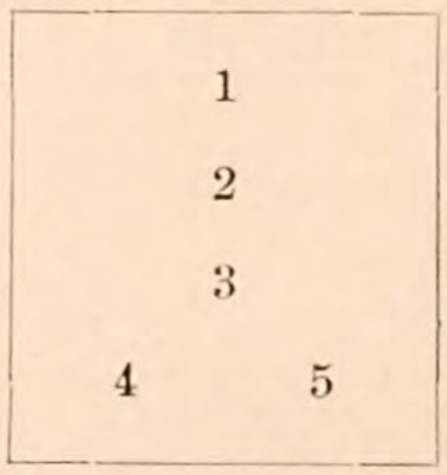




CARVED DISHES USED BY THE FORT RUPERT INDIANS.

IV A 1116, 1518. 1522, 1519, 1526, 430, and 561, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 21.



CARVED DISHES OF THE FORT RUPERT INDIANS.

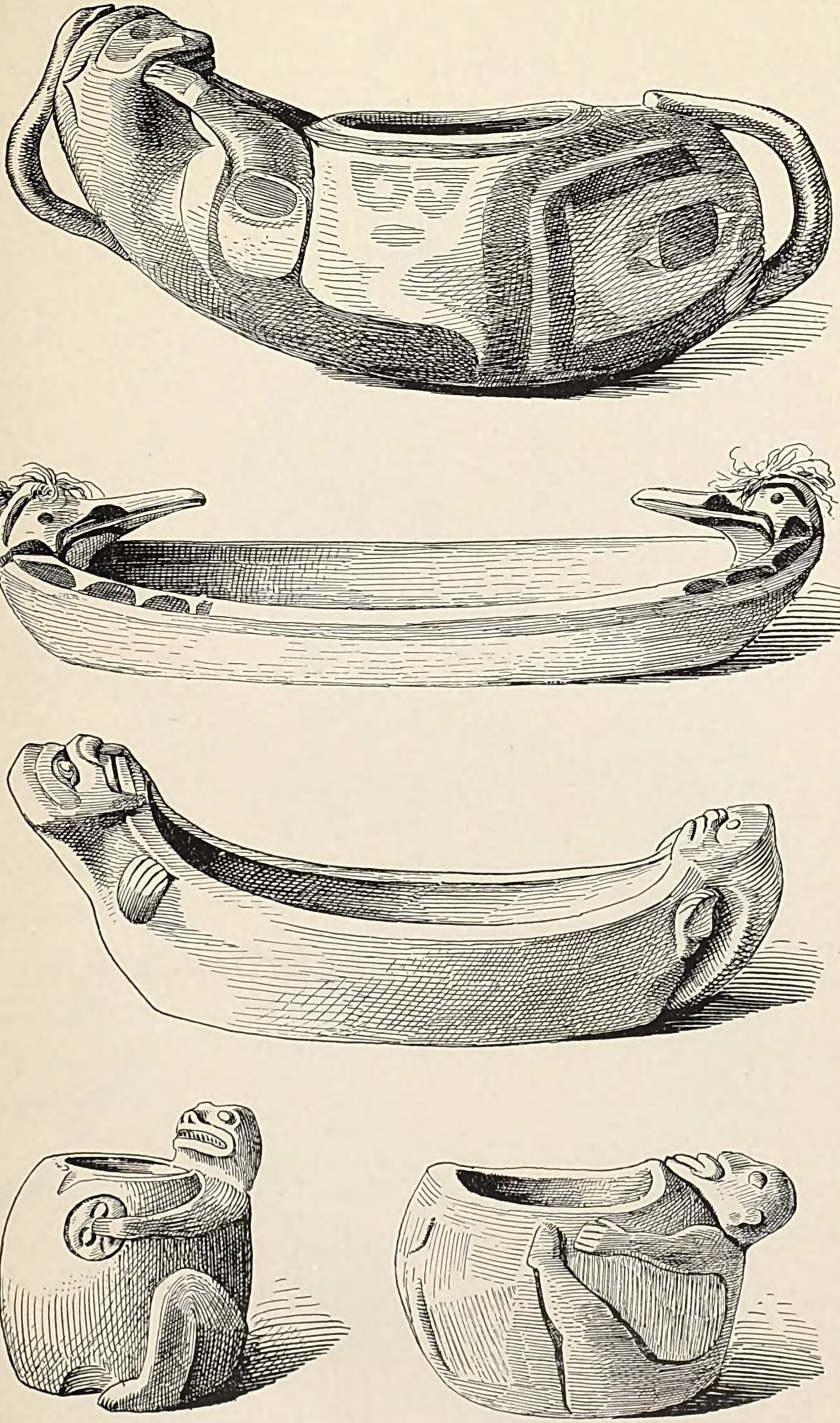
Fig. 1. REPRESENTATION OF THE SEA OTTER.
(IV A 1520, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin)

Fig. 2. REPRESENTATION OF THE CRANE.
(IV A 1523, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin.)

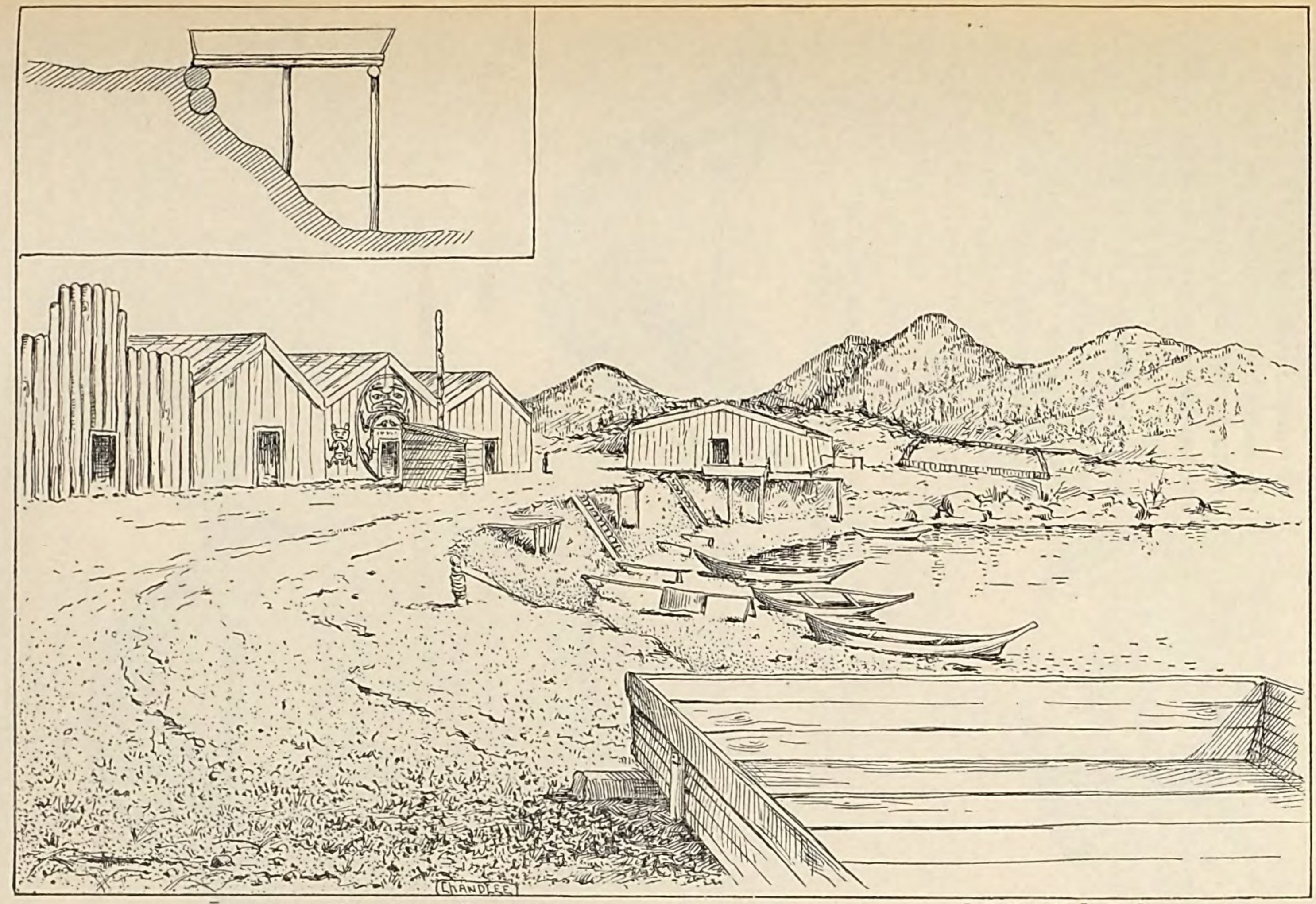
Fig. 3.
(IV A 1525, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin.)

Fig. 4. REPRESENTATION OF THE BEAR.
(IV A 1527, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin.)

Fig. 5. REPRESENTATION OF A MAN.
(IV A 1528, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin.)



CARVED DISHES USED BY THE FORT RUPERT INDIANS.



Ō'matsEms. Wātsuxûnoa. Kinā'n'amas. Qā'LEmpaias. *Ō K U I U Ā' L Ē.*
Wē'xōeoa. *Kaxaxʟā.* *ʟā'sōta.*

Fig. 26.

VIEW OF THE VILLAGE OF XUMTA'SPĒ.

p. 372). That shown in the next figure on the left of the same plate represents a man and a snake.

From the fact that so many carvings have reference to the clan totem we must not conclude that each and every animal or human figure found on any implement has the same meaning. It seems to me that the strong impulse which the art of these people received from the development of totemistic ideas must have resulted in the general application of animal designs for decorative purposes. That this is the case may be seen particularly in the case of dishes. The most favorite designs for dishes all over the cultural area to which the Kwakiutl belong are the seal and the canoe. The seal is not a totem animal, but merely the symbol of plenty, as no animal of its size furnishes a larger amount of meat and fat. Therefore the seal feast is also reserved for the highest tribes of the Kwakiutl. The seal design is used by each and every tribe and by each and every clan. The same is often the case with the sea-lion design. I have selected a number of the most characteristic seal dishes (figs. 28, 29, 30), and also a sea-lion dish (fig. 31). The dish represented in fig. 30 shows the very characteristic change of style which takes place in the extreme north, beginning at Yakutat. The deep, round forms become flatter and wider and the carving is less elaborate. The idea underlying the canoe dish is evidently that a great abundance of food, a canoe load, is to be given to the guests (figs. 32, 33, 34). The canoe dish develops into a number of animal forms, mainly through the influence of canoe decorations. The canoe is often painted so as to represent a whole animal. This ornamentation was transferred to the dish and has influenced its form considerably, as may be seen in fig. 34. I merely adduce these examples in order to show that not all animal forms have necessarily a totemistic origin. I think, however, that in the course of the development of this culture the preponderance of animal designs which were originally founded on totemism must have by

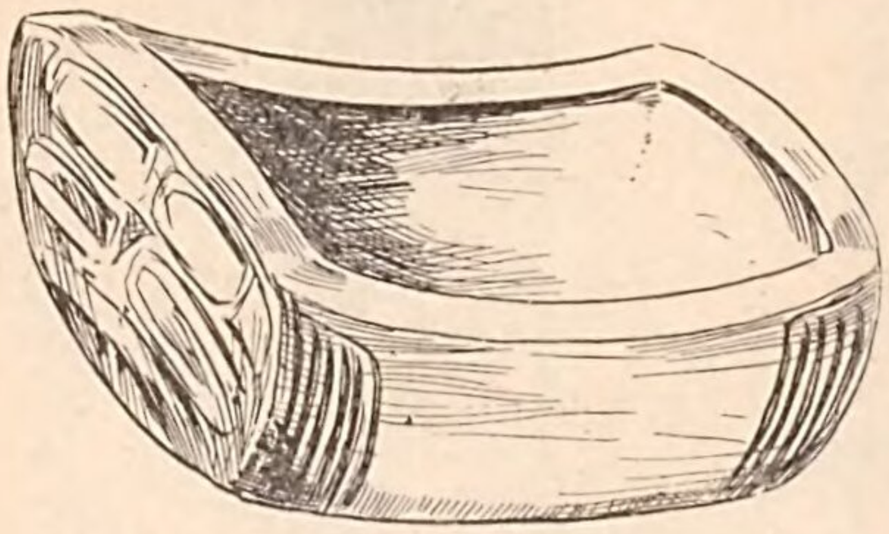


Fig. 27.
FOOD TRAY.
Haida.
Cat. No. 88862, U. S. N. M. Collected by James G. Swan.

Fig. 28.
SEAL DISH.
Haida.
U. S. National Museum. Collected by James G. Swan.

Fig. 29.
SEAL DISH.
Haida.
Cat. No. 89157, U. S. N. M. Collected by James G. Swan.

a process of euhemerism contributed to the prolific growth of the totem. We have seen that the tendency to decorate objects with animal designs was fostered by an art which was applied almost exclusively to representations of the totem. Thus the animal became the dominating decorative element. The force of analogy must then have induced the people to interpret certain animal figures which were originally only decorative on the principle of totemism.

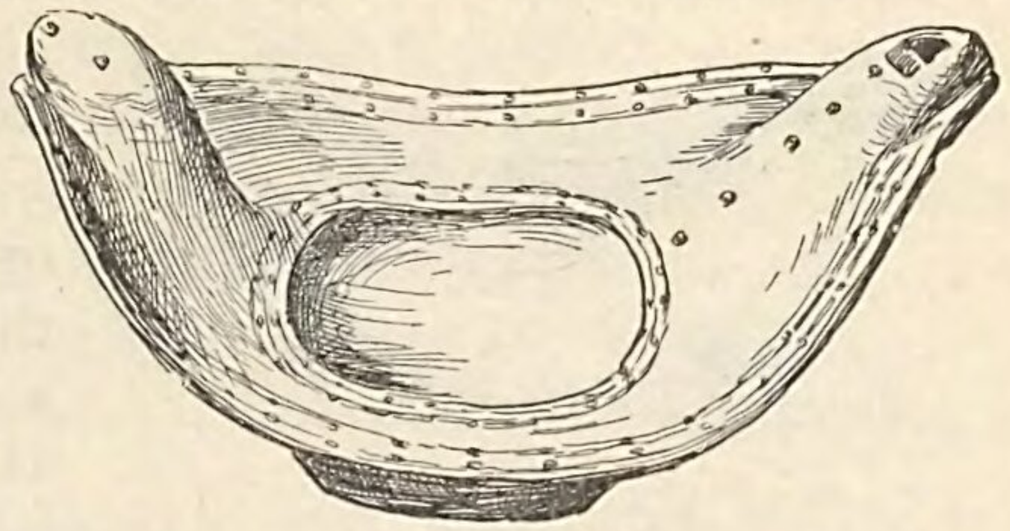


Fig. 30.
SEAL DISH.
Alaska.
U. S. National Museum.

Other objects, such as drums (fig. 35, p. 395), boxes, house posts, etc., seem to be exclusively decorated with designs representing the totem.

VI. The Spirits Presiding over the Religious Ceremonial and their Gifts.

It is a common feature of all the legends referred to heretofore that the supernatural powers which were obtained by the ancestors became the crest of a clan, and that there is no mention of an immediate relation between the descendants of the ancestor and his crest. We have to deal only with legends commemorating the early history of the clan. They do not indicate that the being which helped the ancestor continues to protect his descendants.

We have now to deal with another class of legends which relate entirely to spirits that are still in constant contact with the Indians, whom they endow with supernatural powers. In order to gain their help, the youth must prepare himself by fasting and washing, because only the pure find favor with them, while they kill the impure. Every young man endeavors to find a protector of this kind. It is clear that this idea corresponds exactly to the manitou of the Algonquin Indians, and that we have to deal here with the elementary idea of the acquisition of a guardian spirit, which has attained its strongest development in America. Its specific character on the North Pacific Coast lies in the fact that the guardian spirit has become hereditary. This is the case among the northern tribes of British Columbia. It is also the case among the Kwakiutl and among the Chinook. When the youth prepares to meet a guardian spirit, he does not expect to find any but those of his clan. This is probably the reason for the relatively small number

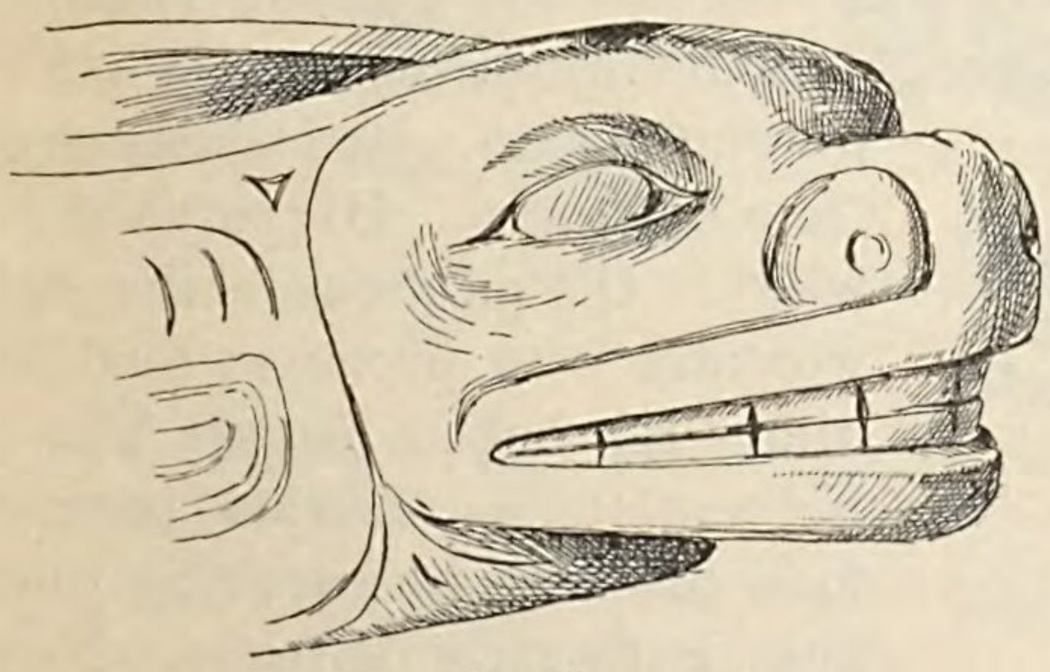


Fig. 31.
DETAIL OF SEA-LION DISH.
U. S. National Museum.

of such spirits—for among the Indians of the plains, among whom each man has his individual spirit, their number is unlimited—and it has also given occasion for the development of a more elaborate mythology relating to these spirits.

Fig. 32.
CANOE DISH.
Alaska.
Cat. No. 9250, U. S. N. M. Collected by A. H. Hoff, U. S. A.

I shall give a list and brief descriptions of these spirits and of their gifts.

I. Wīnā′lag·ilîs (=making war all over the earth). The descriptions of this being are very indefinite. He is a warrior and lives in the far north. He travels about constantly and never leaves his canoe. So far as I am aware he is never represented in masks or other carvings. By obtaining his protection a youth may acquire one of the following powers. He may become a—

(1) T'ō′X'uît, who is invulnerable and has power over the sī′siuL, which assists him and his friends on war expeditions.

(2) Mā′maq'a. The mā′maq'a has the power to catch the invisible disease spirit, which is constantly flying through the air in the form of a worm. He is able to throw it into his enemies, who die from its effects at once.

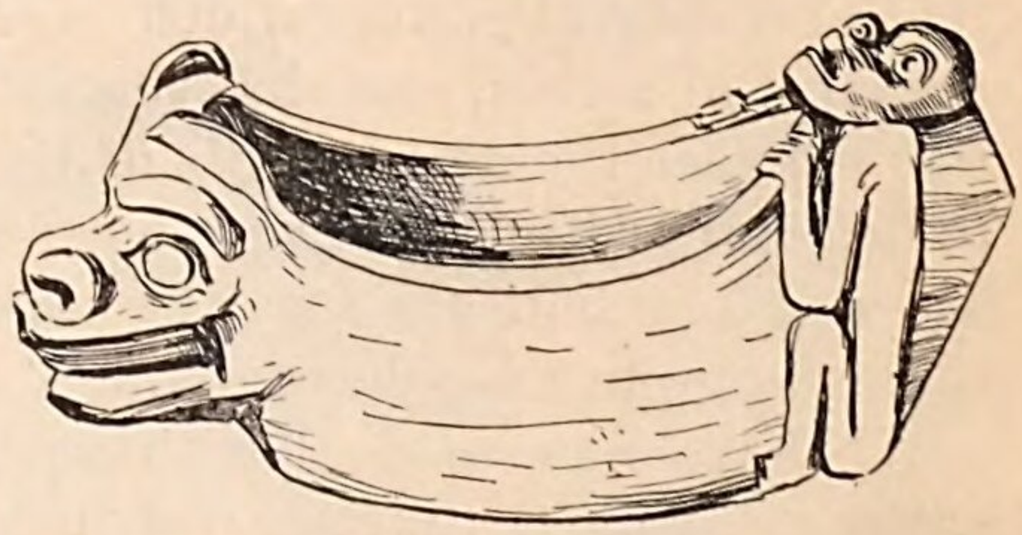


Fig. 33.
CANOE DISH WITH SEA-LION DESIGN.
U. S. National Museum.

(3) HawI′nalaL (=war dancer), who by the help of Wīnā′lag·ilîs is insensible to the pain of wounds and can not be killed, may he be ever so severely wounded.

II. BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē (the first one to eat man at the mouth of the river, i. e., in the north, because the ocean is considered a stream running northward). He is a cannibal living on the mountains who is always in pursuit of man. Red smoke rises from his house. His servant (or wife) is Q'ō′minōqas (=the rich woman), who procures food for him. He has a female slave, K·î′nqalaLala, who also procures food for him, by catching men and gathering corpses. Near the door, in his house, sits his slave QoāxqoāxualanuXsīwaē, the raven, who eats the eyes of the people whom his master has devoured. In his house live also the hō′Xhōkⁿ, a fabulous bird, with an immensely long beak, which lives on the brains of men, whose skulls he fractures with his beak, and the

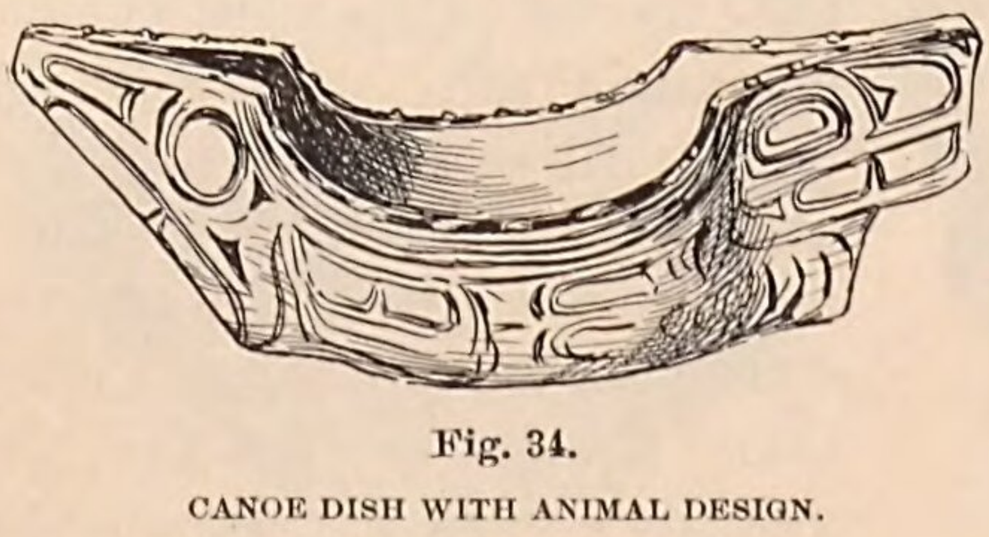


Fig. 34.
CANOE DISH WITH ANIMAL DESIGN.
Alaska.
Cat. No. 9244, U. S. N. M. Collected by A. H. Hoff, U. S. A.

cannibal grizzly bear. Hai′alik·ilaL is described as one of his friends. A person who meets him or one of his suit may become a—

(1) Hā′mats'a, a cannibal, into whom he instills the desire of eating human flesh, and who devours whomsoever he can lay his hands upon.

(2) Ha′mshamtsEs, a cannibal of less violent character.

(3) Nō′ntsîstalaL, who is able to devour and touch fire with impunity.

(4) Nā′nē s BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē, the grizzly bear of the cannibal spirit, who delights in killing people with his strong paws.

(5) K·î′nqalaLala, who procures human flesh for the hā′mats'a.

(6) Q'ō′minōqa, who also procures human flesh for the hā′mats'a.

Fig. 35.

SIDE OF BOX DRUM WITH PAINTED DESIGN REPRESENTING THE EAGLE.

IV A, No. 718, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

(7) Hō′Xhokᵘ, who breaks the skulls of men.

(8) Hai′alik·ilaL.

(9) Nā′naqaualiL (=sunrise dance), which is given by BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē and Hai′alik·ilaL jointly.

III. MātEm, who lives on the top of steep mountains. It is a bird, and bestows the faculty of flying.

IV. The ghosts who bestow the power of returning to life after the person has been killed.

There are a considerable number of others of less importance which I will not enumerate here, because in many cases it is difficult to

describe in what the gift of the spirit consists. This difficulty appears even in the preceding list of the most important spirits.

Owing to the fact that these spirits are hereditary, their gifts are always contained in the legend detailing their acquisition by the ancestor of a clan. The principal gifts in these tales are the magic harpoon which insures success in sea-otter hunting; the death bringer which, when pointed against enemies, kills them; the water of life which resuscitates the dead; the burning fire which, when pointed against an object, burns it; and a dance, a song, and cries which are peculiar to the spirit. The gift of this dance means that the protegé of the spirit is to perform the same dances which have been shown to him. In these dances he personates the spirit. He wears his mask and his ornaments. Thus the dance must be considered a dramatic performance of the myth relating to the acquisition of the spirit, and shows to the people that the performer by his visit to the spirit has obtained his powers and desires. When nowadays a spirit appears to a young Indian, he gives him the same dance, and the youth also returns from the initiation filled with the powers and desires of the spirit. He authenticates his initiation by his dance in the same way as his mythical ancestor did.

The obtaining of the magical gifts from these spirits is called Lō′koala, while the person who has obtained them becomes nau′alakᵘ, supernatural, which is also the quality of the spirit himself.

The ornaments of all these spirits are described as made of cedar bark, which is dyed red in the juice of alder bark. They appear to their devotees only in winter, and therefore the dances are also performed only in winter. For this reason they may conveniently be called the winter ceremonial. I shall revert to this subject more fully later on.

The following legend of the origin of the hā′mats'a (told by the Nā′q'oaqtôq) will make clearer what I have said:

The first of the Awī′k·'ēnôx lived at Wā′waLala. Their chief was Nā′nwaqawē. He had four sons who were mountain-goat hunters. At one time the members of his tribe were disappearing one after the other and he did not know what became of them. Nā′nwaqawē wanted to eat mountain-goat meat. His sons offered to go out hunting. These are the names of the sons of Nā′nwaqawē: Ta′wix·amayē and Qoā′qoasililag·ilîs, and Yā′qois, and the name of the youngest was Nū′Lilokuē. The young men made themselves ready, and then Nā′nwaqawē advised them. He said: "Do not enter the house the smoke of which looks like blood, else you will never return home. It is the house of BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē. The smoke of the house of the goat is white; go there when you see it. Do not go to the house the smoke of which is grey on one side; it is the house of the grizzly bear. Else harm will befall you. Now go, my sons, and mind what I told you." Ta′wix·amayē replied: "We will try to avoid misfortune." The young men left early in the morning. About noon they discovered the grey smoke of which their father had spoken. Ta′wix·amayē spoke: "Now let us see if our father's advice is good.

Only take care, dear brothers, that no harm may befall us." They went on and soon they met the grizzly bear. They fought with him and he almost killed them, but finally they overcame the bear and killed him. The brothers went on. At night they slept. In the morning Yā'qois awakened his brothers. They went on for a long time; then Ta'wix·amayē said: "My dear brothers, do you see that smoke over there? That is what our father meant when he spoke of the bloody smoke of the house of BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē. Let us go there!" They walked on and came to the door of the house. It was open and the brothers entered. As soon as they came in, a woman called them. Ta'wix·amayē stepped up to her and the woman said: "I am rooted to the floor. I will help you. This house into which you came belongs to BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē. Now do as I tell you and take notice of what you will see. Dig a deep hole in that corner of this house. Then put stones into the fire, and when they are red-hot put them into the hole." When the brothers had done so, she continued: "Now cover the hole with boards. As soon as BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē comes home he will dance, wearing his mask on his forehead." As soon as the brothers had finished their work a whistling sound was heard. Then the woman said: "Now sit down. I will say that I found food, that he may not see what we have planned." BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē entered crying "hāp." Then the hō'Xhokᵘ and QoāxqoaxuālanuXsī'waē began to shout. BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē lay on his back. His body was covered all over with mouths. Then he arose. He became excited and went four times around the house crying "hāp." Then he went into his bedroom (mā'wiL). As soon as BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē had gone in there, the raven with feathers on his head which reached down to his waist came out and danced, going around the fire. The raven went back into the bedroom. Then QoāxqoaxuālanuXsī'waē came out crying "hāp, hāp, gō'u, gō'u!" and danced around the fire. Then he went back into the bedroom and out came BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē crying, "hāp." He danced around the fire and went back into his bedroom. Then came the hō'Xhokᵘ crying "Hāp, hāp, hō, hō." He danced around the fire and went back into his bedroom. Now BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē and his four k·ī'nqalaLala, and the four q'ō'minōqa came out. "Hāp, hāp," said BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē. The k·ī'nqalaLala sang and said "hōîp," and sometimes the q'ō'minōqa sang "hai, hai, hai, hai." BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē danced. As soon as he came to the hole which the men had dug, Ta'wix·amayē pulled away the boards with which it was covered. BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē was looking upward while he was dancing. Then he fell into the hole upon the red-hot stones. Then they covered the hole up. Now he was dead. As soon as he died all the k·ī'nqalaLala and q'ō'minōqa died also. The singers also fainted. While they were unable to see, Ta'wix·amayē took off all their ornaments of red cedar bark. He took the masks and the hā'mats'a pole and the whistles. The old woman told him what to do. She taught him the song of BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē.

When Ta′wix·amayē came home, he told his father Nā′nwaqawē what had happened. Nā′nwaqawē went at once to see BaxbakuālanuXsī′-waē's house. He followed his sons. When they arrived at the house, the woman who was rooted to the floor gave them food and spoke: "My dear, Nā′nwaqawē, you shall dance and keep the hā′mats'a mask, the raven mask, and the hō′Xhokᵘ mask, and the BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē mask, and all the different kinds of red cedar bark. The q'ō′minōqa shall have red and white cedar bark mixed, and the "Bear inside the door of this house" shall have whistles. The nō′nLtsistālaL shall have two whistles and red and white cedar bark. You shall also see how the bedroom (mā′wiL) and the hā′mats'a pole are made. You see it there, extending through the roof. Here, take the whistles of Bax-bakuālanuXsī′waē." Thus spoke the woman to Nā′nwaqawē. Now the woman taught them the songs. She sang the song of the head mask. This is the song:

1. The hā′mats'a mask of the forehead, the hā′mats'a mask of the whole world, the pretty mask of that real BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē. The hā′mats'a mask of the forehead, the hā′mats'a mask of the whole word, the pretty mask, a ma ma ma mē ha mē.
2. The hō′Xhokᵘ mask of the forehead, the hō′Xhokᵘ mask of the whole world, the pretty mask of that real BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē. The hō′Xhokᵘ mask of the forehead, the hō′Xhokᵘ mask of the whole world, the pretty mask, a ma ma ma mē ha mē.
3. The raven mask of the forehead, etc.
4. The cannibal mask of the forehead, etc.

Then the woman spoke: "These are the songs of the hā′mats'a mask of BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē. Now listen to the song of q'ō′minōqa. You shall know that she always goes to get food for BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē. This is the song:

1. Q'ō′minōqa goes with me around the whole world. Hiai, hiai, ai, ai, hiai, hiai. Q'ō′minōqa walks all around the world. Hiai, hiai, ai, ai, hiai, hiai.
2. We are afraid of Q'ō′minōqa's body which is covered with blood. Hiai, hiai, ai, ai, hiai, hiai. Q'ō′minōqa is feared by all because her body is terrible. Hiai, hiai, ai, ai, hiai, hiai.
3. Q'ō′minōqa's cedar bark is tied on to you. Hiai, hiai, ai, ai, hiai, hiai. The red cedar bark of the whole world is making you voracious. Hiai, hiai, ai, ai, hiai, hiai.

Then the woman spoke again: "That is the song of q'ō′minōqa. Thus you shall do whenever you initiate a hā′mats'a; then the q'ō′mi-nōqa shall carry a corpse on her arms and she shall feed it to the hā′mats'a." Then Nā′nwaqawē spoke: "My dear, go and teach us all you can. Tell us what BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē was doing, and tell us all his names." Then the woman spoke: "Now listen, these are his names: Qoa′lamk·aslag·ilîs (eating alive on earth), and NōXdana (eating one man), and Tā′nîs (hā′mats'a) and Nā′wikᵘ (having eaten one), and Lā′wēkᵘ (having swallowed), and LaxLawēkᵘ (swallowing while standing), and Hō′kwētasō (wishing to be tamed), and xōqamgasā′lag·ilîs (swallowing skulls on earth), and xō′qamēLā′lag·ilîs k·asō Bax-bakuālanuXsī′waē (the real BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē, swallowing skulls

on earth), and Qēdana (eating many). And these are the names of the q'ō'minōqa: Nā'wis (alone on earth), and Lawis k·asō Baxbakuālanu-Xsī'waē (the real BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē, standing on earth).

"All red shall be the cedar bark of the hā'mats'a, and white and red shall be the cedar bark of the q'ō'minōqa.

"And this is the song of the k·î'nqalaLala." Then the woman sang:

1. Oh, how nicely you heal your hā'mats'a by your song, by your magical means of healing, ma mē hama hamē.
2. Oh, how nicely you sing your secret song for your hā'mats'a, your magical secret song, ma mē hama hamē.
3. Oh, how nicely you sing your winter ceremonial songs for your hā'mats'a, your magical winter ceremonial song, ma mē hama hamē.

Then the woman stopped singing and spoke: "This is the song of the k·î'nqalaLala." Then Nā'nwaqawē asked the woman: "My dear, now tell me who you are?" Then she laughed: "Do you not know who I am? I am your daughter. Therefore I resolved to teach you all the secrets of the ceremonial of BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē." Then Nā'nwaqawē spoke: "O, my dear! Thanks, that I have seen you again. Now let us go home." Then the woman spoke: "It is impossible for me to go home, because I am rooted to the ground from my backside. I know it is impossible for me to get up from this floor, but you must come sometimes to see me." Then Nā'nwaqawē replied: "Do not say that, child, for I can not leave you behind." Nā'nwaqawē tried to dig out the root, but it became the thicker the deeper he dug. Then Nā'nwaqawē gave up digging and thought he would cut the root, but the woman said: "Do not do that, my dear, else I must die. It is best that you come sometimes to see me." Then Nā'nwaqawē gave it up and the woman spoke: "Now let me sing the song of the nō'nLtsistalaL." Then she sang:

1. You frightened everyone by your gifts, magical Nō'nLtsista dancer, hīa, hīa, hīa, ya.
2. You made everyone feel uneasy by your wild cry, magical Nō'nLtsista dancer, hīa, hīa, hīa, ya.
3. You go all around the word, magical Nō'nLtsista dancer, hīa, hīa, ya. You drive away everyone by your gifts, magical Nō'nLtsista dancer, hīa, hīa, hīa, ya, ya, hīa, ya, ya, hīa, hīa, hīa, ya.

The woman stopped singing and spoke to Nā'nwaqawē: "As soon as you get home, give a winter dance. Let Ta'wix·amayē disappear, he shall be hā'mats'a; then four days later Qoā'qoasililag·ilîs shall disappear. He shall be q'ō'minōqa and get food for that hā'mats'a. Four days later Nū'Liloqoē shall disappear. He shall be nō'nLtsistalaL, and you, Nā'nwaqawē, shall be the 'bear of the door of your house.' You shall have two whistles. And the dancers shall wash every fourth day, and after they have washed four times every fourth day they shall wash every sixth day. After they have washed four times every sixth day they shall wash every eighth day. After they have washed four times every eighth day they shall wash four times every twelfth day. For four years the Hā'mats'a shall do no work, else he will die early. Now

you know the names of all your dancers. Now go home and take the name of the house of BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē. This is its name: 'Place of red cedar bark' (Lā′qakwatsē). That shall be the name of your house." Now Nā′nwaqawē and his sons went home. When they arrived, he invited his tribe, and after they had eaten Ta′wix·amayē disappeared. Then Nā′nwaqawē's tribe tried to find him who was to be a hā′mats'a. Nā′nwaqawē did all the woman had told him. He and his sons were the first to celebrate the winter ceremonial. That is how we know about the dances and the different kinds of cedar bark. That is the end.

There exist several versions of this important legend, and I will record here another which I obtained from the Awī′k·'ēnôx. The beginning is the same as that of the preceding version; but when they reach the cannibal's house, it continues as follows: They met a woman who was rocking her baby. Opposite her a boy was sitting whose head was enormously large. The four brothers went near the fire and sat down on a box. When they did so, the eldest one hurt his leg so that the blood oozed out of it. Then the boy nudged his mother and said: "Mother, I want to lick the blood," but his mother restrained him. The boy began to scratch his head and finally commenced licking the blood notwithstanding his mother's order. Then the eldest of the brothers nudged the youngest one and said: "Oh, why did we not follow father's advice?" The boy continued to lick the blood. Then the eldest brother took his bow and shot an arrow out of the house through the door. He asked his youngest brother to go and bring it back. As soon as he had left the house he ran homeward as fast as he could. Soon the eldest brother took another arrow and shot it through the door. He asked his next youngest brother to fetch it, and he also took the opportunity and escaped. Finally he shot a third arrow, and the next brother went to fetch it. He also ran homeward as fast as he could. Then the boy began to cry. The woman asked the only remaining visitor: "Are not your brothers coming back?" and he replied: "They only went to fetch my arrows." Then he shot a fourth arrow and went himself to fetch it. As soon as he had left the house he ran homeward. When after some time the brothers did not return, the woman knew that they had escaped. She stepped out of the house and called her husband: "BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē, I have allowed our good dinner to escape." BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē heard her, although he was far away. He pursued the boys, crying "ham, ham, ham" (eating, eating, eating). The four brothers heard him crying, and ran as fast as they could. The eldest brother carried a whetstone, a comb, and a bottle of hair oil. When BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē had come near them, he threw his whetstone over his shoulder, and behold! it was transformed into a mountain which compelled the pursuer to go round about it. But soon he drew nearer again. Then the young man poured the hair oil over his shoulder. It was transformed into a lake and the pursuer had to

go around it. But again he came near the flying youths. Then the young man threw his comb over his shoulder. It was transformed into an impenetrable thicket. The pursuer had to go all around it, and meanwhile the three brothers came home. Their father let them in and bolted the door. Soon BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē arrived and demanded admittance. Nō′aqaua killed a dog, cut it to pieces, and gathered its blood in a dish. Then he invited BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē to come to a knot hole in the wall of his house and offered him the full dish, saying, "This is the blood of my sons. Take it and carry it home to your wife. Come back to-morrow and I will feed you." BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē took the dish and went home. Then Tsō′ēna, Nō′aqaua's wife, made a deep ditch and built a huge fire. She put stones into it which when red-hot, she threw into the ditch. Then a skin was stretched near the fire so as to conceal the ditch. Soon BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē and his wife arrived. He had brought his four children. When they went into the house, he left his youngest child on the beach to watch the canoe. There Tsō′ēna made them sit close to the fire, their backs turned to the skin which concealed the ditch.

Then BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē spoke to Nō′aqaua: "You know how everything happened in the beginning of the world. Tell me!" Nō′aqaua replied: "I shall tell you. What shall I tell you about what happened in the beginning of the world, grandchildren? A cloud was on the mountain. Soon you will be asleep." When he had sung so twice, BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē and his whole family were asleep. Then Nō′aqaua and Tsō′ēna drew the back of their seat and they fell into the ditch. They threw the red-hot stones on top of them. Twice BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē cried "ham, ham!" then he was dead. After some time they pulled out the bodies. Nō′aqaua cut them to pieces and scattered them in all directions, singing: "BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē, you shall pursue man." They were transformed into mosquitoes.

Here is another legend explaining the initiation of the Oē′alîtx, a subdivision of the Hē′iltsuq.

A woman named Ts'u′mkwa!aqas came to the Stikine River. There she gave birth to a boy who was at once transformed into a stone. It is now a large mountain at the Stikine. It has a name, but I do not know it. She had two brothers whose names were Wā′k·as and Dō′kwalēsala living in a village at Goose Island. She wanted to go to see her brothers. She went on in her canoe and came to the Skeena River. There she gave birth to a boy. He was also transformed into stone. It is now a large mountain at Skeena River named Kuga. Again she was with child. She came to Xā′exaês. There she gave birth to a boy, who was also transformed into stone. It is now a large mountain at Xā′exaês named Gugasp'its'awē. Again she was with child. She started in her canoe and came to Dā′yasiowē. There she built a house of cedar bark. After four days she gave birth to dogs.

Then she used to go digging clams on the beach in front of her house

to get food for her children. Now the young dogs began to grow up. At night when it was low water, she went down to the beach carrying a torch, and dug clams. Then she heard a sound like the singing of many children. Ts'u'mkwalaqas wanted to know who the children were. She put her digging stick into the ground, took off her cape, and hung it over the stick. Thus she made it look like a person. Then she went to see who was singing. She looked through a hole and saw now that her children were all boys. Then she was watching them and learned their song, and the song is sung in the Hē'iltsuq language:

1. Spread on the floor. Aiha!
2. Down the stream of the world. Aiha!

Now she jumped into the house and said: "You have no father and you are men. I must always work hard to gather food for you." Only the youngest one put on his dogskin in time before the woman had taken the skins and thrown them into the fire. Then the eldest spoke: "Don't let us sit like fools; let us begin to work and help our mother." He continued: "What work shall I do for my mother? I shall be a wood carver." The second brother said: "I will be her canoe builder." The third brother said: "What work shall I do for my mother? I will be the killer of monsters." Then the dog spoke: "I will be her dog and watch that no sickness comes near her. I shall bark when an invisible spirit approaches." Now it grew dark. On the following morning the wood carver carved figures of men and he carved house posts of different forms—in the shape of all kinds of fish and land animals. It is said the posts were as long as a forefinger. He made eight houses, and then he made one more house. He made it pretty; it had a front carved in the shape of a raven. He built another one with the front carved in the shape of Wiganx·tx, and he made still another one—eleven houses in all. And the canoe builder built toy canoes. He made many.

At night the wood carver took the houses and put them on the ground on each side of his mother's house. The large house was in the middle of that village. Then the canoe builder put his toy canoes in front of the houses. In the morning Ts'u'mkwalaqas went out. What should she see but many people and large canoes. Now she was rich. The wood carver went to the small river near by and made a salmon trap. He carved salmon of alder wood. Therefore the flesh of the salmon is red. On the following day he went to look after his salmon trap. He found one fish in it and gave it to his mother, who cut it open and dried it. On the following day he went again to look after his salmon trap. He found eight salmon. He went home, carrying them on his finger, and gave them to his mother. Then he told his mother to look after the trap from time to time. The killer of monsters had killed by this time all the monsters living in the sea near the coast.

Then the brothers said they would go into the woods. In the morning they went, and the wood carver was the leader. At night they

rested under a cedar tree. It had not been dark very long when they heard a sound far away, "Wamō-mō-mō-mō-wamō-mō-mō-mō." That means: River, river, run, run, run, run. The three brothers were frightened. Now the sound came closer, closer, and closer. They heard it four times, and every time nearer. They did not know what made the sound. Then they heard another noise, "hāhī, hī, hī, ahī, hāhī, hī, hī, ahī, hī, hī, hī, ahī, hī, hī, hī." (This is the cry of Q'ō'minōqa.)

They heard the cries four times, and they came nearer every time. Then the wood carver said: "I wonder what produces this sound," and the canoe builder said: "Do not talk too much; are you not afraid?" Then they heard a sound again, "hap, hap, hap, hap, hap, hap, hap." (This is the cry of BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē.) They heard the sound four times, and it came nearer every time. Now the sound stopped close to the place where they were sitting. Then the killer of monsters said: "Let us go and see what makes the noise." They all went, and after a short time they saw a large house. Sparks were coming out of the roof. They entered, and a man came and told the brothers to sit down on the right-hand side of the house. Then the speaker of the winter ceremonial said: "Now watch, brothers; now you will get a magic treasure." Then the Nō'nLEmg·ila came in and danced. It was he who always said "wamō-mō-mō-mō." As soon as he had finished, the speaker of the winter ceremonial said: "Watch his dance. We call him Nō'nLEmg·ila. It shall be your dance." Next Q'ō'minōqa came and sang "hahī, hī, hī, hī, ahī, hahī, hī, hī, ahī!"

Then she danced. When she had finished, the speaker of the winter ceremonial said: "It shall be your dance. Her name will be GaLgiyots'ēnôx, or invisible spirit. Now take care of that dance." Thus spoke the speaker of the winter ceremonial to the brothers: "White and red is her dancing ornament." Then the brothers heard far off the hā'mats'a's cry "hap, hap." Now it sounded near the door of the dancing house. BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē came in and cried "hāp" in the doorway of the house, and the people sang for him. This is his song:

1. The whole world speaks of the strength of the mouth of BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē. Hamai, hamamai, hamai, hamamai.
2. Frightened is the whole world of the mouth of BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē. Hamai, hamamai, hamai, hamamai.
3. For four men searched the strength of the mouth of BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē. Hamai, hamamai, hamai, hamamai.

I do not know the song of Nō'nLEmg·ila and Q'ō'minōqa. Now the brothers came home. Then the wood carver disappeared. He was taken away by BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē. After four days the canoe builder disappeared. He was taken away by Nō'nLEmg·ila. That is how the winter dance of Oē'alîtx originated. That is the end.

I will give still another legend of an initiation by BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē. It belongs to the clan G·ē'xsEm of the T'Ena'xtax.

The first of the T'Ena'xtax lived at Lē'kwadē. Their chief was

Lā′wag·is. He was in love with a girl. Once upon a time she went up the river to pick berries, and Lā′wag·is followed her. He walked along the bank of the river, while she had gone up in her canoe. When it grew dark, he heard cries in the woods. Then he jumped into a pond and rubbed his body with hemlock branches. He went on. He heard the cries all the time and bathed in another pond. He walked on. Now the cries were close to him. He bathed again. Now the cries came quite close to him. He bathed the fourth time. As soon as he had finished, he saw a woman with a large head and matted hair and with a face which was full of scratches. Lā′wag·is went up to her and put his arm around her waist. As soon as he had done so they both fainted. He recovered first, but he put his arms around her waist only tighter. Then the woman with the great head recovered and spoke: "I am the crier of the woods. Now let me go and I will help you to obtain everything easily. I will be your magical helper. You shall obtain easily all kinds of property." Lā′wag·is only held her more tightly. Then she spoke again: "I will raise property for you." But he held her still tighter. Then she spoke again: "I will give you the water of life. Let me go." But he held her still tighter. She spoke again: "Let me go. Take my name, it shall be yours. You will be Qoā′dasgamāls. I will give you the apron that burns everything." Then he let her go. She disappeared at once. She only left the four gifts, which she had given him, on the ground. Then Lā′wag·is took his magical treasures. He went on and tried his apron against the trees of a mountain. Immediately they were burnt, and you can see even now that the mountains of Ts'ā′watē are burnt. Now he was glad. He hid his magical treasures under a cedar tree and went on. He arrived at the village where his sweetheart was living. She asked him: "Why did you not come sooner?" He replied: "I lost my way." That night they went to bed and played together. After a short time he was poked in the side through a hole which was in the boards of the house. He arose and went to look. As soon as he went out his face was covered and he was led away by a man. He did not dare to speak and to ask, but he knew that he was led three times up a mountain and three times down. During all this time his face was not uncovered. Then he knew they were going up a mountain again, and he heard a cry, "hāp, hāp, hāp; haō, haō; gaō, gaō" (the cries of the hā′mats'a, the hō′Xhokᵘ, and of the raven.) Then the man spoke: "My dear, do not be afraid. I want to give you magical power. This is my house. I am BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē. You shall see everything in my house." They entered, and he uncovered the face of Lā′wag·îs. "Now look, friend!" said BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē. You shall have my name, Wilgasā′lag·ilîs, and your name shall be Hā′mats'a. Now watch the dance of the hā′mats'a." Then he heard the cries, "hāp, hāp, hāp; haō, haō; gaō, gaō." Then the raven that was painted on the front of the hā′mats'a's secret room opened its mouth and the hā′mats'a came out, vomited by the raven. Then he danced. Lā′wag·îs did not

see the singers. After the first song the hā′mats'a went back and the hō′Xhokᵘ came out and danced. After one dance he went back and the raven came out and danced. With the next song the hā′mats'a came out carrying a corpse in his arms, which he ate. When he had eaten it, he danced again and went back. He had four songs. BaxbakuālanuX-sī′waē spoke: "This shall be your hā′mats'a, your name shall be Wil-gasā′lag·ilîs, and Hamigā′lagalits'akᵘ and Naxnawisā′lag·ilîs. Don't forget the head masks of the hō′Xhokᵘ and of the raven and the paint-ing of the secret room. He called Lā′wag·is to see a ditch that was in the rear of the house. Then he went and saw it. Something like a rainbow was standing in the hole. Lā′wag·is looked down and saw all kinds of animals and fishes in the hole. BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē spoke: "This is the cannibal post of the dancing house. This shall be your magical treasure. Then he taught him his song:

1. You are the great BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē, to whom every one looks up, ahō, ō, ō, ō, hēm, aēm.
2. This is the way of the true BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē, ahō, ō, ō, ō, hēm, aēm.
3. O, nobody can live before the great BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē, ahō, ō, ō, ō, hēm, aēm.
4. Who came out of the woods to me, ahō, ō, ō, ō, hēm, aēm.

Now he had learned the one song and BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē taught him the second song:

1. You are looking for food, you great magician, mahamai, hama, hamamai; yi hama ma mai hama.
2. You are looking for men whom you want to eat, great magician; mahamai, hama, hamamai; yi hama ma mai hama.
3. You tear men's skins, great magician, mahamai. You try to eat many men, great magician, mahamai, hama, hamamai; yi hama ma mai hama.
4. Everybody trembles before you, you great magician. You who have been to the end of the world, mahamai, hama hama mai; yi hama ma mai hama.

After the song BaxbaknālanuXsī′waē called Lā′wag·is and asked him: "Don't you want this harpoon shaft? It kills everything. Now it is yours, and also this red cedar bark and the fire with which you may burn everything, the water of life, and the quartz for killing your ene-mies." Then Lā′wag·is went home. That is the end.

The following legend belongs to the Nimkish:

There were two friends. One of them had gone into the woods to be initiated by the spirits of his clan, while the other one was not yet pre-pared to meet these spirits. Nevertheless he went to search for his friend and after four days he found him. When he returned, his father asked him where he had been, and he told him that he had found his friend who was being instructed by the spirits. Then his father struck him, saying: "Do you not know that it is forbidden? I shall be killed on account of you." Then the youth became sad. At night he put on his ornaments, which were made of abalone shells, and went into the woods. He went up the river and washed with hemlock branches. The following morning he went on, and the next day he washed again. Then he heard the voice of BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē. At the end of the

fourth day he came to a precipice and lay down at its base to rest. Early in the morning he saw the rock open and out came BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē. He hid, and the spirit flew away over his head. His body was all covered with red cedar bark. Four days the boy stayed there. On the fifth morning when BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē came out again, he followed him, and saw how he took off his cedar bark ornaments on the bank of a pond and went to swim in it. When he dived, the youth jumped forward and put on the cedar bark ornaments. Now the spirit emerged. When he saw the boy decked with his cedar bark ornaments, he said: "You have done well to take my ornaments. Now I can do you no harm." He took him along to his home inside the rock. There he asked him: "What do you want to have? Do you want this harpoon? Do you want the water of life? Do you want the death-bringer? Do you want my hā′matsa?" He gave him all of these. The youth stayed with him for four days. Then he was able to fly. Then BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē instructed him to fly to a place where his father was accustomed to fetch water for cooking. Soon his younger brother came, and when he saw him, he discovered that he had been away a long time. What had seemed to him four days were actually four years. He asked the young boy: "How is father? I am your elder brother. Go and ask father to clean his house." The boy went back and told his father, who beat him for speaking of his dead son. Then the boy ran back and complained to his brother that his father had beaten him for carrying the message. The elder brother sent him back to the house, asking him to repeat his request. The boy obeyed and when his father had heard the message again, he went out to see by himself. As soon as his eldest son saw him he grew excited. He flew across the river to the graveyard, tore corpses out of their coffins and devoured them. Then he flew into his father's house and bit everyone whom he saw.

There are a number of tales referring to the acquisition of the hō′Xhokᵘ. The Naqô′mg·ilisala have the following legend on this subject:[1]

A number of women went to the island Yū′Lē to dig fern roots. They put some dried whale meat over the fire and a red-breasted owl came and picked up some of it. It is said that there are many red-breasted owls there. Then all of a sudden came the hō′Xhokᵘ and alighted on top of a tree. He came downward, pecking the tree. He came down to the bottom of the tree, but it was hard on his beak. Now he walked up to the women. He covered his nose and was transformed into a man. He reached a woman who put some dry whale on the fire. She laid a mat before him and put the whale meat on it. The hō′Xhokᵘ said: "I do not eat whale meat, I eat only man's brain." So saying, he pecked the woman's head, broke her skull, and ate the brain. One of the women had hidden when he came down. She went home and told the tale. Then the Naqô′mg·ilisala resolved to make war upon the hō′Xhokᵘ. Qō′mg·ustals and Waxalalaa took the blood of a woman

[1] Appendix page 680.

and washed themselves. Then they made war on the hō′Xhokᵘ. Now they went to where the women had been. They put whale meat on the fire. At once many owls came there and the hō′Xhokᵘ alighted on the tree. Now he came downward, pecking the tree. When he came to the foot of the tree, he jumped. His beak stuck in a crack of the tree. Then Qō′mg·ustals and Waxalalaa ran up to him and broke off his nose and pushed him into the fire. He was dead. That is the end.

The following tradition of the Awī′k·'ēnôx referring to the hō′Xhokᵘ is of interest because it indicates the ceremonial or dance performed by every novice initiated by this being:

A young man named Q·'ō′mkilig·a went into the woods to fetch cedar bark. There the hō′Xhokᵘ scented him. He found that the youth was clean, and therefore rushed down upon him in order to abduct him. When Q'·ō′mkilig·a heard the spirit coming, he trembled with fear. He hoped to master his fears by smoking, but he failed. He fainted and lay like one dead. The hō′Xhokᵘ came down to him and imbued him with his powers.

When the youth did not return, his friends went into the woods to search for him. They found him lying in a deep swoon. They sprinkled him with cold water, but he did not awake. They carried him back to the village. When his father saw him, his heart was sad. But soon he noticed that he was still alive. He called a shaman and bade him heal his son. The shaman ordered the house to be swept and the floor to be strewn with sand. He took the youth into the woods and stayed there for four days. Then he returned. After four days more Q'ō′mkilig·a also returned. He had received the name QoaLqoā′oē.

He sang of the hō′Xhokᵘ, and suddenly he jumped up in order to devour his father, who was sitting on the opposite side of the fire. He had the cedar-bark ornaments of the hā′mats'a around his neck and head. His head ring slid down and fell right over his mouth, so that instead of biting his father he bit a piece out of his ring. His grandfather took a large black blanket which he wound around the youth's head. He tore it with his teeth. Then the people wound a rope over his mouth; he tore it. Nobody was able to subdue him. All the people fled out of the door for fear. They heard him singing in the house and looked through the chinks and through the knot holes to see what he was doing. They saw him climbing the posts and pushing the roof boards aside. He wanted to pursue the people. Then they stationed two men at the doors, and others held the roof down so that he should not escape. Others entered and threw a bearskin over him. But he crept about in the house and his skin was so slippery that nobody could hold him. In the evening he quieted down and lay so still that the people thought he might be asleep. They made a jacket of cedar bark in which they tried to catch him. But as soon as they approached he jumped up and ran out of the house. On the island Nalkuitxôi′as there were a number of women engaged splitting salmon. He scented them and jumped into the water to devour them. They escaped in their canoe when they saw him coming.

At last QoaLqoā′oē recovered his senses. He spoke to his father: "When I grow excited again, do not try to defend yourself, I shall do you no harm." After a short time he fell again into a state of ecstasy. He lay flat on the floor, his face downward. The people threw a net made of cedar bark over him, in order to catch him. Sometimes they succeeded in placing a foot on his neck, but they were unable to hold him, not even by winding his long hair around their hands. He escaped, and nobody knew what had become of him. He ran about in the woods and when he came back to the village he bit whomsoever he met. When he recovered his senses, he asked his father to boil oulachon oil and to give it to him as soon as he fell into a renewed ecstasy, as this would restore his senses. Once when he was excited, he scented the mussels in a canoe which was approaching the village, but which was still far away. He ran down to the beach and as soon as the canoe landed he ate all the mussels that were in it. Then he became quiet.

Another group of initiating spirits are the ghosts; their protégés are the ghost dancers. Following is a legend of the L'ā′sq'ēnōx regarding the origin of the ghost dance:[1]

Goā′xLa and his children lived in a village in heaven. His sons were Qō′masdôx, the eldest one, Hai′aqoālaL, the next, Nō′lak·as the following, and A′nqolak·as. His rival was TsîlqoalōLEla. He had three sons, Sepā′xis and YaqanLamayē and G·ē′xdEn. Then Tsî′lqoalō-LEla wanted to come down to our world. He made a copper ladder on which he was going to climb down with his children. His rival wanted him to pay for it.(?) Now Goā′xLa heard what Tsî′lqoalōLEla had said. Then he walked and walked for four days. All of a sudden, he saw a mountain growing up from this our world reaching up to the sky. Then he went home and told his sons. They got ready and came to the place where he had been before. After a little while they saw the mountain rising up again. As soon as it reached heaven Goā′xLa said to his sons: "I shall not follow you. Go now and call your tribe the Pē′pawiLēnôx. You shall take my dancing implements." Thus he spoke to his sons. Then Qō′māsdôx and Hai′aqoālaL and Nō′lak·as and also A′nqolak·as came down to Raspberry Beach. Then they went on looking for a river. They were walking in the woods and came to Cape Cook. There they found a pole at the point of Cape Cook. Then Qō′māsdôx and Hai′aqoālaL went back, keeping close to the beach. They came to Ots'ō′lis and went to the head of the bay. There they saw smoke. They came up to it and saw a house, which they entered. There were two women who were roasting clams. Then Qō′māsdôx and Hai′aqoālaL asked the women: "Where do you come from?" The women replied: "We came from the upper world and we have no husbands." Then Qō′māsdôx said, "We have no wives. How did you come down?" Then Wī′yolēneqa, one of the women, spoke: "These geese brought us down here and we came to be your wives." The brothers were glad on hearing this and they went home with their

[1] Appendix page 681. See also page 335.

wives, Wī′yolēneqa and WīyoLasoguilak^{u}. When they came to Raspberry Beach, the women were with child. They gave birth to boys, and Qō′māsdôx gave his son the name Lā′qoasqEm. The boys grew up quickly. One day the children were playing at the river at one end of Raspberry Beach. Then Lā′qoasqEm fainted on that side of the river. The other boy went back to tell Qō′māsdôx. He came at once to look after his son, and really, he was dead. He buried him immediately. In the evening the boy returned to life, but what could he do? He was inside the coffin box. At night he heard people talking to each other. Then he was able to open the cover of the box. Right away he was called and they went to a house in which beating of boards was heard. Three ghosts were asked to take care of the boy. Then they led him into the dancing house, but they did not go to the rear of the house. They sat in the middle of the right hand side. Now they spoke to Lā′qoasqEm: "Now take care, remember what you see and the songs which you will hear. Don't eat of the food they offer you." There was a chief standing in the house holding a rattle. His name was Hā′mamaxayals. He was chief of all the ghosts. He said, "Come, let my boy go to the rear of the house." But the three ghosts replied, "He is alive." They finished their dance. The boy felt uneasy. Then Hā′mamaxayals said: "Take care, my tribe. We will take that little boy to his house." Then all the ghosts took some moss and put it on their heads. Then the little boy also put some moss on his head. At once he sat on the ground of our own world. A shaman named Hē′Lilalag·ilîs was told to take some urine to wash the people. Then all the ghosts cried "hamamā′" where he was sitting. Qō′masdôx and his wife were eating when they heard the sound, "hamamā′, hamamā′." He ran out of his house to look, and there he saw his son sitting on the ground. He called his wife, "Come." His wife came to see and recognized her own son. Then Lā′qoasqEm called his father, "Go and take some urine to sprinkle your people with." Qō′masdôx brought his chamber. Then the whole tribe came. But the ghosts opened their mouths. As soon as a person passed their mouths while they were saying "hamamā′" he died. Then Lā′qoasqEm shouted, "Sprinkle some urine on the people." As soon as it was done all those who had been dead resurrected. Then he entered his father's house and with him came the noise of the ghosts. The boy was singing their song and the tribe learned it from him. Thus they learned the song of the ghosts. Now listen to the song of the boy! His name was NēnLaxstals, now that he was ghost dancer. No other kind of dance and carving came to him. This is his song:

1. Ya xamamē, ya xamamē, ya xamamē ya.
   Now ghosts, go all to that upper world!
2. Ya xamamē, ya xamamē, ya xamamē ya.
   For great is your wealth in the ground, ghosts!
3. Ya xamamē, ya xamamē, ya xamamē ya.
   For great is your fire and many your hot stones, ghosts!

The origin of the sunrise dance is given as follows:

Kuēxala'lag·ilîs and his tribe, the first of the G·ō'p'ēnòx, were living at G·ē'damîs. At that time it was always dark and it never grew daylight. The first G·ō'p'ēnôx were sad. Then Nag·ēisilakua invited his tribe. As soon as they had all assembled in the chief's house he spoke: "G·ō'p'ēnôx! I did not invite you to eat. I will talk about our world. It is not good that it never gets daylight. Now deliberate, councilors of the G·ō'p'ēnôx, how we can obtain the daylight for our world. That is what I wanted to say." He stopped speaking and an old man named Yaqantayig·ilakᵘ, the father of Kuēxala'lag·ilîs, said: "Ya, G·ō'p'ēnox, let us try to find where Nēnalaats'ēqa is living and let us go to her. Then another old man said: "My tribe, she is living at Xuā'tîs; and it is said that she keeps the sun in her box. Let us go and make war upon the Koskimo, for Nēnalaats'ēqa is of their tribe. Let us take away the daylight that she is keeping in her box." With this the old man stopped speaking. Then Kuēxala'lag·ilîs, who had magical powers, said: "My tribe, you all know I am Kuēxala'lag·ilîs; I have magical powers. Do not make war upon the Koskimo, for I will go to Nēnalaats'ēqa with my friend Ts'ēqaxsdō'kuilakᵘ. Now, make yourself ready, my friend! Let us go to Xuā'tîs. But you, my tribe, take care lest misfortune should befall me." Then all the people said: "We are gladdened after having been downcast, because you have magical powers and therefore you always succeed in your undertakings." Now Kuēxala'lag·ilîs and Ts'ēqaxsdō'kuilakᵘ started. The former said to his friend: "We will not go right to Xuā'tîs. I will go to the woods and try to find a really supernatural power. Do not get out of patience if you have to wait for me for a long time, else we shall not conquer Nēnalaats'ēqa. Hide here and do not let anyone see you." Then he left the canoe and went into the woods at night. After a short time he discovered the squirrel. Kuēxala'lag·ilîs. spoke to him and asked: "What are you doing here, friend?" The squirrel replied: "I am picking crab apples." He asked in his turn: "What are you doing here?" Kuēxala'lag·ilîs replied: "I am trying to bathe in that lake, that I may obtain possession of the box in which is our sun, and which Nēnalaats'ēqa is keeping." The squirrel said: "Do you not know how to transform yourself into a baby and enter Nēnalaats'ēqa's womb? Then, when you are born, you must cry for the box." Then Kuēxala'lag·ilîs was glad to have the advice of his friend the squirrel. He went to his canoe and told his friend: "You may go home. I am not going with you, and do not worry if I stay away long." He pushed the canoe into the water and Ts'ēqaxsdō'kuilakᵘ paddled home to G·ē'damîs. He told the G·ō'p'ēnôx what had happened.

Then Kuēxala'lag·ilîs walked until he saw the village at Xuā'tîs. There he saw Nēnalaats'ēqa sitting in her house, eating salmon. Then he transformed himself into a baby and entered her womb. She vomited at once. Her belly swelled rapidly and after four days she

gave birth to a boy. When he was one day old, he was able to walk, and the following day he began to talk. When the child was four days old, it began to cry for the box. Then Nēnalaats'ēqa gave it to the boy. He stopped crying at once. On the following day the child went playing in the canoe. Then Nēnalaats'ēqa told her speaker to push the hunting canoe into the water. The boy went aboard the canoe and then he began again to cry for the box. His mother told her speakers to put the box into the canoe. Then the boy stopped crying. He pushed off the canoe and went far away from the shore with the tide. Then an old man said to Nēnalaats'ēqa: "What have you been doing? Is that the box in which the day is that is now in the bow of the canoe of that child? Do you not know him? That is Kuēxala'lag·ilîs." Thus spoke the old man. As soon as Kuēxala'lag·ilîs had rounded the point, he opened the box. Then he took out the sun and removed his sī'siuL mask. It grew light at once. The sun spoke: "O, friend! do not keep me! Let me go to the upper world, for now I will try to benefit our world. It will be day now. You have my sī'siuL mask." Thus spoke the sun. Then Kuēxala'lag·ilîs replied: "Do not go just yet, friend! You may go to the upper world when we arrive among my own tribe at G·ē'damîs. They all will praise you." Then he paddled home. The sun said: "My friend! treat my sī'siuL mask well. You may show it during the winter dance, and also the sunrise mask. Its name shall be ĒXts'umatusElag·ilîs (abalone shell from one end of the world to the other). That is all." Thus spoke the sun and bid farewell to Kuēxala'lag·ilîs. Then he went to the upper world.

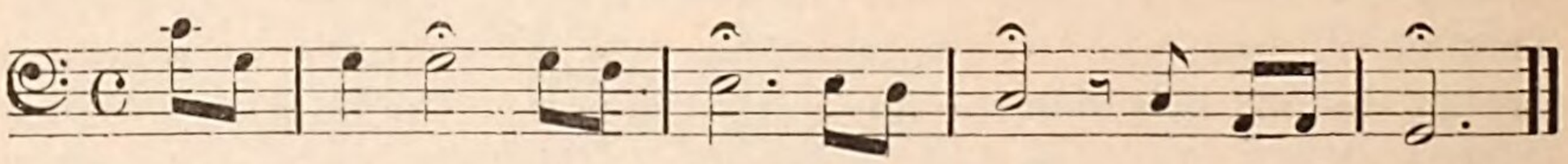
In this manner the G·ō'p'ēnôx obtained the sunrise mask (na'xnak·aqEmL) and its red cedar bark. It was inside the box. That is the end. (See figs. 129–133, p. 484.)

The Mā'tEm ceremonial derives its origin from the following legends of the Nimkish:

At Pāpēk·în, above Nimkish Lake, lived a young man named Ō'mealEmaē. He was always playing with other children. One night he was very hungry. He took salmon roe out of a box and roasted it. When the roe burst, some of it jumped against the neck of the boy's father, who was sitting near the fire warming his back. He grew angry and struck Mā'tEm with a stick. The boy became sad and went into the woods. After walking a long time he came to a place where there was a jam of driftwood in the river. He wanted to die, and he jumped into the water above the jam, but he came up again below, none the worse for his long dive. He came to a second jam and jumped into the river above it, but he came up below hale and well. Then he arrived at a steep cliff. He climbed up and flung himself down the precipice, but he did not hurt himself. He went on and soon he arrived at a mountain which was resplendent with light. It was the cliff Nā'oalakoa. There it was raining quartz all the time. He took up four crystals and placed them in a row on the medial line of his head. He climbed the moun-

tain and his whole body was covered with crystal. Soon he became aware that with the crystal he had attained the power of flying. Then he flew all through the world. He believed that he had been absent for four days, but in reality there had been as many years. Finally he returned to his village. His clan happened to be at Nē′nêlk·as fishing on the lake by the light of torches.

Then he appeared in the shape of a white eagle and quartz was raining down where he was seen. He alighted on a tree and sang—



Then the people knew that he had returned and that he had obtained magical power from Mā′tEm. They bathed and went down to the shore, each carrying a staff to which a crystal had been fastened. But Ō′mealEmaē, whose name was now Mā′tEm, smelled them and did not allow himself to be caught. When it grew dark, he was soaring over the houses. In vain the people tried to catch him. One of his old playmates was very anxious to catch him. He made a loop of cedar bark rope and succeeded in throwing it over the bird's head. The latter continued soaring about. The youth, who now received the name Mā′taanoē, followed him. He asked the people to sweep the house and to place a plank on the roof. When they had done so, Mā′tEm alighted on the plank. Three times he flew up again, but the fourth time he came down into the house, accompanied by Mā′taanoē.

Later on Mā′tEm went out with his slaves to cut wood. His canoe capsized and he descended to Bē′benaqaua. There he saw many dances and he received the lōlō′LalaL, the ghost dance, and the name Lō′LEmaē.

I obtained another version of this tale from a Kwakiutl, although the tale belongs also to the Nimkish:

A youth was in the habit of spending his time with his sweetheart and notwithstanding the urgent appeals of his mother he refused to marry. Late one night he came home and asked his mother to prepare food for him. She was angry and said: "Go back to the place where you came from and get your feed there. I shall not give you anything." Then the youth was sad. He lay down and remained in bed four days without partaking of any food. His mother began to worry and asked him to rise, but he did not listen. Then she called the youth's sweetheart to call him, but he did not listen to her either. At last, after four days, he arose and went into the woods without knowing where he went. He had lost his senses. He came to a lake. There he threw off his clothing and swam and dived in the lake. He remained under water for a long time. When he came up again, a totem pole rose with him. He said, "I do not want you," and thought, "I will go

on." After some time he came to another lake. Again he swam and dived. When he came up, a seal harpoon came up with him, but he did not want to have it. He was trying to find the bird Mā'tEm. He came to a third and to a fourth pond, and after having bathed he knew that he would find the bird. He put on his blanket and went on. Soon he saw the bird, which was flying ahead of him. He threw off his blanket in order to be able to follow him more rapidly. Suddenly the bird turned and called, "What do you want of me?" The youth replied, "My mother maltreated me. Now I came to find a magical treasure." The bird retorted: "Do you see yon mountain? That is my abode. Let us climb it!" He flew ahead and the youth followed him. When they had arrived at Mā'tEm's house, the bird gave him quartz and other things, the water of life, the fire of death, and the seal harpoon. He put the quartz crystals into the youth's joints and thus he obtained the power of flying. He sent him to the mountain Ts'î'lk·împaē (feathers on top) in the far north, in order to get eagle down for his dances. The youth started on his journey. When he approached the mountain, it was snowing, hailing, and raining. The people who lived near the mountain keep great fires burning in order to see and to catch everyone who comes to the mountain wanting to get eagle down. But by the help of the quartz the youth passed them without being seen. He gathered the eagle down, and thus obtained the power of assuming the shape of a bird. Then he returned to his own village in the shape of a bird. When his younger brother saw the bird approaching, he laid a snare to catch it. The bird put the snare over its own neck and resumed his human shape. He sent word to his father, asking him to clean his house. When this was done, he came home in the evening and danced as Mā'tEm. On the following morning the bird Mā'tEm brought a totem pole and threw it down in front of the youth's house.

The Mē'iLa is a legend which belonged originally to the Hē'iltsuq and Awī'k·'ēnôx. I obtained the following tale from the Awī'k·'ēnôx regarding its origin:

A young man named Mē'iLa went ten times inside of one year up to the sky. On his first visit he found a gull, which he brought down. On his second visit he found a puffin (?); on his third visit the salmon berries, then a diver (a bird) and the bird xē'xēxē. After his sixth visit he brought the bird atE'mkuli. But when he had gone up the tenth time he did not return again. His mother, Lēelaiaqs, and his father, Q'ōmxto-îs, mourned for him. Finally they fell asleep. His mother thought that in her dream she saw a beautiful house, but on awaking she recognized that what she believed to have been a dream was real. The house was near by, and her son Mē'iLa was sitting in front of it. She awakened her husband that he might see him. They jumped up and ran toward the house. But it retreated from them, and finally they saw that it was in reality up in heaven. Then they sat down and cried, singing "Our son is in heaven playing with Nūsnū'sElîs (the moon).

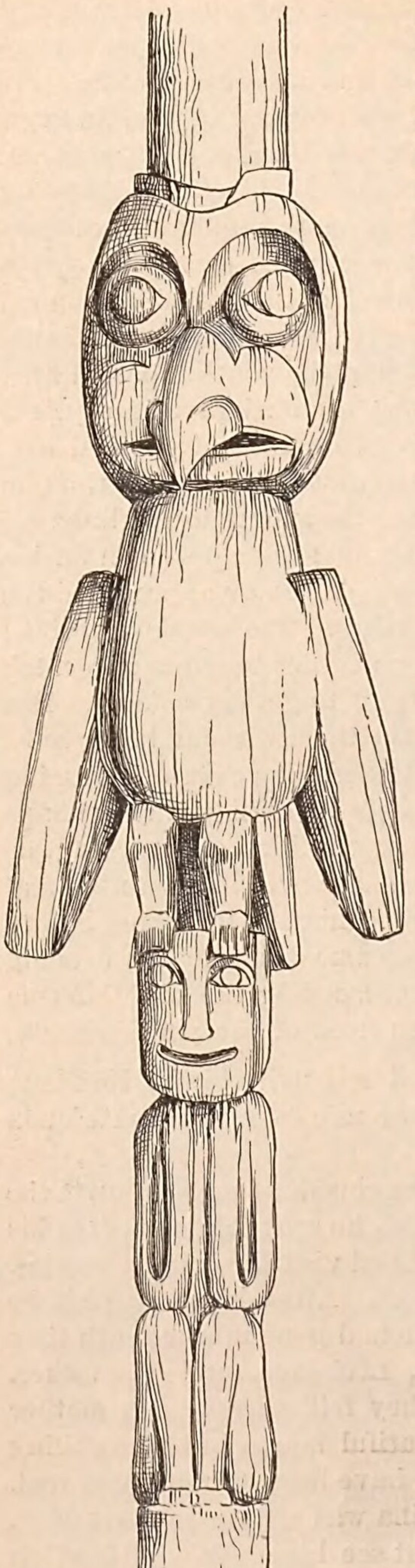


Fig. 36.

POST OF LĒ'LAXA IN XUMTA'SPĒ.

From a sketch by the author.

Never will he return to us." When they were thus singing, their niece passed by them, and they told her that they had seen Mē'iLa playing in front of the moon's house. Their niece said, "Let us make him appear in our dances." The parents of the boy agreed and let their niece Q'ōqomē'tsEmqa perform the Mē'iLa dance. They gave her his name.

In a number of cases the dance or the powers obtained by the ancestor are also represented on the totem carvings. I will give a few examples of this kind:

There were the first of the Qoē'xsōt'ēnôx at Hē'qams. LālilILax came to be their chief. Now, he said he wanted to go to the river of Gā'yux to see if the sockey-salmon went up the river. He went far up, but did not find a single salmon. Then he forgot why he had gone up the river. He felt dizzy. All of a sudden he saw a pretty man sitting on a stone. His face was like that of a bird. The man did not see LĀ'lilILax. The latter went up to him and stood behind him while the other was not turning his head. He said, "Friend, what are you doing here?" Now the man turned his head and spoke: "Thank you, friend, that you came so that I could see you. I am the one who thunders from the one end to the other end of the world." LĀ'lilILax replied: "O, master, I came here for your sake. Now give me a magic treasure." Then the man spoke: "Make a house and invite all the tribes." He showed him the carving of the thunder bird, with two spread legs. They say it was as long as a forefinger. The man spoke: "Its legs are the door of the house. This is my ornament of red cedar bark around its head. The heads on it were given to me by my father that I should eat them. This image of a man you shall place in the rear of your house. It is the image of my father. (Plate 22.) In the coming

POSTS IN HOUSE OF QOĒ'XSŌT'ĒNÔX.

Nos. $\frac{16}{975}$, $\frac{16}{974}$, American Museum of Natural History, New York. Collected by F. Boas.

night this shall be in your village. These shall be your magic treasures: the water of life, the death bringer, and the fire bringer which will destroy your enemies, and the property bringer. Now you are a chief. You will be a thunder dancer, and your name shall be KukunXpalisila, the one who thunders from the one end of the world to the other, and human heads will be on your cedar bark rings and on your neck ring, and your chief's name shall be Yā'qaLEnlîs (property on body)." Then the man disappeared. Lā'liliLax went home. His wife tried to give him food, but he did not take it. His tribe thought that he had obtained a magic treasure. At night his people slept. In the morning they came into his house. Then Lā'liliLax looked at his house. He saw the post of his house, and then he sang his secret song. He was glad that he had received this house, because all had come what the man had told him. This is the secret song of Lā'liliLax:

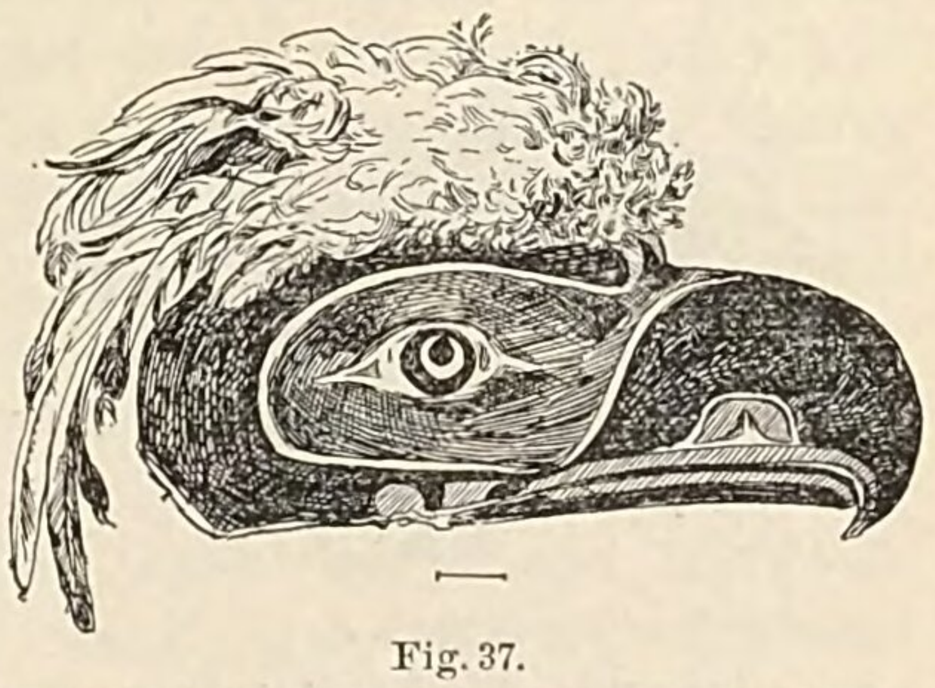


Fig. 37.

MASK REPRESENTING Đ'A'MTALAL AS THE THUNDER BIRD.

Cat. No. 175523, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

My name will be: property drifting toward me on account of my property-bringer. Yao, yao, yao, ha, yao, ha, yao.

The coppers all drift to me on account of the copperbringer. Ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, oh, oh, ho, ho, ho, ho, oh, oh.[1]

Fig. 38.

MASK REPRESENTING Đ'A'MTALAL.

Cat. No. 175524, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

Then Lā'liliLax told his tribe to invite all the tribes. The speakers went out between the legs of the thunder bird, which formed the door of the house, and he gave a winter ceremonial. He was the thunder dancer. He owned the red cedar bark of the thunder bird and his name was Yā'qaLEnlîs. All the tribes who were invited came, and he gave away sea-otter blankets, lynx skins, bear skins, marten skins, mink skins, and all kinds of skins. His clan were the G·ē'xsEm of the Qoē'xsōt'ēnôx. Then GEdē', chief of the Lau'itsis, engaged himself to marry Lā'liliLax's daughter. Her name was Ā'o·maL; he agreed, and very soon GEdē' married her. He gave his house and his name to his son-in-law, and GEdē' invited all the tribes when he got the house and name. GEdē''s clan were the Sī'sEnLaē. Then Yē'qug·alag·ilîs, chief of the Q'ō'moyuē, engaged himself to marry the daughter of GEdē'. The latter consented, and Yē'qug·alag·ilîs married the daughter of GEdē', who gave him his

[1] This is the call of Ts'ō'noqoa; it means that he is lifting his heavy property from the ground, as though ridiculing his rival.

house and his name. His clan were the Lâxsē of the Kuē′xa. Then Yē′qug·alag·ilîs invited all the tribes to a feast which he gave with what he had received from his father-in-law; the coppers, canoes, slaves, boxes, covers, and names. Now Yē′qug·alag·ilîs took the name Lā′liliLax and the name for the winter ceremonial that belongs to it. That is the end.

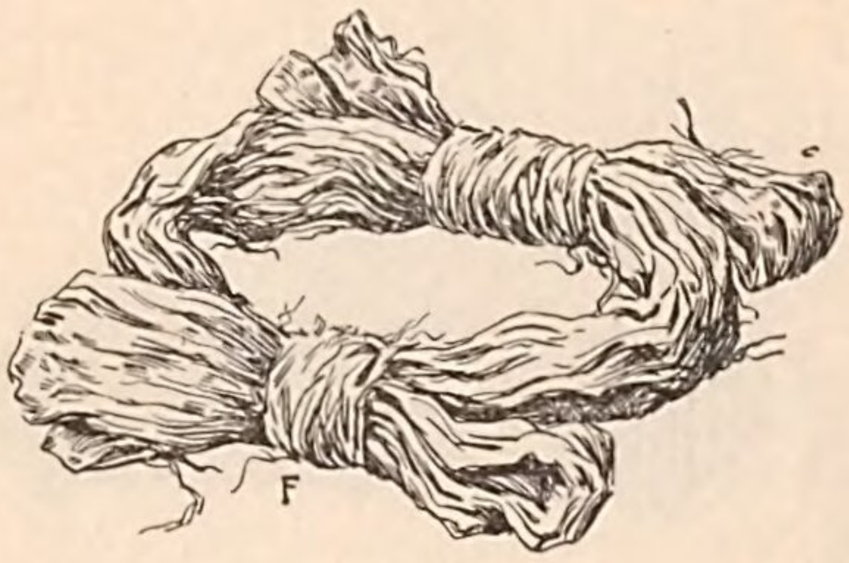


Fig. 39.

HEAD RING OF Ð'A′MTALAL.

Cat. No. 175503, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

The following legend belongs to the subdivision Mē′Emaqâaē of the Naqô′-mg·ilisala and explains the post shown in fig. 36 (see also pp. 332 and 376):

A man lived in a house at G·igē′LEm. He tried to find the sī′siuL for his magical treasure, but he was unsuccessful. He only died. Then his tribe put up a false grave for him. But he had found a magical treasure and went up to heaven. Blood was put on his false grave, and a sun was painted on it. After four days it began to thunder. Lē′laxa thundered. He came down to the beach early in the morning in the shape of the thunder bird. He took off his mask, and they recognized Lē′laxa. Then he showed his magical treasures; the thunderbird mask, the two-face mask, and the morning mask. He was mā′maqa. He threw the worm against his enemies (see p. 485). He was ts'ē′koîs[1] and sē′lîs.[1] He had the frog, and the mā′maqa who carries spear points. He was cannibal and pa′-xala. He was t'ē′nqoa. The thunder-bird mask belongs to the nō′n-LEm, the other to the winter ceremonial. That is the end.[2]

The clan Ð'a′mƷ'amtElaL of the Ts'a′watEēnôx has a number of carvings and ornaments, the use of which is authorized by the following tradition, which tells of the meeting of the ancestor of the clan with the deity:

Ð'a′mtalaL was the name of the chief who lived on one side of the river Ts'ā′watē. X·î′nt'alaqa was the name of his wife. B'a′Lalag·i-lak^{u} was his son. Nau′alagumqa and Ts'ē′stalîs were his daughters.

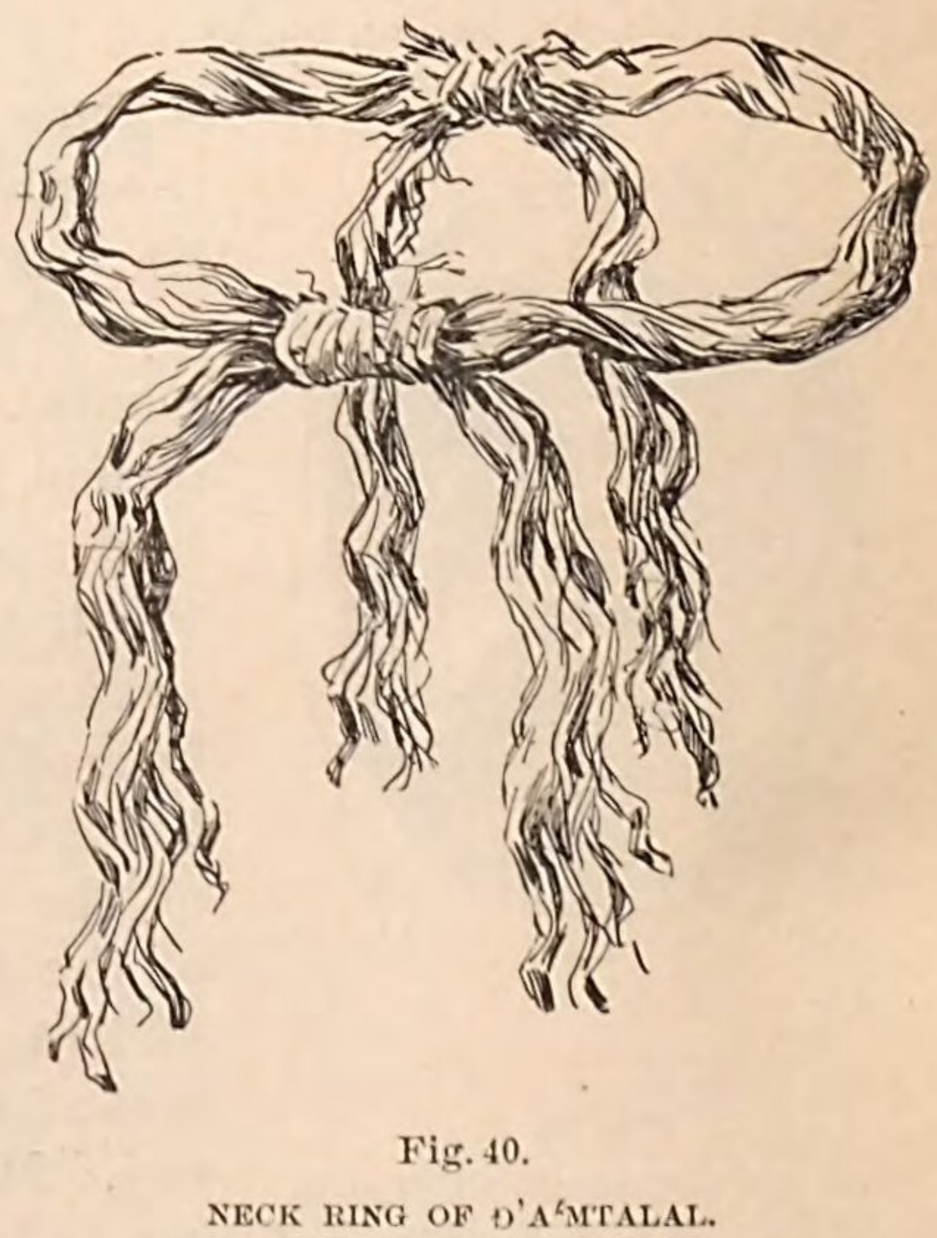


Fig. 40.

NECK RING OF Ð'A′MTALAL.

Cat. No. 175505, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

Ð'a′mtalaL was making a salmon trap. A man came and looked at him and his hammer fell into the water. But Ð'a′mtalaL just said "hoî′p," and the hammer floated. It was Qā′niqilak^{u} who was watching

[1] These will be described later. See page 493.

[2] See Appendix, page 685.

him and who made the hammer fall into the water. Twice the hammer fell into the water, but when he said "hoî'p," it floated. Then Qā'niqilakᵘ spoke to ƛ'a'mtalaL: "Who are you?" "I am ƛ'a'mtalaL." Then Qā'niqilakᵘ said merely: "O, friend." Now ƛ'a'mtalaL asked in his turn: "Who are you, friend?" and Qā'niqilakᵘ replied, "I am Qā'niqilakᵘ, friend." Nau'alagumqa knew Qā'niqilakᵘ's thoughts. She went to her house and closed all the chinks and holes. She knew that Qā'niqilakᵘ was going to make a flood. She and her sister finished closing the chinks and holes of the house. Qā'niqilakᵘ spoke: "Is it true that you are a shaman, friend?" It is said that ƛ'a'mtalaL's face was almost covered by his head ring of red cedar bark. "Give me some of your cedar bark, ƛ'a'mtalaL," said Qā'niqilakᵘ. Then ƛ'a'mtalaL tore a piece of bark from his ring and gave it to Qā'niqilakᵘ. Now Qā'niqilakᵘ made the tide rise, but ƛ'a'mtalaL merely said "hoî'p," and the water ceased rising. Then Qā'niqilakᵘ said: "Truly you can work miracles." Now ƛ'a'mtalaL sent his children home. They left their father. As soon as they arrived in their house, our Lord Qā'niqilakᵘ made a flood. Then ƛ'a'mtalaL died. Then B'ā'Lalag·ilakᵘ took the place of his father. When the tide had gone down, he saw an oulachon in the river. He did not know what kind of fish it was. Then he went home with his sisters. He asked his mother: "What is swimming in the river here? It looks like worms." She replied: "Those are oulachons. They are fat. Make a trap at the point on the beach where the drift logs are and make a string of grass and try to fish."

Then he went back to the river and saw a canoe coming. It stopped on the beach in the same place where B'ā'Lalag·ilakᵘ was sitting. Wē'qaē was in the canoe. He spoke: "What are you doing at my river?" B'ā'Lalag·ilakᵘ replied: "Is that your river? Then tell me what kinds of fish go up the river?" Wē'qaē said: "These are the kinds of fish that go up my river: Steel head salmon, spring salmon, silver salmon, dog salmon, humpback salmon, trouts, that is all." Then B'ā'Lalag·ilakᵘ replied: "Is that all that goes up the river?" Wē'qaē said: "That is all." But B'ā'Lalag·ilakᵘ added: "Oulachon go up my river." "Oh, I forgot that. Let us go ashore. I want to take that boy into my canoe," said Wē'qaē. B'ā'Lalag·ilakᵘ asked his sisters to stay where they were. He was taken and tied in Wē'qaē's canoe. He made him a slave. Now they went down the inlet and came to Dōx'ualits'ēnaē. Then B'ā'Lalag·ilakᵘ moved in the canoe and flew away. In vain they tried to catch him with their paddles. He flew home. Wē'qaē traveled on and came to Qā'qētEn. There he saw the thunder bird sitting on a rock. He landed under the mountain where the thunder bird was sitting, but he did not go out of his canoe. Then the thunder bird sent the wind maker to hear what they said. He went down and heard Wē'qaē saying: "I thought he always made it hail." Then the wind maker went back to tell the thunder bird what he had heard. Now the thunder bird arose and went into his house. He put on his eagle dress and came out again.

Right away there was thunder and lightning and a hail storm and a gale was blowing in Ts'ā'watē. Then Wē'qaē was blown up the inlet. In this manner the Lē'kwiltôq obtained the oulachon.

Figures 37 and 38 show ɮ'a'mtalaL, who came down in the shape of a thunder bird from heaven, took off his bird mask, and became a man. Figures 39 and 40 show his cedar-bark ornaments.

VII. The Organization of the Tribe during the Season of the Winter Ceremonial.

In the preceding chapter I have described a number of spirits which appear to the Indians and are supposed to bestow supernatural powers upon them. From the legends which I have told, it appears that these spirits appeared first to the ancestors of the clan, and I have stated that the same spirits continue to appear to the descendants of these mythical ancestors. The number of spirits is limited, and the same one appeared to ancestors of various clans of different tribes. But in these cases he gave each of his protégés his powers in a slightly different form. In fact each name of the nobility (as described on p. 338) has a separate tradition of the acquisition of supernatural powers, and these have descended upon the bearers of the name. As indicated in some of the traditions, the spirits give new names to the men to whom they appear, but these names are in use only during the time when the spirits dwell among the Indians—that is, in winter. Therefore, from the moment when the spirits are supposed to be present, all the summer names are dropped, and the members of the nobility take their winter names.

It is clear that with the change of name the whole social structure, which is based on the names, must break down. Instead of being grouped in clans, the Indians are now grouped according to the spirits which have initiated them. All those who are protected by Baxbakuālanuxsī'waē form one group; those who stand under Wīnā'lag·ilîs form another group, etc., and in these groups divisions are made according to the ceremonies or dances bestowed upon the person.

Thus, at the time of the beginning of the winter ceremonial the social system is completely changed. The period when the clan system is in force is called bā'xus, which term also designates those who have not been initiated by any spirit, and might be translated "profane." The period of the winter ceremonial is called ts'ē'ts'aēqa, the secrets, which term designates also the ceremonial itself. It is also called ts'ē'qa (singular of ts'ē'ts'aēqa); aik·'ē'gala (making the heart good); and g·ā'xaxaak^{u} (brought down from above). The Indians express this alternating of seasons by saying that in summer the bā'xus is on top, the ts'ē'ts'aēqa below, and vice versa in winter.

During this period the place of the clans is taken by a number of societies, namely, the groups of all those individuals upon whom the same or almost the same power or secret has been bestowed by one of the spirits. Thus the hā'mats'a, nū'LmaL, bear dancers, etc., form each one society, which consists of a limited number of names, because the

members of the society derive each their membership from the initiation of one of the ancestors of the nobility. These ancestors have each only one representative at a time. But many of them are grouped together, as will be presently described.

It follows from these facts that a new member of a society can be admitted only when another one is dropped, whose place he then takes. The custom is analogous to the transfer of a position in the nobility to a youth; the old member transfers his rights to a young man and drops out of the ranks of the society.

The dancers (or societies) are arranged in two principal groups, whose names among the Kwakiutl proper are the seals (mē′êmqoat) and the quē′qutsa. The former embrace a number of dancers and societies of dancers—the hā′matsa, ha′mshamtsEs, k·inqalaLala, nō′ntsîstalaL, qoē′qoasElaL, q'ō′minōqa, nā′nē, nū′LmaL. They are the highest in rank. All the others are quē′qutsa. These are subdivided in smaller groups according to age and sex, as follows:

Males.

1. NaanE′Xsōkᵘ, boys.
2. Maa′mx'ēnôx (killer whales), young men.
3. D'ō′d'ōpa (rock cods), young men, about twenty-five years old.
4. L'ē′L'ēxEn (sea lions), older men.
5. Qoē′qoîm (whales), chiefs.
6. Qō′qosqīmo (Koskimos), old men.
7. Hē′mElk (eaters), head chiefs.

Females.

8. Kēki′xalakᵘ, girls.
9. Qaqaqaō′ (hens), young women.
10. Mō′smōs (cows), old women.

The number of these societies has undergone frequent changes, but the Maa′mx'ēnôx, D'ō′d'ōpa, L'ē′L'ēxEn, and Qoē′qoîm have always remained. The present societies of the women are quite new, as is shown by their names—hens and cows. The former were called until about twenty years ago wa′xwaxoli.

The La′Lasiqoala are divided in the following way: The group corresponding to the seal group is called q'ā′q'anas (a small black shellfish). They embrace the hā′mats'a, mā′maq'a, t'ō′x'uît (ō′lala), hai′alik·ilaL, ts'ē′koîsc, sē′lics, ts'ē′koa'tâ', yiyā′LalaL.

The societies corresponding to the quē′qutsa divisions are the following:

Males.

1. x·ī′x·itpa (puffins), little boys.
2. Laa′lk·ō (mallard ducks), boys.
3. K·'ik·'inē′La (sea anemones), sick and lame people.
4. G·a'g·imōla (halibut hooks), young chiefs.
5. Nē′ntsaē (red cod), third-class chiefs.
6. L'ē′L'axan (sea lions), men about 30 years old.
7. Mō′omguanâ'lē (anchor lines of tribes), old chiefs.

Females.

8. Hä′iaxaqEmaē (eating first), girls.
9. Ts'ēts'āēxsâq (a species of birds), women.
10. Bā′baLē (albatrosses), old women.

The Nā′q'oaqtôq are divided as follows: The group corresponding to the seals are called wu′n'awunx·îs, the troublesome ones. They embrace hāmats'a, bear, and mā′maq'a. I have not a complete list of the subdivisions of the quē′qutsa.

L'ō′L'Epana (cormorants) are the chiefs, ēsElāliLtsawē qoayî′m (the whales for whom one waits), are the young men, ts'ē′ts'eg·inaqa (gulls), the elder boys.

The group corresponding to the seal group is called among the Koskimo ts'E′qolag·ilîs, and embraces wolves and hā′mats'a. The chiefs among this tribe are called t'ō′t'opa (rock-cods), and the higher chiefs nā′nē (bears). The middle-aged men are called guē′gusō (pigs).

The quē′qutsa groups of all these tribes embrace those individuals who, for the time being, are not possessed by the spirits. A member of the quē′qutsa may at any time be initiated by a new spirit and then he or she leaves their ranks. Or he may become possessed of his spirit and show his dance or ceremony. Then he is for the time being not considered as one of the quē′qutsa, but simply as one of these dancers. Therefore the quē′qutsa correspond very nearly to the group of people who have resigned their places in favor of younger ones, as these also may reenter the ranks of the nobility by marrying and thus obtaining a new name.

The seal society are subdivided in two groups: The la′xsâ (gone into the house), those who have gone through the house of BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē and learned all his secrets, and the wī′xsâ (not gone into the house), those who have only "leaned against its walls." All the dancers who are instructed by BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē, the hā′mats'a, ha′mshamtsEs, BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē's grizzly bear, k·î′nqalaLala and q'ō′minōqa belong to the la′xsâ; the others are wī′xsâ.

Each dance (lē′da) has two names belonging to it—the dance name (lē′laēnēxLä′ya) and the quē′qutsa name (quē′tsExLä′ya) which latter the individual assumes when giving up his dance in favor of a younger man, or which he has when not performing his dance or ceremony.

The two groups, the seals and the quē′qutsa, and the corresponding ones among the other tribes, are hostile to one another. The seals when excited attack and torment the quē′qutsa; the latter, on the other hand, tease and torment the members of the seal society. While most of the dancers join during the greater part of the ts'ē′ts'aēqa season the quē′qutsa and perform their dances only at certain occasions, the members of the seal society, particularly the highest ones, the hā′mats'a, must stay with their society, and even when they intend to give up their dance the quē′qutsa try to prevent them by all possible means.

It will be noticed that most of the subdivisions of the quē′qutsa have animal names. For this the Indians give the explanation that the ceremonial was instituted at the time when men had still the form of animals; before the transformer had put everything into its present shape. The present ceremonial is a repetition of the ceremonial

performed by the man animals (nu′xnēmîs) or, as we may say, a dramatization of the myth. Therefore the people who do not represent spirits, represent these animals.

As might be supposed from the laws governing the clan system, the "dance" is principally acquired through marriage. Together with the house, the carvings, and names of the father-in-law, the young man obtains his dance name and quē′qutsa name, but not for his own use. They are given to his successor (Lawu′lqamē), who is initiated in the prescribed way and then performs the ceremony. But the son-in-law of the former owner controls the dance. It can be shown only with his consent, and, when another man marries his daughter, he may take it away from his successor and give it to this person, who then owns and controls it.

By means of marriages with the Awī′k·'ēnôx and Hē′iltsuq the number of dances of the Kwakiutl has been materially increased.

I can now describe the manner in which these privileges which are obtained by marriage are transferred by a man to his son-in-law. I stated previously (p. 359) that according to the number of children of the couple the purchase money which was given by the young man to his father-in-law at the time of marriage is returned with from 100 to 300 per cent of interest. As the time approaches when this money must be returned, the father-in-law calls in all his outstanding debts and gathers all his property, until he has a large stock of food, blankets, boxes, dishes, spoons, kettles, bracelets, coppers, and the ceremonial box lids (g·ī′sExstâla or koqētayā′nō). These are old lids of boxes, some evidently of very great age. Their shape is the same as that of the lids which are still in use, but the front part is much higher and painted with designs representing faces and set with sea-otter teeth (fig. 41). The bracelets are tied to sticks, ten to each stick; besides the large coppers, small ones, about an inch or two in length, are used. Four of these are tied together and to the end of a stick. When the father-in-law has collected the necessary amount of property, he is ready for the ceremony of the return of the purchase money (qautē′x·a). This may be done either in the bā′xus season or during the ts'ē′ts'aēqa. The ceremonies at both seasons are much alike. I will describe here the former, as the latter form a part of the winter ceremonial. The father-in-law calls his clan together.[1] They all come, and

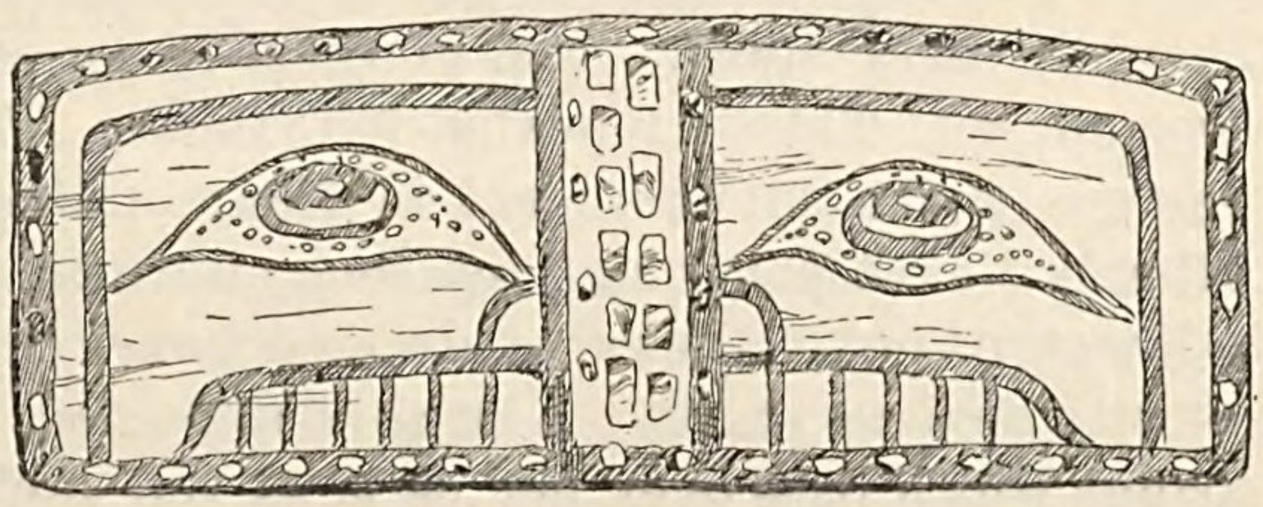


Fig. 41.

G·Ī′SEXSTÂLA, CEREMONIAL BOX LID.

IV A, No. 1128, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin.

[1] Saying to his messengers, Hag·a Lē′lala XEns nE'mē′muta.
Go call our clan.

at this meeting he informs the people what amount of property he is going to give to his son-in-law, and what names the latter is to receive from him; also if he is going to receive his house, his carvings, and his dance. The clan offer the father-in-law their help if he should not have enough property. On the following morning the father-in-law and the son-in-law each call their clan. The young man assembles his people in his house and tells them what he expects his father-in-law to give him, and requests the people to dress as nicely as they can.[1] They put on their button blankets and down and paint their faces. They remain in front of their house while the father-in-law's people take the ceremonial box lids and place them on the beach in the form of a square, the sides of which are about 100 feet long. This is called the canoe (mā′wa), and all the property that is to be given to the son-in-law is placed in this inclosure. From one or two corners of this "canoe" cedar bark ropes are stretched to the front corners of the young man's house. All the spoons and dishes which the father-in-law is going to give away are tied to them. They are called the anchor line of the canoe. The father-in-law calls his clan inside the square.[2] They all carry staffs. One of them sings out "hū, hū, hū!" and all respond, wū! This is repeated four times. The clan of the son-in-law, who are on the summer seat in front of the house, repeat the cries. After this each party sing ten songs in turn. Then the wife of the son-in-law steps out of the canoe dressed in her best. She wears a blanket set with abalone shells. A large abalone shell is fastened to her nose by strings which pass over her ears, as the shell is too heavy to be worn suspended from the septum. For the same reason her earrings are worn suspended from the hair. She performs a dance, after which her ornaments are given to her husband.

The mother-in-law is also in the "canoe." It is customary that during the time preceding this festival people of her own and other tribes send her small presents of food or help her carry water. In return, she gives those who have been kind to her bracelets from out of the "canoe."

Now the speaker of the father-in-law calls the son-in-law, saying: "Come, take care of yourself, else you will have bad luck."[3] He calls four men of his own clan and says to them: "Come! take hold of our property that we have in our canoe."[4] Then turning again to the son-in-law, he continues: "I made an anchor line of spoons.[5] I pay you

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[1] Wā′x'amlîs qoā′lax q'ā′laXdaôxLŌL; t'E′nxāxdaôxLES.
Never mind you dress to the highest pitch; stride on the tips of your toes.

[2] Qē′laxdaôx lā′g·a hau′guxsa.
Come go into the canoe.

[3] Wē′g·a, yā′L'ōsLax, nEgō′mp! Yā′Lâ'nō ā′Las a'mē′La.
Come, take care, son-in-law! Take care else you bad luck.

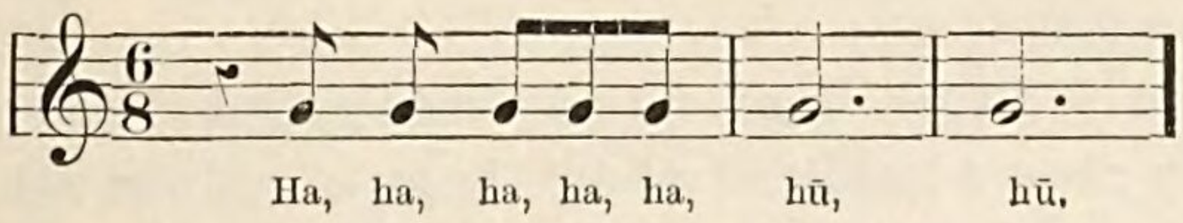
[4] Qē′laxdaôx, lā′g·a qans dā′daxsilax·'itaans sā′xEns mEm'wālē qans.
Come! go our we handle many things of our our loaded canoe.

[5] La'mEn mō′kuanâla xēx k·ā′tsEnāq.
I anchor line these spoons.

capital and interest with these button blankets. This is grease, my son-in-law! This is food for your feast. Your name will be (Mâ'nakula). When we turn to the ts'ē'tsaēqa your name will be (Hē'iLtsaqôlîs)."[1]

When enumerating the blankets, grease, and food, the speaker does not point at them, but takes up sticks which represent these presents.

Then the speaker takes up a box in which the badges and whistles of the winter dance are tied up. The box must be hidden under the blanket, because it is bā'xus season and nobody must see it. He says: "Come, son-in-law, and take my box."[2] The young man takes it and hides it at once under his blanket, saying: "I shall hide this. Thank you."[3] He carries it to his house at once. Then the father-in-law's speaker takes up the copper. If the father-in-law has, at the time when he married, given as many as four coppers, he will sing out:



The speaker holds up the copper and says: "Son-in-law! Now I give you the mast of my canoe (the copper). Its name is (Mā'mokulēlag·a).[4] The son-in-law carries it to his house, and when he comes back, the speaker says: "And now I give you boxes from out of my canoe."[5]

After all the presents have been given, the son-in-law and a few of his friends go to his house. The rest of his friends go up behind the houses and walk secretly up to the end of the village. When they have assembled there, they suddenly rush down to the "canoe" and with an ax split one of the box covers forming a corner of the canoe. While they are doing so the men who went into the house are beating time and the members of the secret societies utter their cries, although it is bā'xus season. This is called "sinking the canoe" (tsō'kunsa). The man who split the box cover says: "Now our loaded canoe is

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[1] La'mEn wuLêLē'k·ila LxĒ'x da k·ô'kuēxtâla. Ēt'ōLtēLai' nEgumpai' L'ēnēqai',
I pay with interest these the button blankets. Also out of canoe son-in-law grease,
hamayeqai' qa ēs LĒ'luxLaōs nEgu'mpē. LēeqamLaôs nEgu'mpē la'ams
food for you you invite them son-in-law. Your name will be son-in-law you are
Mâ'nakula LŌL. Lēx·îls LEns nā'la, la'ams Hē'iLtsaqôlîs.
Mâ'nakula you will be. When turns our day you are Hē'iLtsaqôlîs.
(to s'ētsā'ēqa)

[2] Qē'la, ax'ai'tax g·în g·îltastî'k·.
Come, take my box here.

[3] Â'Em LEn q'lā'L'it Laqak'. Qē'lak·asla.
Only I hide this red cedarbark. Thanks.

[4] La'men Lāk·e'yā'laxēqai', nEgumpai' g·at Mā'mokulēlag·ai'.
I now mast of canoe son-in-law this Mā'mokulēlag·a.

[5] Laam laLŌLai' nEgumpai' qatsEmēqai'.
Then I give out of canoe son-in-law boxes.

broken;"[1] and the son-in-law replies: "Let us be glad."[2] Then he sings the following song of joy:

I will go and tear to pieces Mount Stevens, I will use it for stones for my fire,
I will go and break Mount Qā'tsta'îs, I will use it for stones for my fire;
Wealth is rolling down to him from the great chiefs,
Wealth is rolling down to him from all sides; all the chiefs go to him for protection.

The breaking of the canoe indicates that all the property given to the young man will be at once distributed among the tribe. This is done on the subsequent day.

There is still another way by which a dance may be obtained—the same as the crest and bā'xus (clan) names—namely, by killing its owner. It is said that many dances were introduced among the Kwakiutl and related tribes in this manner. I will give a few examples of this custom, to which I briefly alluded at a former place, but which I could not treat fully there, because the custom is so intimately connected with the winter ceremonials. The first instance about which I learned is the following:

Formerly the Mā'tîlpē had no hā'mats'a, but only ha'mshamtsEs, and the other tribes would not allow them to obtain one through marriage. At one time a canoe of northern tribes passed near the village of the Mā'tîlpē. Two young men observed it, and they saw that there were four men and two women in the canoe, one of whom wore the badges of the hā'mats'a. Then the two Mā'tîlpē youths determined to kill the hā'mats'a in order to obtain his dance. They paddled up to the strangers, who asked the two young men to direct them to a camping place. They did so. Then they hid their guns in the bushes near by, and told the strangers that they were on their way to look after their traps. They asked for the loan of the strangers' guns. When they had received them, they went to the place where they had hidden their own weapons, loaded them and shot the four men and the two women. One of the youths took the cedar bark ornaments of the hā'mats'a. He found his whistles in a bag. At once he began to utter the hā'mats'a's cry "hāp, hāp," for now he had the right to use the dance owned by the man whom he had killed. He also took two coppers which he found in the canoe. This method of obtaining a dance and other objects is called kuē'xanEm, obtained by killing.

It is the same when a novice who is being initiated is found in the woods—the person who finds him may kill him. The murderer then obtains his dance, and the relatives of the novice are not allowed to take revenge.

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[1] Laamx lāxsaLē g·îns mō'qamē'x·tik·.
This is broken on the water our loaded canoe here.

[2] Wē'g·a x·ins mō'lx·'ita.
Let us be glad.

The following very characteristic descriptions were given to Mr. George Hunt in the summer of 1895. He tells them as follows:

I was walking on the street of the Nimkish village when I saw Hē′x·hak·Eu, who was sitting on his summer seat. He called me and said: "O, my dear! Your days, young men, are good. But our past ways were evil when we were all at war against each other. I mean you have no trouble nowadays. I was three times pursued by northern Indians at the time when we were still naked." Then I asked Hē′x·hak·Eu, "Where did this happen?" And he said, "At Gā′widē. We were in two canoes harpooning porpoises. I was in the one, my friend, NEmōXtsaXqô′lag·ilîs, was in the other one. I had killed two porpoises. When it got day, I saw four canoes, and I told my friend. He said to me: 'I will go to the island Gā′widē'; and I said, 'I will go to Ō′gwamalîs. Take good care of yourself. Good bye.' Then I paddled away. My canoe was flying like a bird. Two of the canoes pursued me, but they could not overtake me. Then I looked back and I saw that they could not catch up with my friend, who had nearly arrived at Gā′widē. Then I watched them and I saw how the warriors were looking for my friend. It grew night and I felt badly, for I saw that the warriors had a fire on the beach. I asked my steersman: 'What do you think? Shall we look after my friend and see if they have enslaved him?' He agreed, and we paddled to the island. When we arrived there, I took my gun and went ashore. I went to where the fire was burning on the beach and saw that the warriors had unloaded their canoes. I said to my companion: 'Take care, my dear, I am going to shoot them.' We hauled up our canoe and hid. As soon as we reached there, we sat down close to them. They were eating. There were five men in line from my seat and my friend said that there were three in line from his seat. We put thirty balls of buckshot each in our guns and fired both at the same time. I had killed three and wounded the two others. My friend had killed two and wounded the third man. And I saw two more men running away. Then we ran to the wounded ones and killed them. One man and four women we took alive and made them our slaves. We took the property of the northern people. I looked into a large box, and when I opened it I saw much red cedar bark and abalone shells which were attached to it, and whistles of a hā′mats'a. I asked one of the women: 'What is that in this box?' She only replied: 'Hōm, hōm, hōm, hōm, hōm, hām, hām, hām, hū, hū,' and she bit her own arm. Then I knew that one of these men whom we shot had been a hā′mats'a. I cried hāp right away. There were also two coppers in the bottom of that box. Then we came here to Alert Bay in the canoe of the dead men. Here we were met by our tribe, the Nimkish. We were invited at once by Chief Koax·ilanō′kumē, together with our slaves. He gave us dried halibut to eat. As soon as we had eaten, the chief spoke and said: 'My dear, tell us where did you get these women?' Then I spoke to him and told what

had happened. But first I asked: 'Has my friend NEmōXtsaXqô'-lag·ilîs come yet? He was pursued by these northern people and some others whom I killed, toward Gā'widē. Then I saw these people landing and thought they might have caught my friend. We went to Lasig·alîs and watched them. We saw them making a fire on the beach. As soon as it was night I went to Gā'widē, because I was troubled on account of my friend who was on the island. Then we paddled to the east side of Gā'widē, for the northern people were staying on the north side. I went ashore and secretly went up to where they were staying. They were just getting ready to eat. Then I went back to my canoe and told my companion that they were just getting ready to eat. I said: 'What do you think? Let us kill them. Let us have our own way with them and shoot them from a distance. I do not see any danger in it.' He agreed. Then we shot many of them. I have done well.' Thus I spoke to the Nimkish. And I said: 'Now, there is some more red cedar bark for us; this box is full of various kinds.' I took up the coppers and said: 'I obtained these two coppers. The name of the one shall be Kuē'xanEm (obtained by killing), and that of the other Nā'lgEmala (day on its face).' Then L'umx·ilag·ilîs arose and spoke: 'Thank you, cousin! Now you obtained by killing this red cedar bark and what is in this box. Now take care, Chief! You must show it in the coming winter ceremonial. Now you know what we have done. You may tell it when a person asks where we obtained these dances. Now let all the profane go out of the house that you may see the red cedar bark, else you might say that I invented it. Now you shall know it, chiefs of the Nimkish, and you, young men of the Nimkish.'

"Then Lā'gesawa spoke: 'Truly now I believe that our chief has done well. Now you, young men, go out of the house! Only our chiefs shall stay here.' Then all the men went out and only six chiefs stayed in the house. Then we bolted the door of my house and I opened the box. I put around my neck the ring of red cedar bark and I put the headring on my head. Then I took the whistles and showed them to all the chiefs and I cried 'hāp' as the hā'mats'a cries now-a-days. I spoke: 'Now look at me, Nimkish chiefs. This cedar bark ornament I obtained by killing its owner. Therefore you must not say anything against me. Examine it closely, else you will say later on when I give my winter dance that I invented it.' Then L'ā'qōLas said: 'Chief, what can we say against you since you killed these men? You have obtained this ornament from the man whom you have killed, therefore it is called obtained by killing. It is the same as though you had obtained your hā'mats'a through marriage. Now go on and give a winter dance. Why should we not do it in the right way?' Then my brother's son disappeared right away, and when he came back in winter he was my hā'mats'a. That is what I did in the past. Now you know it."

It is stated by the testimony of all the older Indians that the whole

hā′mats'a ceremonial was obtained in this manner by killing a great number of Hē′iltsuq. The war in which this happened is one of the most famous ones in the history of these tribes. I give here a version obtained by Mr. Hunt.

The Bî′lxula made war upon the Qoē′xsot'ēnôx. It was autumn. They landed above the village Qoā′yastEm and hauled their canoes ashore. Late in the evening they sent spies out to examine the village. About midnight, when all the Qoē′xsot'ēnôx were asleep, the Bî′lxula launched their canoes and divided. One-half went to the east end of the village, and one-half to the west end. They stayed in their canoes not far from the beach until it was almost daylight. It was foggy. As soon as it grew daylight they landed and many men went to the rear of the houses. As soon as they were ready the most courageous warriors broke into the doors of the houses and speared men, women, and children. Whoever tried to escape through the rear door was speared by the men stationed there. Others of the Bî′lxula looked after the valuable property and put it into their canoes. Now the Qoē′xsot'ēnôx were all killed. Only seven men and five women were left. Then the Bî′lxula set fire to the houses. Their canoes were deeply loaded with men's heads. They went home. At that time people of different tribes had stayed at Qoā′yastEm; Ma′malēleqala, Lau′itsîs, Nimkish, and Nā′qoaqtôq, all guests of the Qoē′xsot'ēnôx. They were all slain by the Bî′lxula and also some who belonged to the Kwakiutl. Then four men came and told what had happened to NEqā′p'Enk·Em, chief of the Kwakiutl, who was Qoē′xsot'ēnôx by his father's side. Then he called the Kwakiutl and asked them to go to war against the Bî′lxula. Then four men were sent to ask the Ma′malēleqala, Nimkish, and Lau′-itsîs to go to war also. And they also asked the La′Lasiqoala and the Nā′qoaqtôq. Four very strong men were selected, and after six days they came back again. When they came back to Tsāxîs, NEqā′p'-Enk·Em invited them and when they were seated in his house, he called all the Kwakiutl to hear the reports of the messengers. When the people had come, he asked them to be silent and to listen to the words of the messengers. One of them said: "In four days they will all be ready to come, men and women. All decided to go to war against the Bî′lxula." Then Yā′xLEn said: "Now go, Kwakiutl! Prepare to go, that we may not stay another night when they come. And let our wives wash for four days that we may have good luck. After they had eaten, the men who were going to war took seaweed and blew into it until it nearly burst. Then they made neck rings out of it. When they had done so, NEqā′p'Enk·Em invited all the men and women to his house. He told them what to do, for he knew all the customs of ancient times. He spoke: "Thank you, Kwakiutl, thank you and your beloved wives. Now Kwakiutl, we will soar up and catch in our talons the Bî′lxula. We will be the great thunderbird. We will revenge our fathers, our mothers, our uncles, our aunts, our sisters, and our younger brothers,

and also the chiefs, our grandfathers, Ya′qaʟanlîsts'ē and Lɛk·amāxōt Therefore, I call you to make war upon the Bî′lxula, for they have our names and our red cedar bark. Now, take great care, else we shall not get back our dancing masks. Now we will go and take back the names of our dancing masks. For these we will fight against the Bî′lxula. Now go to-morrow morning and rub your bodies with hemlock branches. You men go altogether to one place. And you women go to another place and rub yourselves also with hemlock branches, for we shall meet later on as though we were fighting. Do not laugh, you women, but carry your kelp in which the breath of your husbands is enclosed. Throw it at your husbands, and when we finish, go into the water. When a kelp tube bursts, its owner must not accompany us, for he would never return."

Then YēqaʟalasamĒ arose and spoke: "My tribe, I am glad on account of your speech. I heard it said that we are going to war. What tribe are we going to make war upon?" He pretended not to know. Then Yā′xlɛn replied: "Chief, we are going to make war upon the Bî′lxula." Then the great warrior uttered the hā′mats'a cry and said: "That was my desire, for that is the only tribe in whose blood I did not dip my hands. Thank you, Kwakiutl, but take care! You must arise in the morning before the crow cries. Do not wear blankets, but you women wear the kelp rings. That is all I want to tell you." Then the men left the house and went to sleep. On the next morning the great warrior YēqaʟalasamĒ himself awakened them before the crows were stirring. Then all the men and women arose. Only those who were menstruating were not allowed to go. First the men went to get hemlock branches, then the women did the same. Then they all went into the sea and sat down crying, "hū, hū, hū." They rubbed their bodies with hemlock branches. When they came out of the water, their bodies were all red. They wiped themselves and then men and women met. Now the hā′mats'a, bear dancers and nū′ʟmaʟ, and all the other dancers, became excited. The women did the same, and then men and women pretended to fight. The women threw the kelp rings at their husbands, who tried to catch them. When a man missed his kelp ring or when it burst, he was not allowed to go on the war expedition. For four days the men and women continued to do this. When they had finished, they prepared their weapons. After five days the Ma′malēle-qala arrived in four canoes, the Nimkish in six canoes, the ʟau′itsîs in two canoes, the Ts'ā′watɛēnôx in eight canoes. Then Nɛqā′p'ɛnk·ɛm invited all the tribes. When they were in his house, he gave them dried salmon and afterwards clover root. Before they finished this course Neqā′p'ɛnk·ɛm arose and said: "Fathers, uncles, brothers, children, thank you that you have come. Now let us go and look for our exterminated tribe, the Qoē′xsot'ēnôx, who were eaten by the Bî′lxula. Let us make them vomit our tribe." And all repeated his words and said: "You have said it. We will do it." But Nɛqā′p'ɛnk·ɛm did not

stop speaking. He continued: "Therefore I called you to make war upon the Bî'lxula. My tribe, the Kwakiutl, have eight canoes; the Q'ō'moyuē have four canoes; the Wālas Kwakiutl have two canoes; the Q'ō'mk·ūtîs two canoes. We have sixteen canoes. Nobody whom we meet hereafter shall live. That is all." Then Mā'Xua, chief of the Ma'malēleqala arose and spoke: "You are good, you are great, Kwakiutl. What is it you are saying? Do you say we intend to go to war?" NEqā'p'Enk·Em replied: "Yes; we will go to war." Then Mā'Xua said: "Thank you, friend. Thank you, Kwakiutl. Look at the tears on my face which I wept for the Qoē'xsōt'ēnôx, for our lost names. Now take care, warriors of the Mā'malēleqala, and you Nimkish, Lau'itsìs, Maa'mtag·ila, and Ts'ā'watEēnôx, else we shall not get any heads. Let us start early in the morning. And I will be your guide, for my ancestor was the killer whale. Therefore I am not afraid of anything, neither of war nor of distributing property." Then they left the house.

Early the following morning they started. When all the tribes had come to the island opposite Gua'ts'ē, NEqā'p'Enk·Em and Yē'qaLalasamē arose and the former spoke, "Friends, now our season will change from bā'xus to ts'ē'ts'aēqa as soon as we cut off the head of a man. Then our hā'mats'a, bears and nūLmaL, the hawī'nalaL, and all the other winter dancers, will become excited. Now let spies go ahead in four canoes. Now we are no longer men, we are killer whales. When you see a canoe, fire a gun that we may know it. Then take hold of the canoe, but do not hurt them until we come." NEqā'p'Enk·Em finished speaking and sat down. Then one canoe of the Kwakiutl, one of the Ma'malēleqala, one of the Nimkish, and one of the Lau'itsîs went ahead. They steered to G·î'lsg·îltEm. When they had passed the island, the other war canoes followed. At night they stopped at Nux·saqoīL. Early the next morning YēqaLalasamē sneezed. Then he awakened all the men and said, "Slaves! I sneezed with my right nostril. To-day we shall stain our hands in blood." Then the four spies started again. They did not see canoe nor smoke and all the warriors became sorry. Now they arrived at the mouth of Rivers Inlet. Then MāXua, chief of the Ma'malēleqala spoke, "Listen to me, friends. My heart feels badly, because we have not yet seen anyone whom we might slay. Let us play with the Awī'k·'ēnôx, the tribe of this place, to gladden my heart." The warriors did not want to do it, and while they were still talking the report of two guns was heard. "Now, slaves, paddle. Those were our spies." Then all the men paddled on. The Kwakiutl came to a place where six canoes of Hē'iltsuq were lying and the four canoes of their spies. The Nimkish were the next to arrive. Then came the Lau'itsîs, and far behind the others the Ma'malēleqala. The Hē'iltsuq were telling about their voyage and also that the Bî'lxula had barricaded their houses. Then Yē'qaLalasamē said, "Friends, ask the Hē'iltsuq who is their chief." Then Kalām asked

for the chief of the Hē′iltsuq. One man by the name of Yēimats'alîs replied, "All these men are chiefs of the Ō′yala-îtx. That is the custom of the Hē′iltsuq when they distribute blankets, all their chiefs go inviting. Now I will give you the names: This is O′mx·'it, this Wā′k·as, this Ha′mts'it, this GōxsEmna′kula, this Lā′qoag·ila, Wā′waxamîs, Dō′koaya-isala, Hä''masilakᵘ, Yā′kaL'Enala, Hanā′yus, Quina, Guē′ltôkᵘ, Gā′idē, Lā′Lilila, and Kalā′guyuwîs; they are all chiefs." Then Lā′LaLānam spoke; "How do you feel now? You said before you would not have mercy even on your relatives. Now here are all the chiefs of the Hē′iltsuq." Then O′mx·'it untied the cover of his box and took out his whistles. He gave them to his son Wā′k·as, and O′mx·'it himself took the Laō′laxa[1] horn and blew it four times, and Wā′k·as blew the hā′mats'a whistles. Then Yā′xLEn arose and said, "Don't let the voice of the ts'ētsaēqa sound too loud. You heard it. We cannot hurt the red cedar bark that sounded before all of you. Let us meet them with our ts'ē′tsaēqa at the dancing season. We will rival with the dances of our brother O′ts'ē'stalîs, O′mx·'it, Wā′k·as, and Quina. We cannot kill the Hē′iltsuq. Let us go to war against the Bî′lxula." He was just speaking so when the Ma′malēleqala came in sight around the point of the bay. They saw the canoes drifting, and MāXua arose at once and said: "Why do you let your canoes drift about?" And Ya′yaqadalaL took up his lance and killed the steersman of one of the Hē′iltsuq canoes. As soon as he had done so he cried, "hūp, hūp, hūp." Then all the tribes attacked the Hē′iltsuq. Only O′mx·'it was not killed. As soon as the hā′mats'a killed a man he cried, "hāp, hāp, hāp," the bear growled, and every dancer became excited as soon as he killed a man. When all the Hē′iltsuq were dead, they took their freight and divided it. But the red cedar bark and the whistles of the hā′mats'a and of the Laō′laxa were given to the war chiefs. All the chiefs of the Hē′iltsuq were hā′mats'a. Now, Ō′mx·'it was a slave of Mā′Xua, the chief of the Ma′malēleqala. Then NEqā′p'Enk·Em said: "Friends, what do you think? Shall we go on to the Bî′lxula? Think of it, friends! We have done a great thing. The chiefs O′ts'ē'stalîs, Bā′salaL, Wīxwaqoqamaya, and Wā′yats'uLa have not come here. They are near relations of those whom we killed. Are you not afraid of them? Then there are all the sons of O′ts'ē'stalîs. I think we ought to go home." Then they all returned. They had obtained all the names and all the dances of the dead chiefs of the Hē′iltsuq. Since that time the tribes have the cedar bark ornaments of the Hē′iltsuq and their names. They obtained them by spilling the blood of these men in war.[2]

I have given these reports in some detail, as aside of the light they throw upon the acquisition of names and dances by war, they show

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[1] See p. 621.

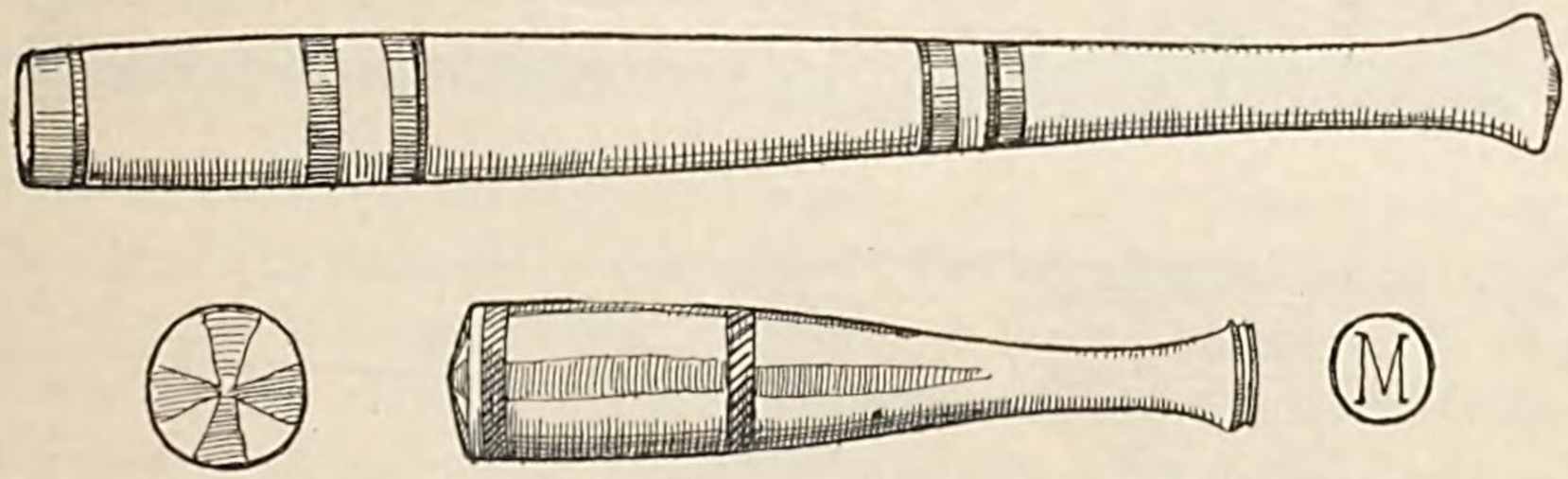
[2] See a Bi′lxula version of these wars in the Seventh Report of the Committee on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada, British Association for the Advancement of Science. 1891, p. 16.

also that the societies are recognized on war expeditions. I shall revert to this subject later on.

Notwithstanding the fact that each and every dance must be obtained by means of a marriage or by killing its owner, there are a number of offices connected with the ceremonials of the societies which are strictly hereditary in the male line and remain, therefore, always in the same clan. To this class belongs the office of the master of ceremonies, the officer who has charge of the drum, of the batons, of the eagle down, and others which will be set forth in the description of the ceremonial (Chapter IX). This is another argument in favor of the theory expressed above that the institutions of the Kwakiutl were at one time paternal, but were later on modified by the influence of the northern tribes, who are on a maternal stage.

VIII. The Dances and Songs of the Winter Ceremonial.

The object of the whole winter ceremonial is, first, to bring back the youth who is supposed to stay with the supernatural being who is the protector of his society, and then, when he has returned in a state



Figs. 42 and 43.

BATONS USED BY ASSISTANTS OF SINGING MASTER.

IV A, Nos. 575 and 577, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

of ecstasy, to exorcise the spirit which possesses him and to restore him from his holy madness.

These objects are attained by songs and by dances. In order to bring the youth back, members of all the secret societies perform their dances. It is believed that they will attract the attention of the absent novice, until finally one of the dances may excite him to such a degree that he will approach flying through the air. As soon as he appears his friends endeavor to capture him. Then begins the second part of the ceremony, the exorcising of the spirit; or, as the Kwakiutl call it, the taming of the novice. This is accomplished by means of songs sung in his honor, by dances performed by women in his honor, and by the endeavors of the shaman. After the novice has thus been restored to his senses, he must undergo a ceremonial purification before he is allowed to take part in the ordinary pursuits of life. The strictness and severity of this purification depend upon the character of the dance. Novices must drink water through the wing bone of an eagle, as their mouths must not touch the brim of the cup; they must suck

no more and no less than four times. They must not blow hot food, else they would lose their teeth.

The songs mostly consist of four verses. Each novice, viz, member of a society, has his own songs. They open with a burden which varies according to the society to which they belong. This burden is

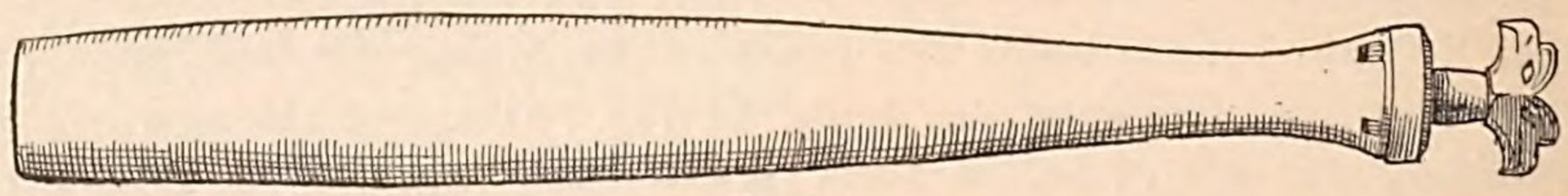


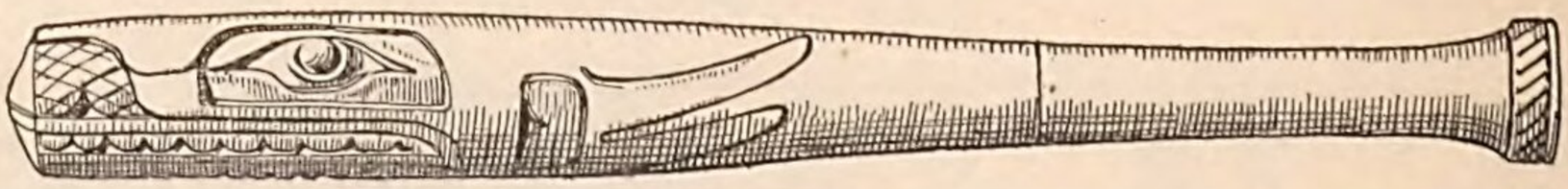
Fig. 44.

BATON OF SINGING MASTER.

Handle representing an eagle.

IV A, No. 1951, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

sung in order to indicate the tune. Then follow the words, which, however, are interspersed with repetitions of the burden. The words are called "the walk of the song" (or, as we should say, the words go this way). Each song is accompanied by beating of time with batons, and by a drum. The beating is sometimes so loud that it almost



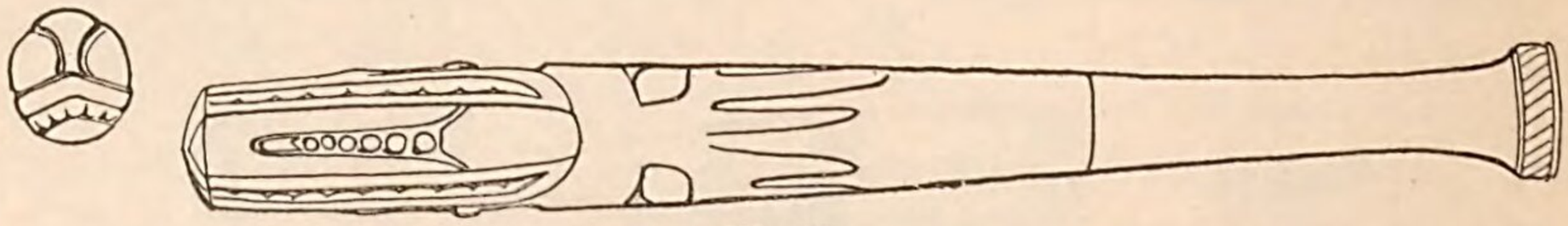


Fig. 45.

BATON REPRESENTING A SEA LION.

Side view, end view, and view from below.

IV A, No. 573, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

drowns the song. The rhythm of the tune, as well as of the beating, is exceedingly complex; but the most striking characteristic is the fact that the beating is always syncopated. The arm is raised when the tone is uttered and falls quickly afterwards. In all songs of the winter ceremonial the beating begins several bars before the singing. It

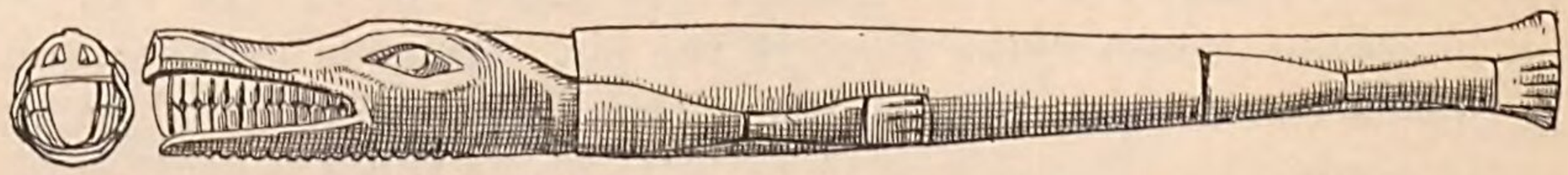


Fig. 46.

BATON REPRESENTING A SEA LION.

End and side views.

IV A, No. 1944, Royal Ethnographical Museum. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

is the reverse in profane songs. The beating is an intrinsic part of the songs and can not be separated from it.

The dances of the various societies differ in character, and will be described in the course of this chapter. They have all this in common, that the dancer on entering the door turns once to the left at a place

between the door and the fire. Then he dances toward the right, leaving the fire at his left. In the rear of the fire he turns again to the left, and after having made a complete turn continues his course. Every time he reaches the front or the rear of the fire, he makes a turn and then continues his way in the same direction. Each dance consists of four circuits around the fire. The motions of the feet follow the rhythm of the beating, not of the song.

When a mistake is made in these songs or dances which are intended

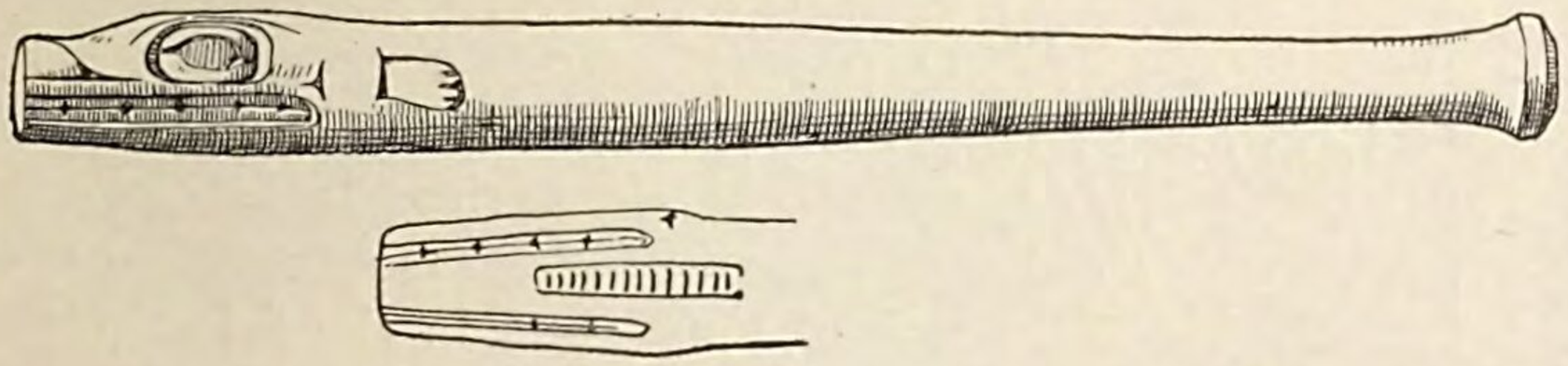


Fig. 47.

BATON REPRESENTING A SEA LION.

Side view and view from below.

IV A, No. 1947, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

to pacify the novice, the effect is not only a renewed ecstasy of the novice, but it also excites all the older members of the various societies and thus produces a general ecstasy.

Errors in rhythm, turning the wrong way in a dance, smiling, and chewing gum are counted as mistakes. The error must be atoned for by an initiation of the person who made the mistake. When the members of the seal society observe a mistake, they jump from their seats and bite and scratch the person who made the mistake. He drops down at once

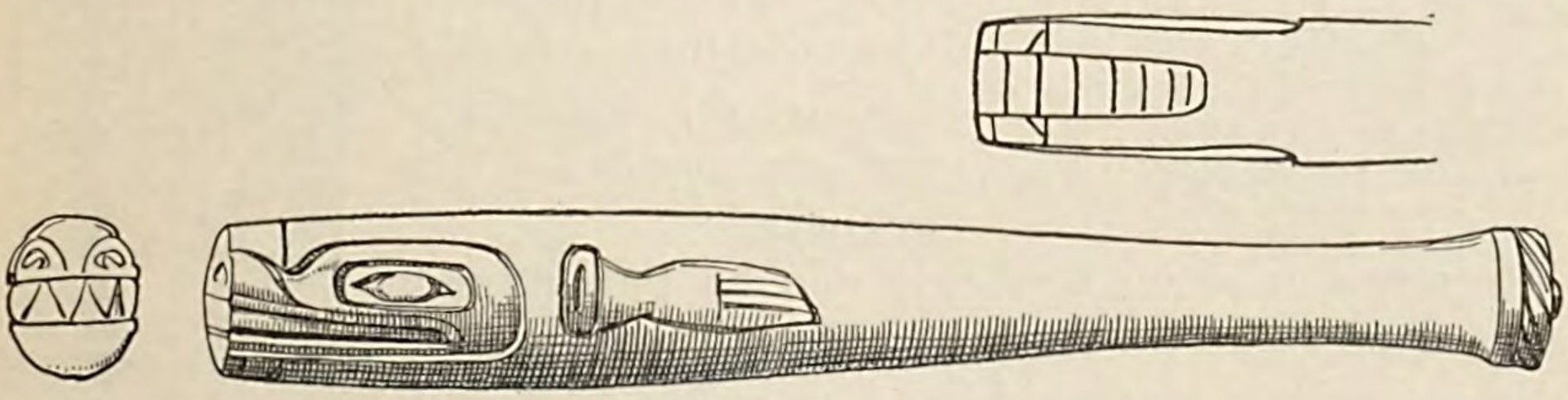


Fig. 48.

BATON REPRESENTING A SEA LION.

Side view, end view, and view from below.

IV A, No. 1948, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

and pretends to faint, and while the excited dancers surround him he disappears. This means that a spirit has taken him away in order to initiate him. The members of the seal society sit on the platform of the house or stand during the dances, that they may be certain to discover mistakes. The seal society attack and maltreat throughout the ceremonial the quē′qutsa. At the close of the winter ceremonial they must pay an indemnity for all the damage that they may have done.

No greater misfortune, however, can happen than for one of the

dancers who performs his ceremonial dance to fall. In the course of the winter ceremonial quite a hole gradually develops at the two places where the dancers turn, and it is here that they are most likely to stumble and fall.

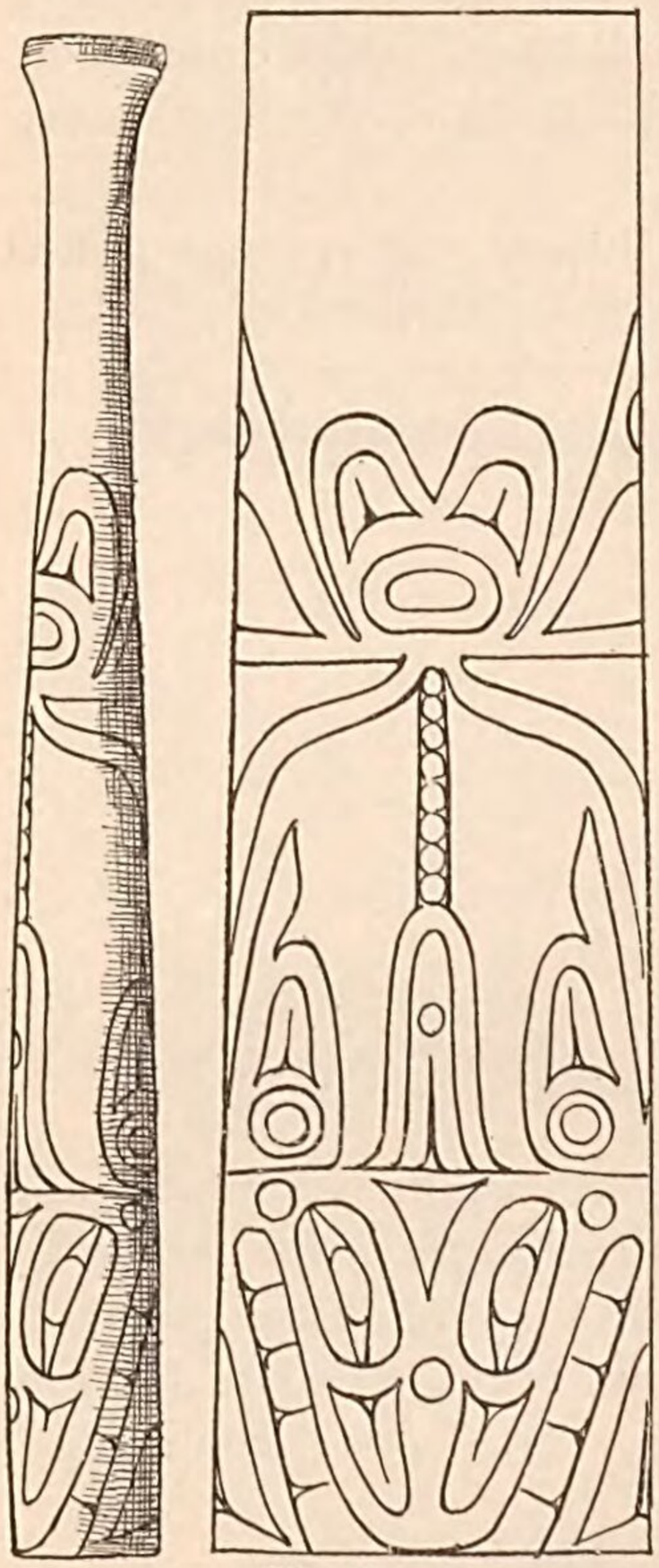


Fig. 49.

BATON REPRESENTING A SEA LION OR KILLER WHALE.

IV A, No. 6898, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by F. Boas.

When a hā′mats'a falls in his dance, he must lie down as though he was dead. Then the master of ceremonies calls a man whose name is Ē′k·îstōlîs (sand in eyes, i. e., a drowned person), whose office is hereditary. He is a quē′qutsa, and as an officer he is called ts'ā′ts'exsilaēnôx (doing secretly). He carries a large staff (k·'ē′lag·aiū), which is split like a pair of tongs, and in the interior of which some blood is hidden. With this staff he takes hold of the neck of the hā′mats'a and apparently blood is seen to flow from it. Then all the hē′lig·a (see p. 438) lift the hā′mats'a, put him on their mat, and carry him four times around the fire. After they have gone around the fire four times his whistle is heard in the woods. When the mat is put down, it is seen that he has disappeared and that only his blankets and ornaments are left behind.

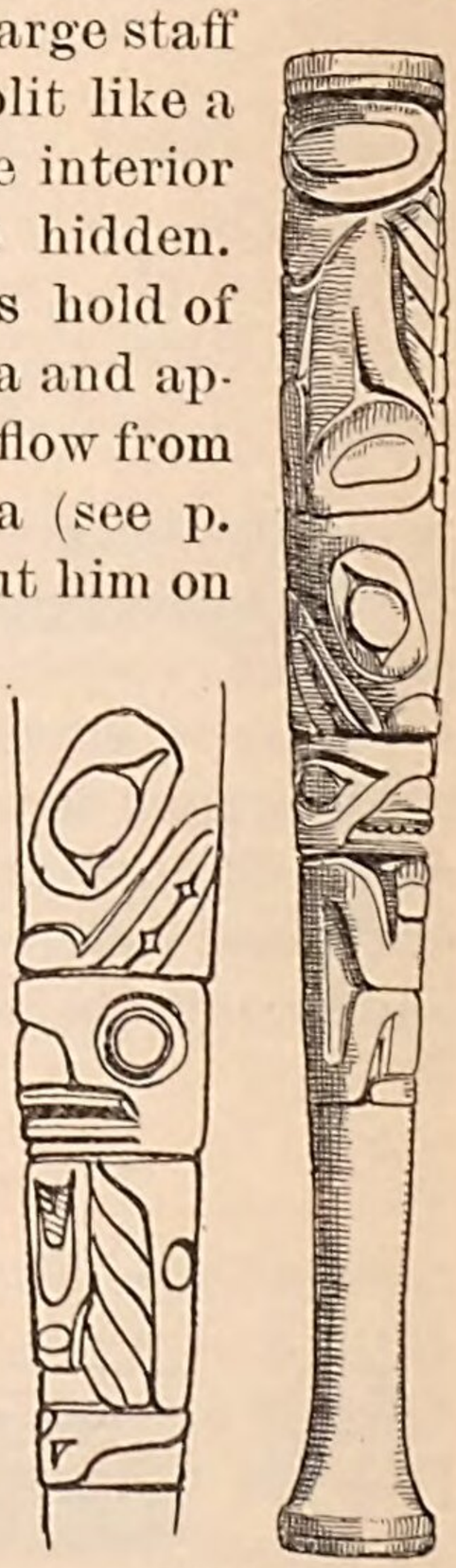


Fig. 50.

BATON REPRESENTING A SEA LION, A BEAR, AND A KILLER WHALE.

IV A, No. 1949, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

He stays away for four days and his father must make a new festival for him. When the hā′mats'a falls, everybody puts his hand over his eyes and drops his head, crying hā.[1] As the expense of such a festival is very great, the amount equaling the return of the marriage money, but few persons are able to afford a second initiation. While nowadays every effort is made to enable the hā′mats'a's father to give the new festival, it is said that in former times the unfortunate one was killed by the other hā′mats'a, the bear dancers, and the nū′LmaL, often at the instance of his own father.

When a hā′mats'a falls in his dance, it is considered an evil omen, indicating that he will die at an early date.

[1] With sinking tone.

The view taken by the Kwakiutl is evidently that the falling of a hā′mats'a or of another dancer is an indication of either ill will on the part of the spirit, or as a defeat of their spirit by that of another tribe. Thus I was told that at one time the Kwakiutl had invited the Ma′malēleqala for a winter ceremonial. When one of their dancers fell, their own nū′LmaL tried to kill him, and he was rescued with difficulty by the quē′qutsa. The song which was used during his dance was never used again. They believed that the event was proof that the spirit presiding over the winter ceremonial of the Mā′malēleqala was stronger than their own.

Height, 9 inches.

Breadth, 8 inches.

Fig. 51.

RATTLES OF HĒ′LIG·A REPRESENTING THE HEAD OF A DEAD PERSON.
IV A, Nos. 1353 and 1357, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

When one of the dancers of an inferior society falls, he disappears also to be initiated, but his father does not need to go to the expense of a complete festival, as these initiations are much less expensive.

The paraphernalia of the dances consist largely of ornaments made of cedar bark, which is dyed in the juice of alder bark; of masks, whistles, and carvings of various kinds. All of these must not be seen by the profane. If any of these happened to see them, they were killed without mercy. As an example of this, I was told the following incident:

One of the quē′qutsa was preparing a carving to represent the sī′siuL. His daughter happened to see him at work. Then he called her into his room and dug a hole right under the fireplace. He asked her to put her head into his lap, pretending that he wanted to louse her. Then he killed her with a hammer. He put her body into the hole, covered it, and replaced the ashes. His wife looked for the girl, but he did not tell her of what he had done until the following summer, when he fell sick. Then he asked his wife to bury the remains of their daughter. As a survival of this custom, the saying remains which is used by the initiated in warning away the profane: "Go away, else we shall bury you."[1]

Fig. 52.

RATTLE OF HĒ′LIG·A.

Representation of the head of a dead person, out of whose mouth a snake is crawling. Height, 8¼ inches.

IV A, No. 1356, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

By far the greater portion of the winter ceremonial is performed in

[1] Hā′g·a qoē′tax ā′LanÔ'x tsamē′sōL.

a house set apart for this purpose. It is called lō′pEk^{u} (emptied) because it is emptied of everything that is profane. Only when dances are performed, are the uninitiated or the profane allowed to enter the house. They must stay at the left-hand side of the entrance.

Most of the dances are performed in connection with feasts. Others are shown in connection with distributions of property. As during the ceremonial the clans are suspended, the order of seats which prevails in summer is also suspended, and a new arrangement takes place. The seal society have the seats of honor in the rear of the house, and among them the highest hā′mats'a has the first seat, in the middle of the rear of the house. At both sides of the hā′mats'a society sit the bear dancers and other members of the seal society. At the extreme ends of this society sit the nū′LmaL, the messengers of the hā′mats'a. The killer whale and rock cod societies sit in front of the seal society. They are the singers.

The hē′mElk and the whale society sit next to the nū′LmaL—the former to the left of the hā′mats'a, the others to his right. The Koskimo sit next to them near the front corners of the house. The women sit all along the sides of the house in the rear row, the chicken society farthest in the rear, the dam society and the Kē′ki′xalak^{u} in front. The person who gives the feast and all his relatives are in the "kettle corner," the right-hand front corner of the house. The profane sit on the left-hand side of the door. When one tribe has invited another one, all the members of the invited tribe sit in the front part of the sides of the house. The seal society of the hosts sit in the rear, and their singers as described heretofore. The rest of the inviting tribe are in the kettle corner.

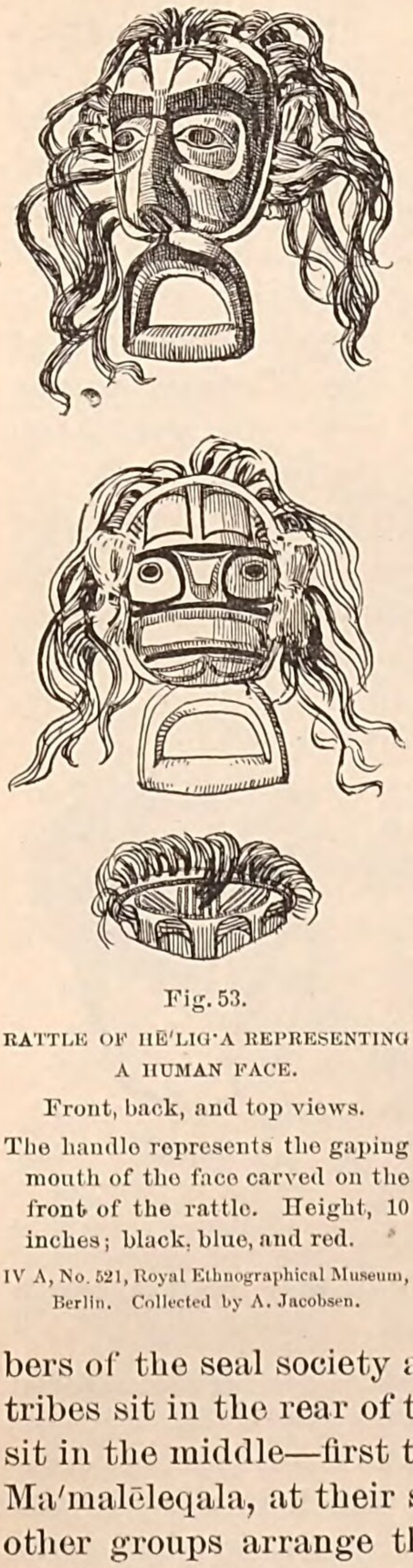


Fig. 53.

RATTLE OF HĒ′LIG'A REPRESENTING A HUMAN FACE.

Front, back, and top views.

The handle represents the gaping mouth of the face carved on the front of the rattle. Height, 10 inches; black, blue, and red.

IV A, No. 521, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

Sometimes at such occasions all the members of the seal society and of the corresponding societies of the other tribes sit in the rear of the house. Then the hā′mats'a of all the tribes sit in the middle—first those of the Kwakiutl, at each side those of the Ma′malēleqala, at their sides those of the Nimkish and Lau′itsîs. The other groups arrange themselves in the same manner, the Kwakiutl members sitting in the rear row nearest the rear of the house; then toward the door follow the Ma′malēleqala, continuing in the next row nearer the fire. Then follow the Nimkish and Lau′itsîs.

The singers sit so arranged that the rear rows are facing the fire while the front rows face backward. In their midst sits the song leader (nâ′qatē) and his two assistants (guā′nuLEmē=sitting at his sides). It is the duty of the song leader to make new songs, to compose new words to old tunes, to learn quickly the songs of the returning novice, and to teach them to the singers. He also gives signals for changes in rhythm and starts the tunes. His office is hereditary in the male line. His assistants call out the words for each verse. The singers are so seated that in front of the board which serves for their back support they can spread their mats, and, when kneeling on these, have in easy reach long planks on which they beat the rhythm with batons. These are generally of split pine wood and are made at the time of opening the feast. They are about 1½ feet long, and the singers before using them roughly smooth one end, which is used as a handle. They either beat downward, holding the baton in their hands stretched forward, or they hold it like a pestle and thump the plank with it. In former times when wood was not easily split on account of lack of steel axes, they kept the batons, which were in consequence also more nicely finished. Nowadays only the song leader and his assistants have carved or painted batons. (Figs. 42–50.) The ordinary crude batons are generally split up at the end of the festival and used as torches for lighting the way home through the darkness of the street. It is a very pretty sight to see the numerous guests going home, each carrying his torch and lighting up the logs and canoes on the beach on the one side and the dark row of houses on the other.

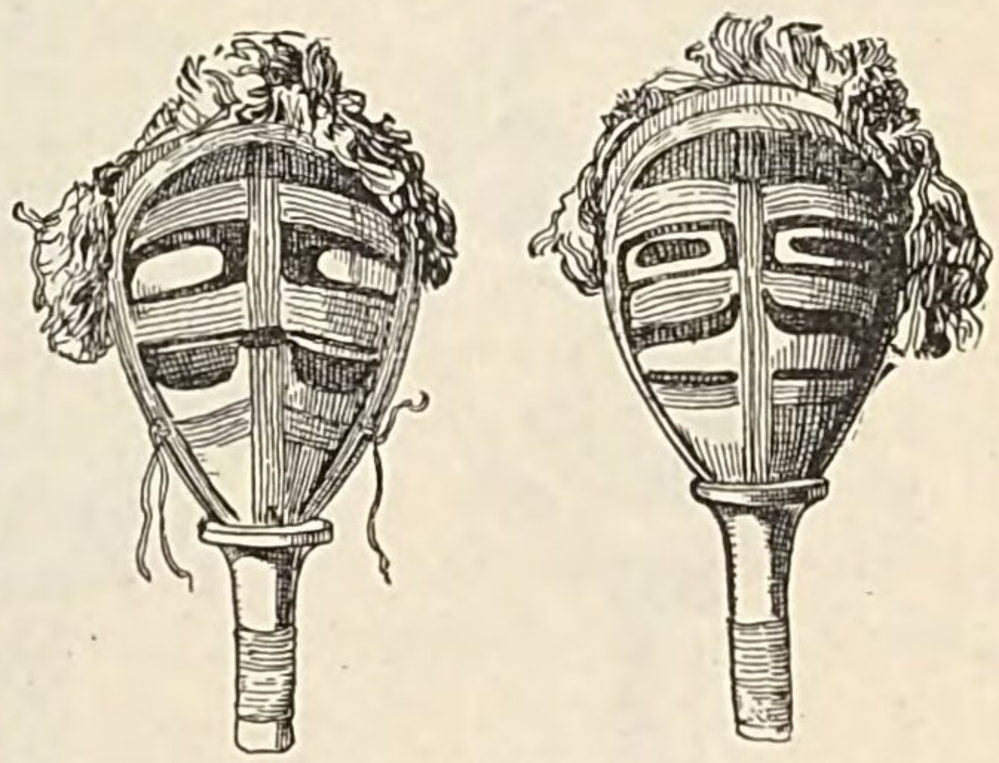


Fig. 54.

RATTLE OF HĒ′LIG·A, SET WITH RED CEDAR BARK, REPRESENTING A CONVENTIONALIZED FACE.

Front and rear views. Height, 11½ inches.

IV A, No. 1360, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

Fig. 55.

RATTLE OF HĒ′LIG·A, SET WITH CEDAR BARK, REPRESENTING A CONVENTIONALIZED FACE.

Height, 10 inches; black.

IV A, No. 1400, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

I will now proceed to describe the ceremonials of various societies.

BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē, as stated above, initiates several dancers, the most important of which is the hā′mats'a, or the cannibal. He is possessed of the violent desire of eating men. The novice is taken away by this spirit and is supposed to stay at his house for a long time. The period of his absence extends over three or four months, during which time he actually stays in the woods. In the middle of this time

he reappears near the village and his sharp whistle and his cries, "hāp, hāp, hāp" (eating, eating, eating), are heard. Then he comes back to fetch his k·î'nqalaʟala, who must procure food for him. (See p. 399.)

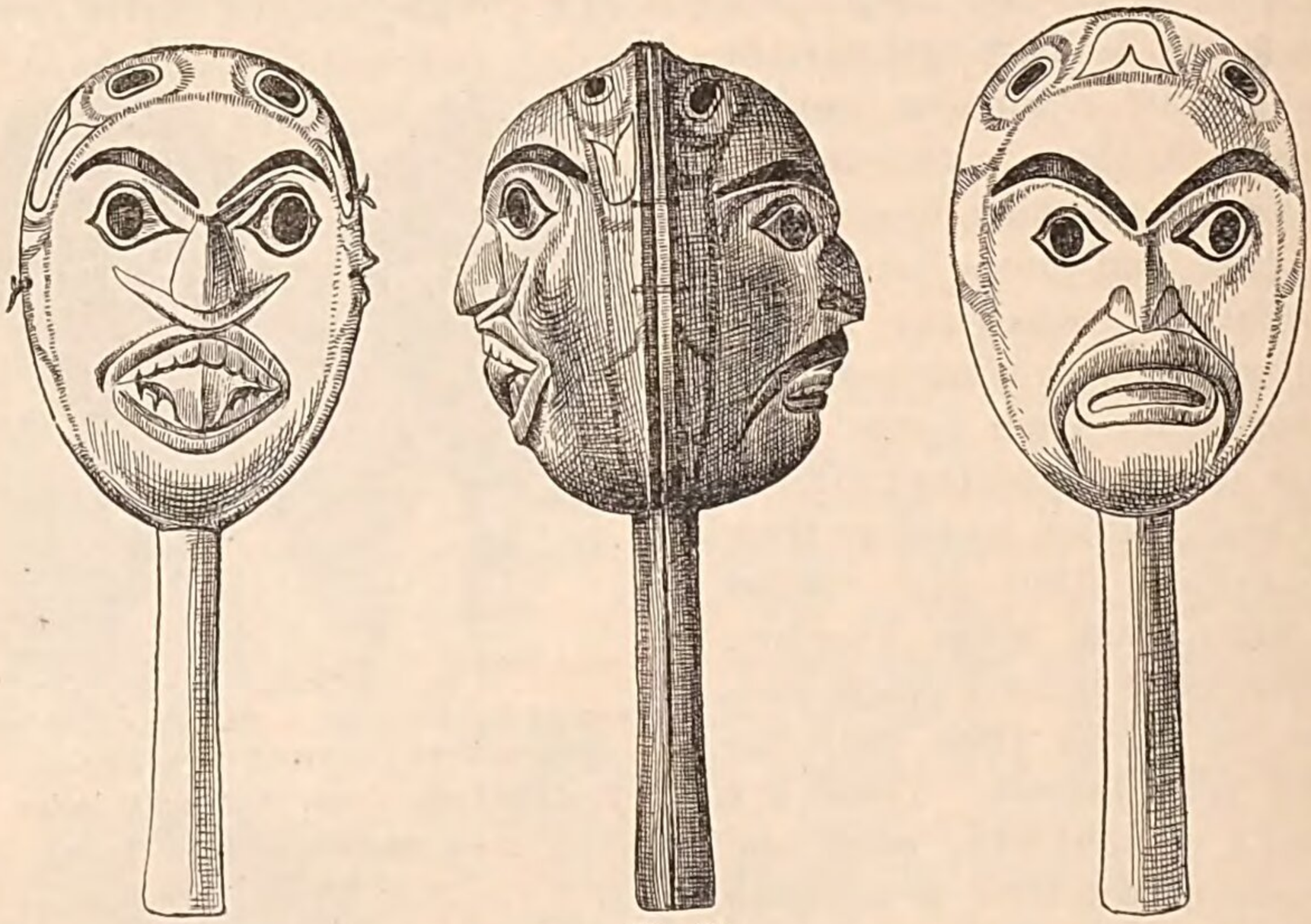


Fig. 56.

RATTLE OF HĒ'LIG·A, PROBABLY OF HAIDA MANUFACTURE.

The front represents a sea monster with a bear's head and a whale's body, which is indicated by the fins on the face; the back represents a man. Height, 9½ inches; black and red.

IV A, No. 864, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

The k·î'nqalaʟala is always one of his female relatives. Finally he returns and attacks every one upon whom he can lay his hands. He

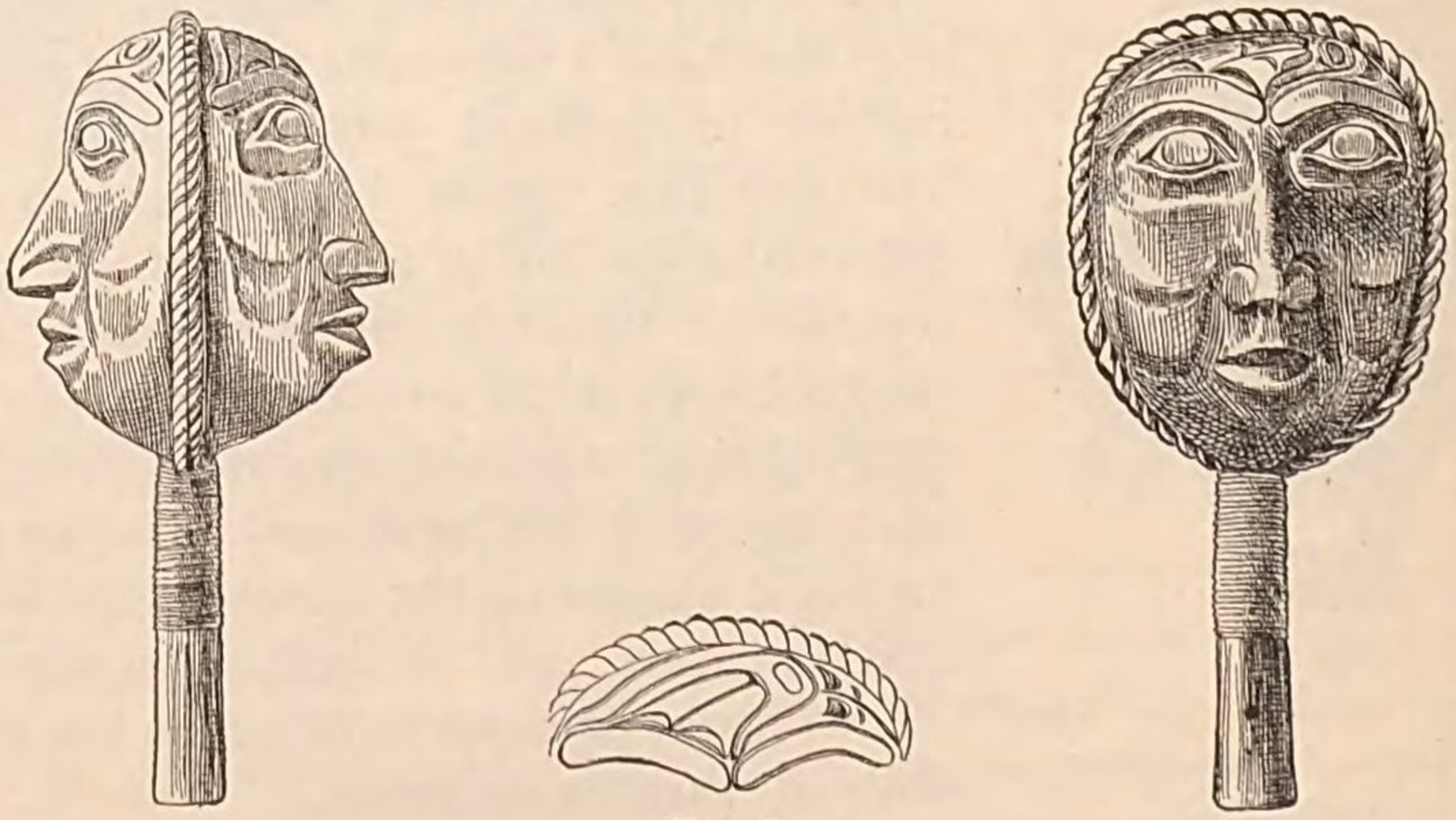


Fig. 57.

RATTLE OF HĒ'LIG·A.

Representations of two faces painted with the design of the killer whale and surrounded by a ring representing a cedar bark ring. The faces may each represent the head of a member of the killer whale society. Height, 7½ inches; red on brown wood.

IV A, No. 570, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

bites pieces of flesh out of the arms and chests of the people. As soon as he arrives, the servants of the hā'mats'a, the hē'lig·a (healers) or sâ'laʟila, of whom the Kwakiutl have twelve in all, run up to him,

swinging rattles, the sound of which is supposed to pacify the nā′mats'a. This office is hereditary in the male line, and either four or six of them must accompany the hā′mats'a whenever he is in an ecstasy. They surround him in a close circle in order to prevent him from attacking the people and utter the pacifying cries "hōî′p, hōî′p." The rattles of the hē′lig·a are always carved with a design which originally represented a skull. Figures 51 and 52 show this design clearly, but it often degenerates into the representation of a conventional face, and in some cases it has simply a rounded shape, and an animal is carved on its face. (Figs. 53–59.) I do not know if the beautiful rattles which are used by the hē′lig·a of the Kwakiutl, but which were made by the Hē′iltsuq and represent the thunder bird on a round rattle (fig. 60), had originally a different meaning. In olden times, when the hā′mats'a was in a state of ecstasy, slaves were killed for him, whom he devoured. The following facts were observed by Mr. Hunt and Mr. Moffat in the early days of Fort Rupert: When a hā′mats'a had returned from the woods, a slave, a man of the Nanaimo tribe, named Xu′ntEm, was shot. They saw him running down to the beach, where he dropped. Then all the nū′LmaL of the Kuē′xa tribe went down to the beach carrying knives and lances. The bear dancers and the hā′mats'as followed them. The nū′LmaL cut the body with their knives and lances and the hā′mats'as squatted down dancing and crying "hāp, hāp." Then the bear dancers took up the flesh and, holding it like bears and growling at the same time, they gave it to the highest hā′mats'a first and then to the others.[1] In memory of this event a face representing BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē was carved in the rock on the beach at the place where the slave had been eaten. The carving is done in sandstone, which was battered down with stone

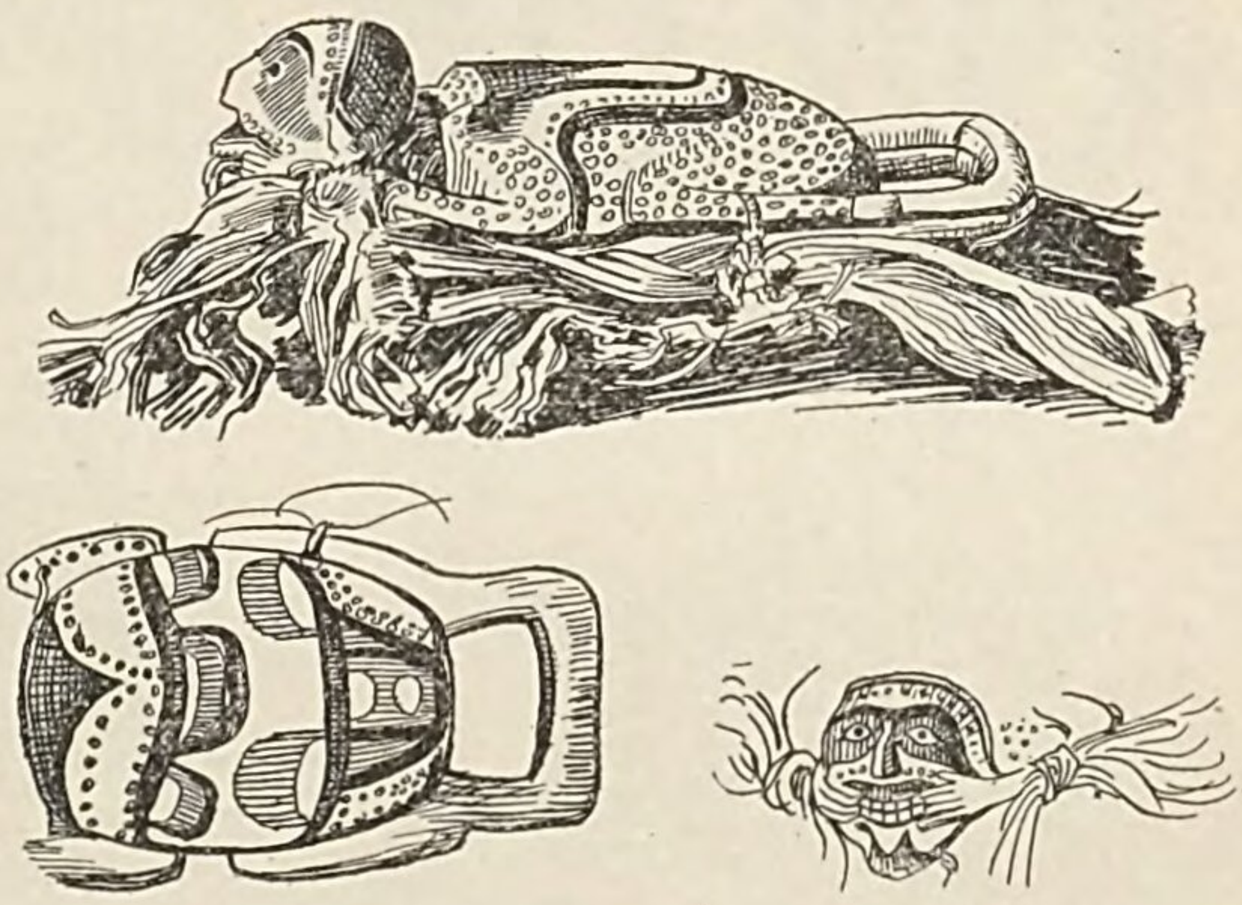


Fig. 58.

RATTLE OF HĒ′LIG·A.

Representation of a being with a human head, hands, and feet, and a dorsal fin. The feet form the handle of the rattle, which is set with cedar bark. Length, 11 inches; black and blue.

IV A, No. 1399, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

[1] Mr. George Hunt, who told me this story as reported to him by his father, who had been an eyewitness, added the following remarks, which are of interest as elucidating some of the views of these tribes. The slave's wife was at that time in the fort. She went out on the gallery and called out to the hā′mats'a: "I will give you five years to live. The spirit of your winter dance ceremonial is strong, but mine is stronger. You killed my husband with gun and bullet, and now I will kill you with the point of my tongue." After five years all those who had taken part in the murder were dead.

hammers (Plate 23). Near this rock carving there are a number of others and much older ones (Plates 24–26, fig. 61). The Indians have no recollection of the incidents which they are to commemorate. They say that they were made at the time before animals were transformed into men.

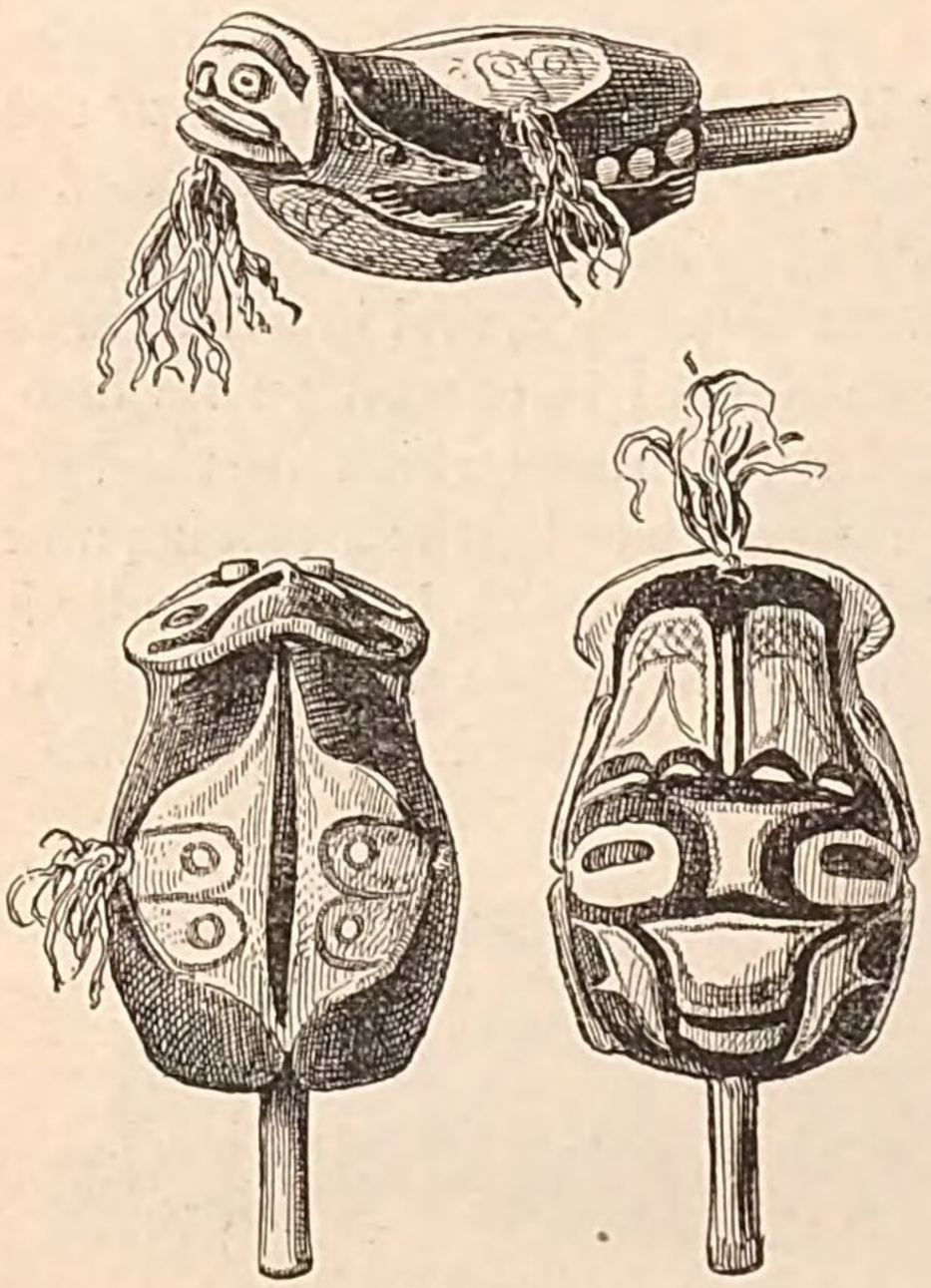


Fig. 59.

RATTLE OF HĒ'LIG·A.

Representation of a being with a human head, hands, and feet, and dorsal fins. Length, 14 inches; green, black, red.

IV A, No. 424, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

I received another report of the killing of a slave. A female slave was asked to dance for the hā'mats'a. Before she began dancing she said: "Do not get hungry, do not eat me."[1] She had hardly said so when her master, who was standing behind her, split her skull with an ax. She was eaten by the hā'mats'a. This happened in Newettee, and Q'ōmɛna'kula, who participated in the performance, was living until a couple of years ago. He told me that it is exceedingly hard to eat fresh human flesh, much more so than to eat dried corpses. The bones of the killed slaves were kept at the north side of the house, where the sun does not shine upon them. During the fourth night they were taken out of the house, tied up, weighted with a stone, and thrown into deep water, because it is believed that if they were buried they would come back and take their master's soul.

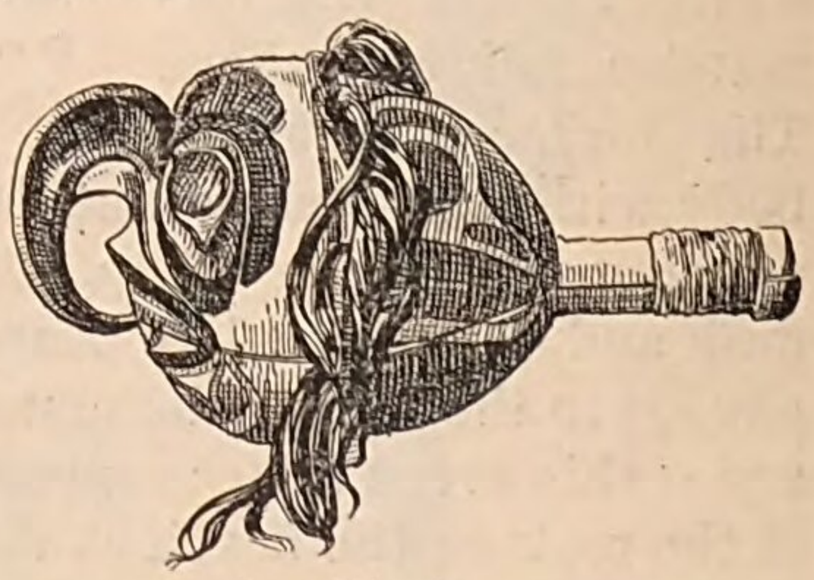


Fig. 60.

RATTLE OF HĒ'LIG·A.

Length, 14½ inches; black and red.

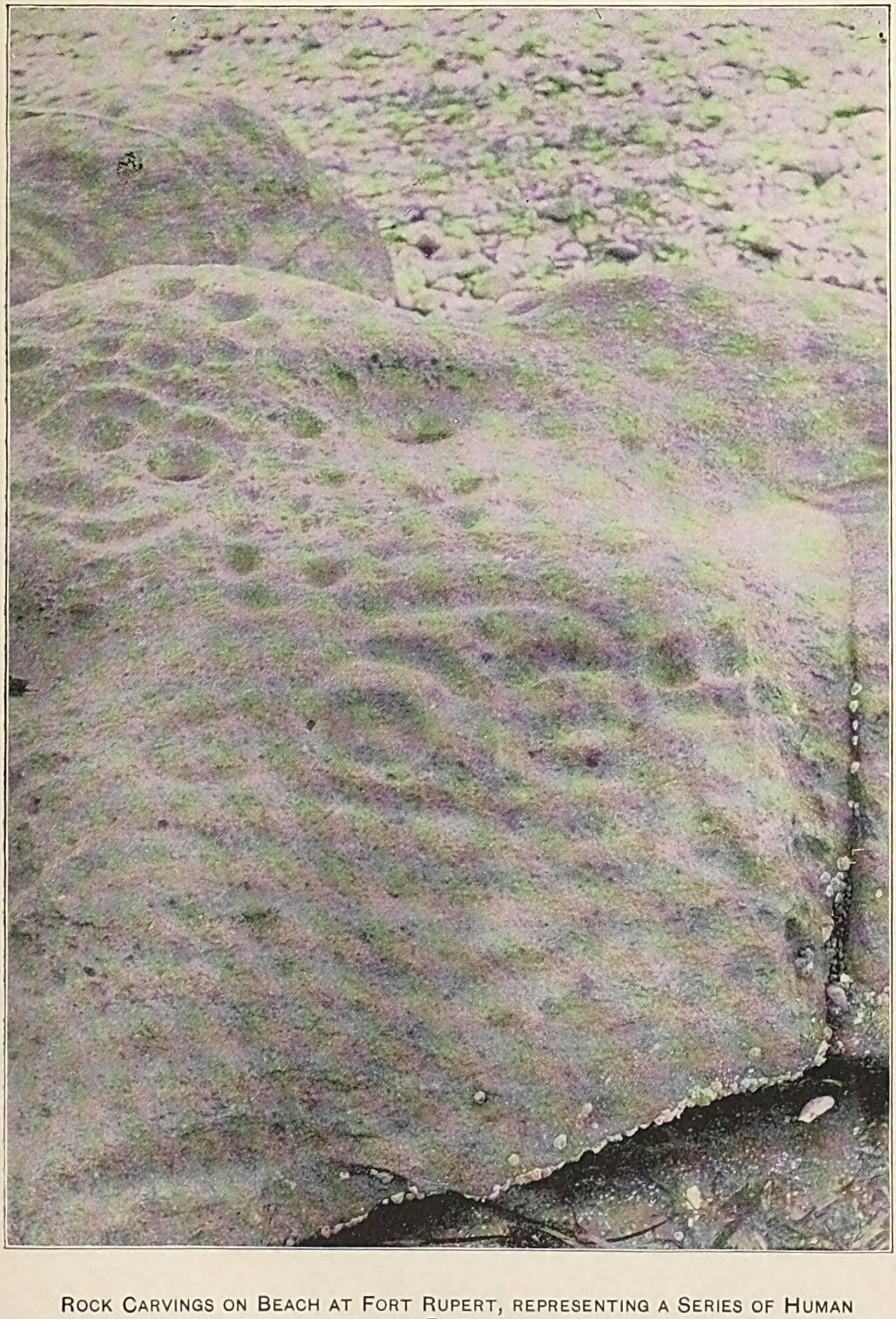
IV A, No. 522, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

When the hā'mats'a had bitten a piece out of the arm of one of his enemies, he drank hot water after having swallowed the flesh. It was believed that this would result in the inflammation of the wound. Nowadays, when the ceremonies have lost much of their former cruelty, they do not actually bite the piece of flesh out of the arm, but merely pull the skin up with their teeth, sucking hard so as to remove as much blood as possible, and then with a small sharp knife cut off secretly a piece of skin. This is not swallowed, but hidden behind

[1] Qoa'la mɛ'sala g·ā'xɛn.
Do not be hungry to me.

ROCK CARVING ON THE BEACH AT FORT RUPERT, REPRESENTING THE FACE OF BAXBAKUĀLANUXSĪ'WAĒ.

Froma photograph.



ROCK CARVINGS ON BEACH AT FORT RUPERT, REPRESENTING A SERIES OF HUMAN FACES.
From a photograph.

TREE BURIAL IN FORT RUPERT.
From a photograph.

the ear until after the dance, when it is returned to the owner, in order to assure him that it will not be used against him for purposes of witchcraft.

Besides devouring slaves, the hā′mats'as also devour corpses. When a new hā′mats'a, after being initiated, returns from the woods he will sometimes carry a corpse, which is eaten after his dance. The bodies are prepared for this ceremony. The skin is cut around the wrists and ankles, as they must not eat the hands and feet. It is believed that else they would die immediately. The hā′mats'a must use for this ceremony the corpse of one of his deceased relatives, which the hē′lig·a must prepare. The Kwakiutl used to bury their dead on trees. The body was placed in a box, and these boxes were placed on branches a considerable distance up a tree. There the boxes were piled one on top of the other (Plate 27). The bodies, when so exposed to the action of the freely circulating air, mostly mummify. A corpse is taken down from the tree and is soaked in salt water. The hē′lig·a takes hemlock twigs, the leaves of which have been removed, and pushes them under the skin, gradually removing all the decayed flesh until nothing but the skin remains. After this is done the body is placed on top of the small hut in which the novice (g·ī′yakila) is living while he is staying in the woods. The hands of the body hang down. Its belly is cut open and spread with sticks. The hā′mats'a keeps a fire under it and smokes it. Four days before he returns to the village he sends for all the old hā′mats'as. When they come, he tells them: "These are my traveling provisions, which I received from BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē."[1] He asks them to point out what shares they desire to have when he will return. They take the body down and place it on a clean mat. Each points out what he desires to have. His return will be described later on (p. 527). His k·î′nqalaʟala returns with him. She carries the corpse which has been prepared. She goes backward, facing the hā′mats'a. When she reaches the right side of the fire, the hā′mats'a enters the house. He stoops so that his face is close to the ground. On entering, he turns four times, descends to the middle of the house, and when he is four steps away from the door, he turns again four times. When the

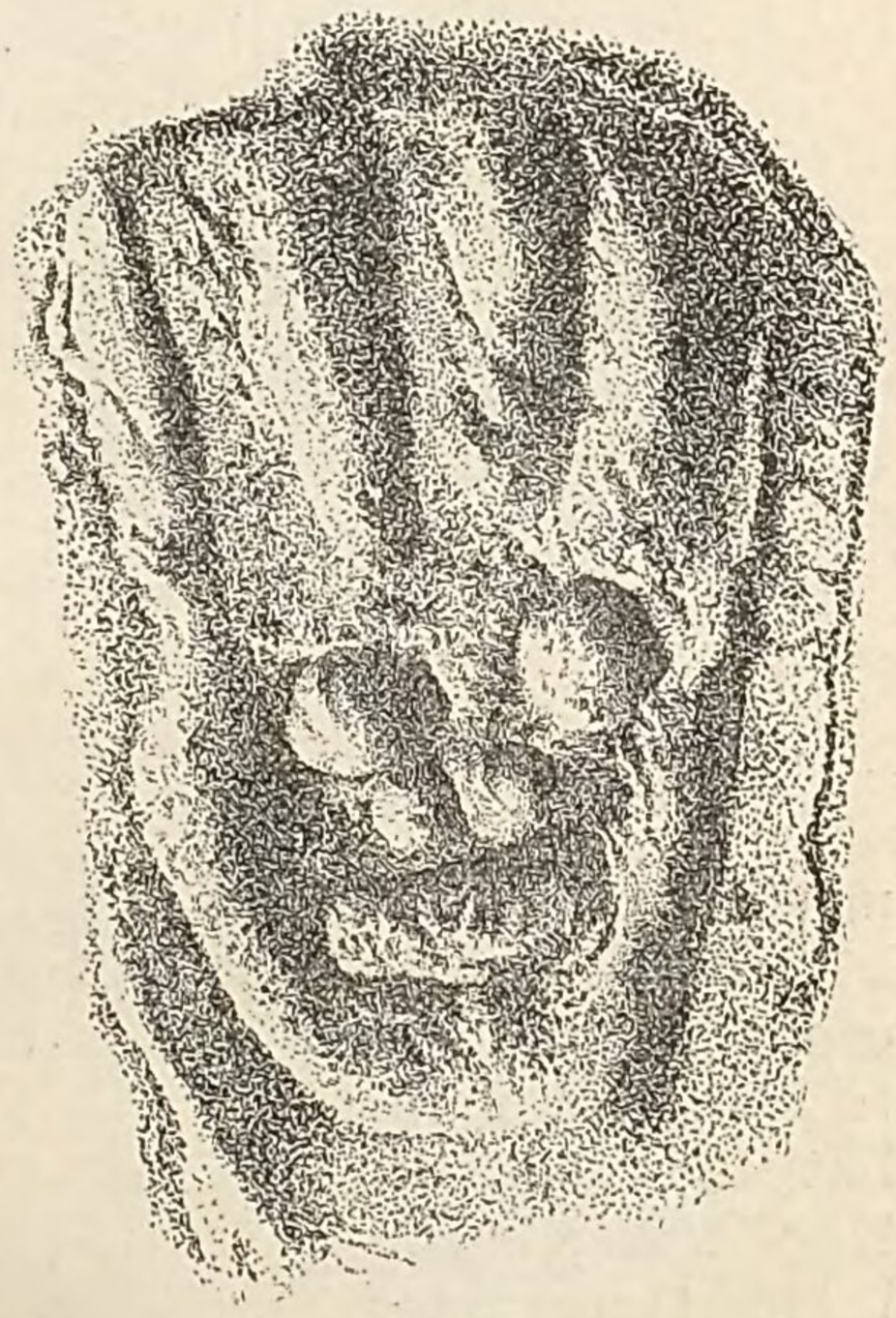


Fig. 61.

ROCK CARVING AT FORT RUPERT.

Height, 15 inches.

[1] G·amEn g·iwu′lkoa da g·ū′ʟila yūs BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē.
This my traveling provisions, the food given by BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē.

k·î′nqalaLala reaches the rear of the house, she turns again. A drum is placed in the middle of the rear of the house, bottom up. The k·î′nqalaLala pretends to put the corpse on the drum, but walks past it, the hā′mats'a following her. At the door she turns again, proceeds around the fire, and when she reaches the drum a second time, she turns again and pretends to put the body down. At this time all the old hā′mats'as, who have been outside the house, jump down from the roof and rush in through the doors. They are all naked and follow the k·î′nqalaLala in a state of high excitement. When they have run around the fire four times, the body is put down on the drum.

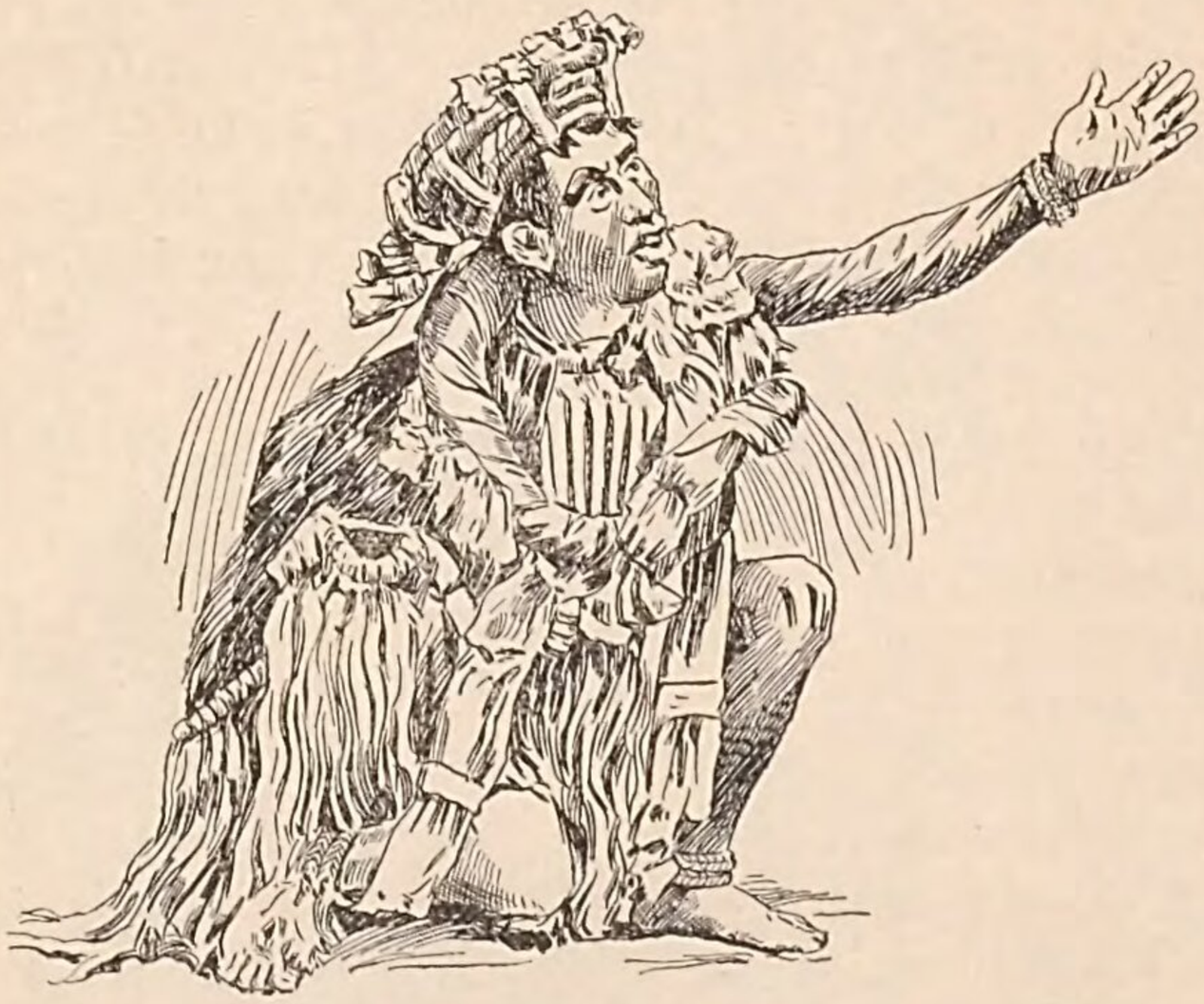


Fig. 62.

DANCE OF THE HĀ′MATS'A.

From a sketch.

The master of ceremonies (see p. 501) begins to cut it and distributes the flesh among the hā′mats'a. But first the k·î′nqalaLala takes four bites. The people count how many bites each of them swallows. They are not allowed to chew the flesh, but they bolt it. The k·î′nqalaLala brings them water to drink in between.

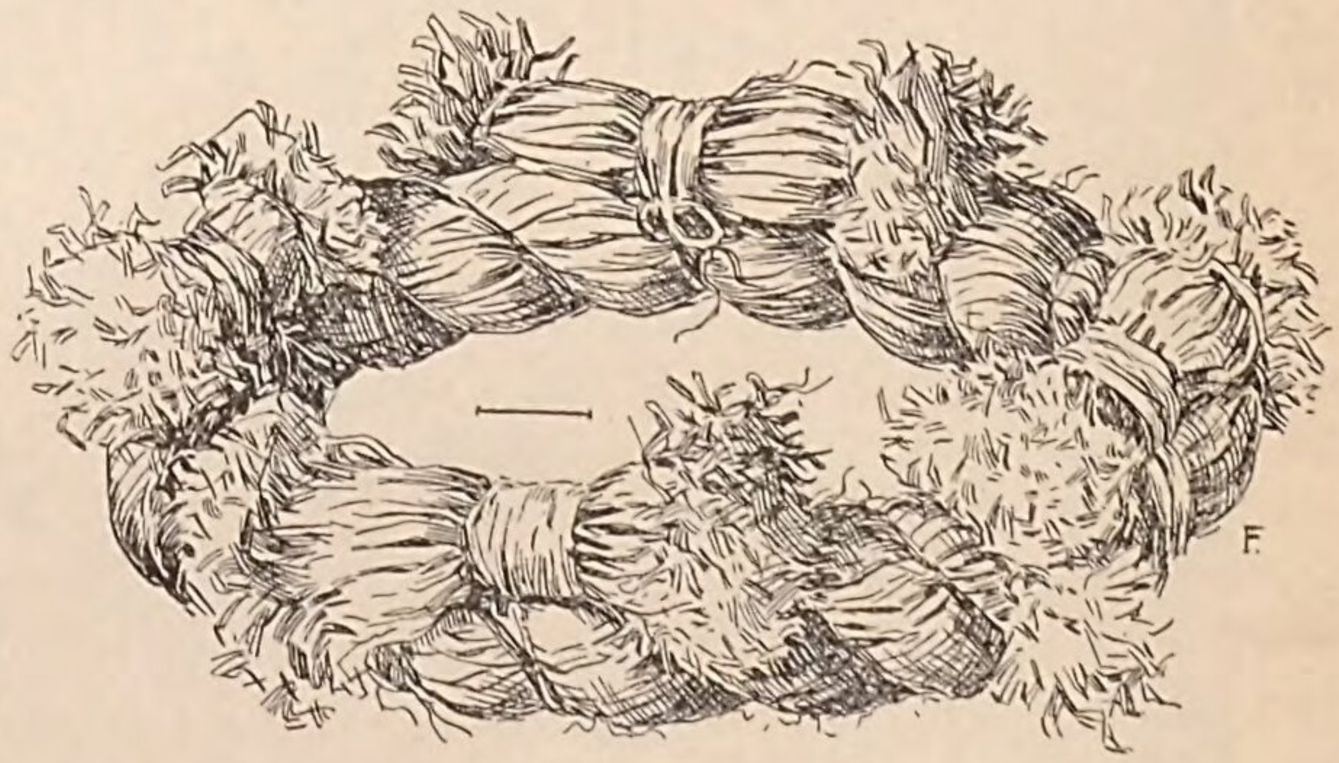


Fig. 63.

HEAD RING OF HĀ′MATS'A, ORNAMENTED WITH FOUR CROSSPIECES.

Cat. No. 129515, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

After this part of the ceremony is finished, the hē′lig·a rise, each takes one hā′mats'a at the head, and they drag them to the salt water. They go into the water until it reaches up to their waists, and, facing the rising sun, they dip the hā′mats'a four times under water. Every time he rises again he cries hāp. Then they go back to the house. Their excitement has left them. They dance during the following nights. They look downcast and do not utter their peculiar cries, hāp, hāp. They do not dance squatting, but in an erect

position. After the close of the ceremonial the hā'mats'a by the payment of blankets indemnifies those whom he has bitten and the owner of slaves whom he has killed.

The ceremonial of the return of the hā'mats'a will be described later on, when an account of the whole winter ceremonial will be given. My object here is to describe the manner of dancing, so that I do not need to refer to the subject again later on.

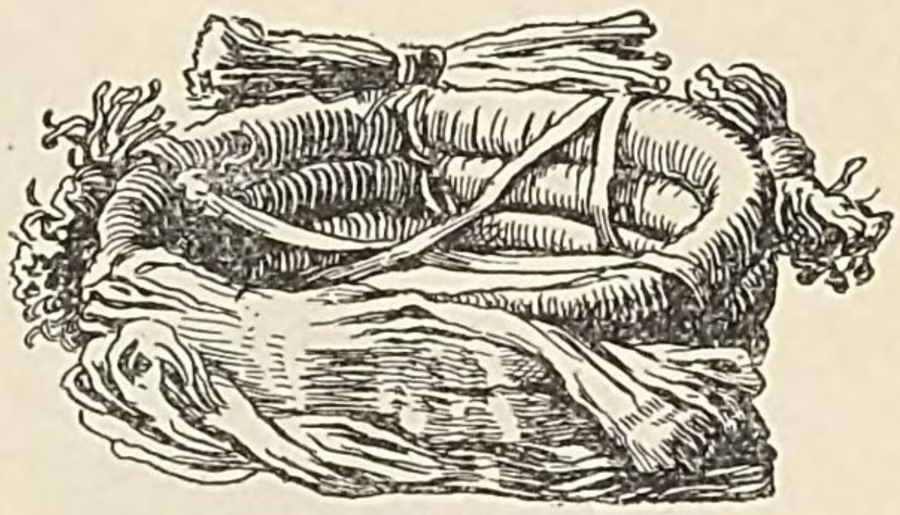


Fig. 64.

HEAD RING OF HĀ'MATS'A.

IV A, No. 580, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

The hā'mats'a has two ways of dancing—one representing him in a stage of greatest excitement, the other when he is becoming pacified. His first dance and sometimes part of the second are danced in the former position, the others are danced in the second position. The first dance represents him as looking for human flesh to eat. He dances in a squatting position, his arms extended sideways and trembling violently (fig. 62). He first extends them to the right, then to the left, changing at the same time the position of the feet so that when extending his arms to the left he rests on his left foot and the right foot is extended backward; when extending his arms to the right, he rests on his right foot and the left foot is extended backward. Thus he moves on slowly with long steps. His head is lifted up, as though he was looking for a body that was being held high up in front of him. His eyes are wide open, his lips pushed forward, and from time to time he utters his terrible cry, hāp. His attendants surround him, and two of them hold him at his neck ring that he may not attack the people. When in the rear of the house, he suddenly changes his position, putting his hands on his hips and jumping in long leaps with both legs at the same time, his face still bearing the same expression. In this position he turns in the rear of the fire. Thus he continues his four circuits, changing

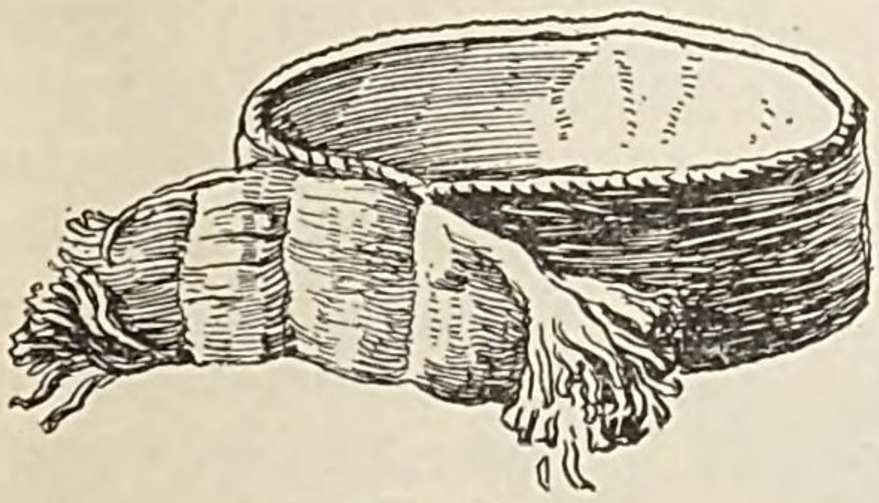


Fig. 65.

HEAD RING OF HĀ'MATS'A.

IV A, No. 578, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

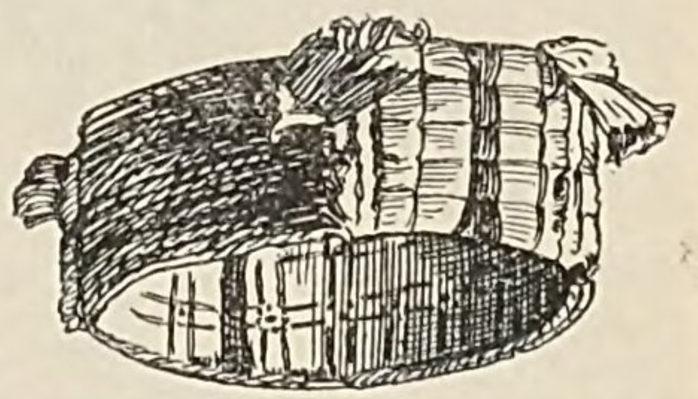


Fig. 66.

HEAD RING OF HĀ'MATS'A.

Front crosspiece representing the milky way.

IV A, No. 6878, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by F. Boas.

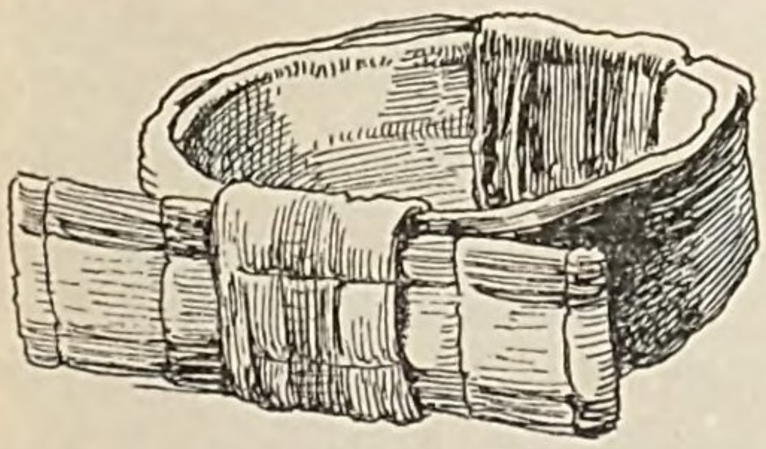


Fig. 67.

HEAD RING OF HĀ'MATS'A.

IV A, No. 579, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

from time to time from the slow trembling movement to the long leaps. During this time his k·î′nqalaʟala—if he is a novice—dances backward in front of him. She stands erect and holds her hands and forearms extended forward as though she was carrying a body for the hā′mats'a to eat. Then his eyes are directed to her hands, which she keeps moving up and down a little with each step. Her open palms are turned upward. In his second dance the hā′mats'a dances standing erect. While in his first dance he is naked, he is now clothed in a blanket. Now he holds his forearms upward, the elbows being near his flanks, the palms forward, the fingers lightly bent. His hands are still trembling violently. His dance consists of rhythmical steps coincident with the beats of the batons. He takes very high steps, so that his knees almost touch his chest. When raising one foot, he bends at the same time the knee of the other leg, and thus drops his trunk considerably without changing his position (Plate 28). He always puts down the whole sole of his foot.

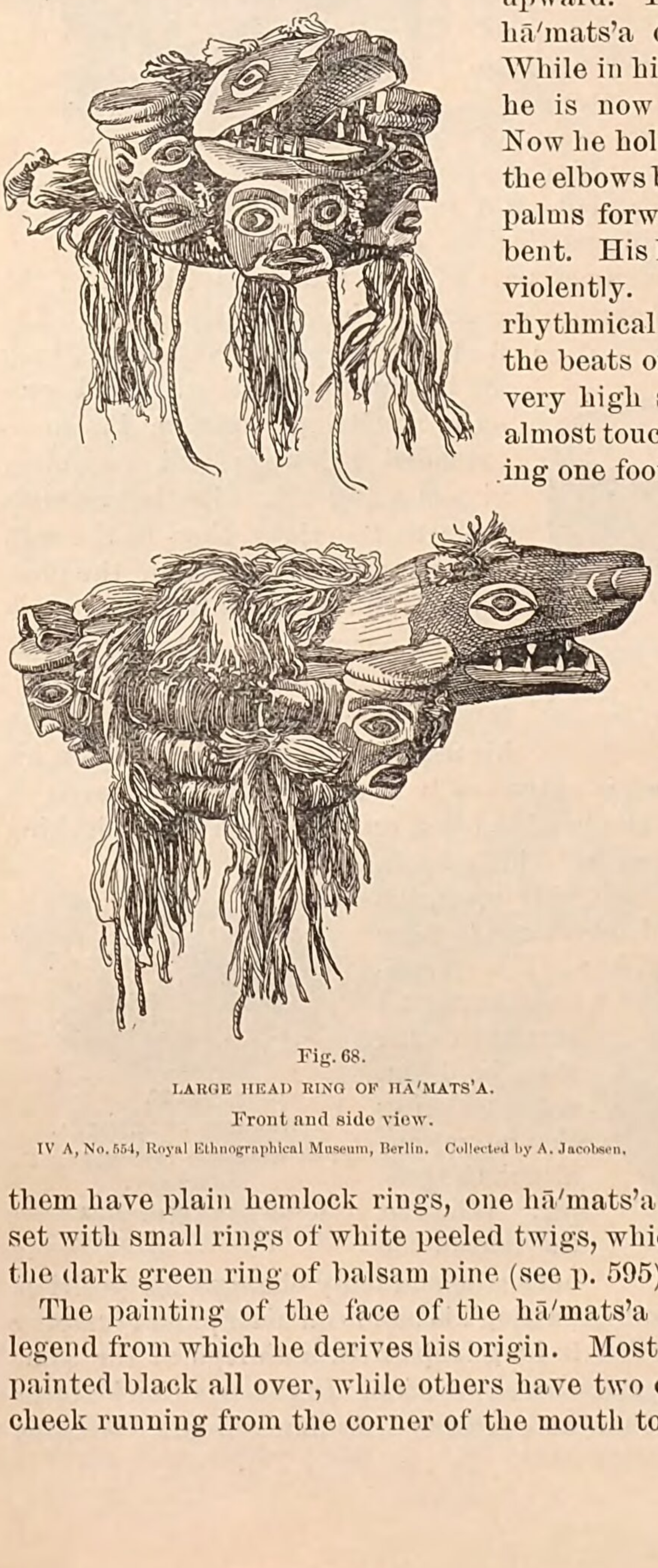


Fig. 68.

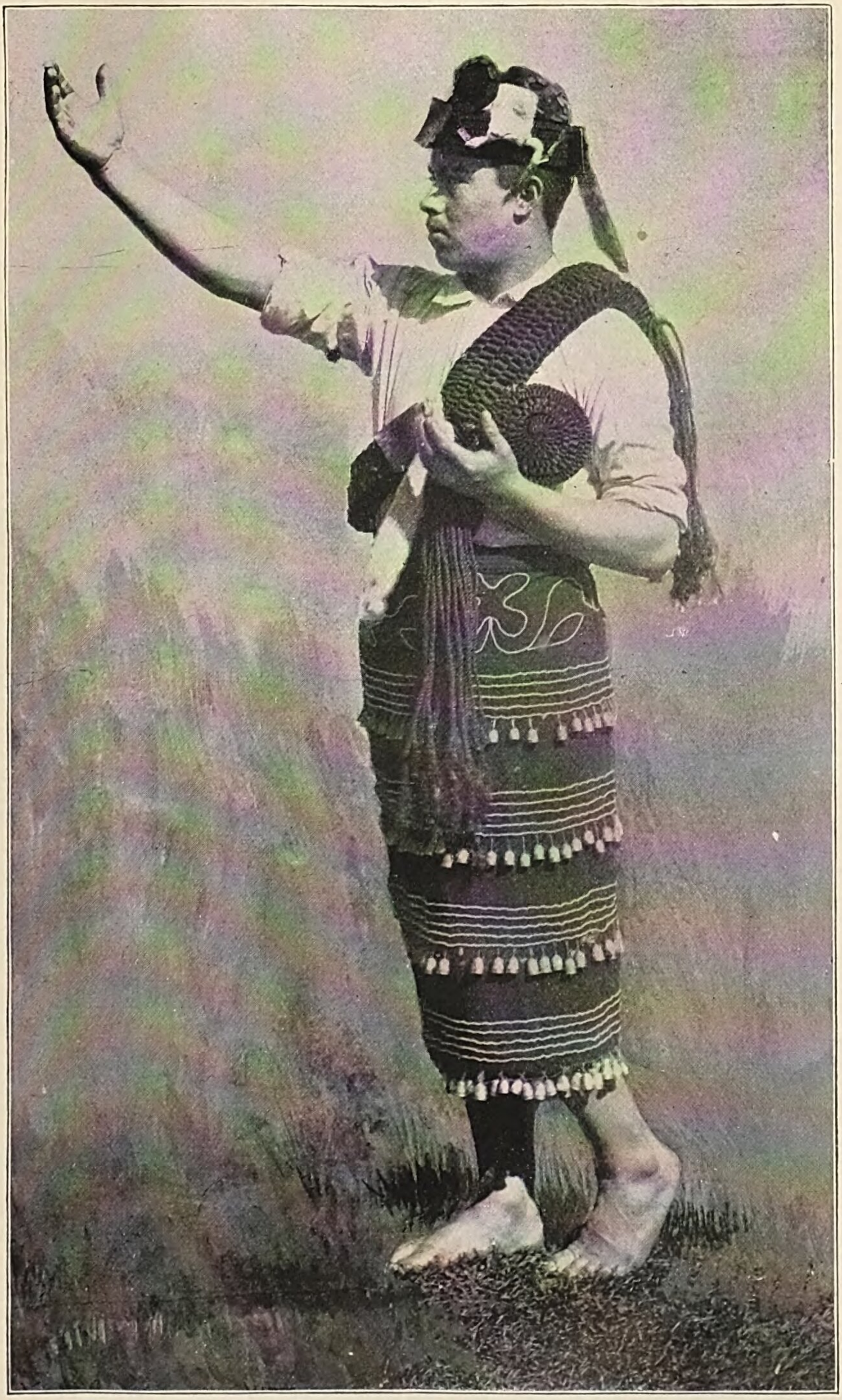
LARGE HEAD RING OF HĀ′MATS'A.

Front and side view.

IV A, No. 554, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

When he first returns from his initiation, he wears a head ring, neck ring, waist ring, bracelet, and anklets made of hemlock branches. The form of these rings varies according to the legend from which the hā′mats'a derives his origin. While most of them have plain hemlock rings, one hā′mats'a of the Koskimo has his set with small rings of white peeled twigs, which set off clearly against the dark green ring of balsam pine (see p. 595).

The painting of the face of the hā′mats'a also depends upon the legend from which he derives his origin. Most of them have their faces painted black all over, while others have two curved red lines on each cheek running from the corner of the mouth to the ear in a wide curve



DANCE OF THE HĀ'MATS'A.

The peculiar head and neck ring of the dancer were obtained from the Tlingit, his grandmother being of the Tongass tribe.

From a photograph.

which is concave on the upper side. This, it is said, is where Baxbakuālanuxsī'waē rubbed off the hā'mats'a's skin, or to indicate that they are living on blood. According to the legend, the various hā'mats'as become excited by seeing certain objects or by hearing them mentioned. All of these refer to death. The exciting object for one hā'mats'a is the

Fig. 69.

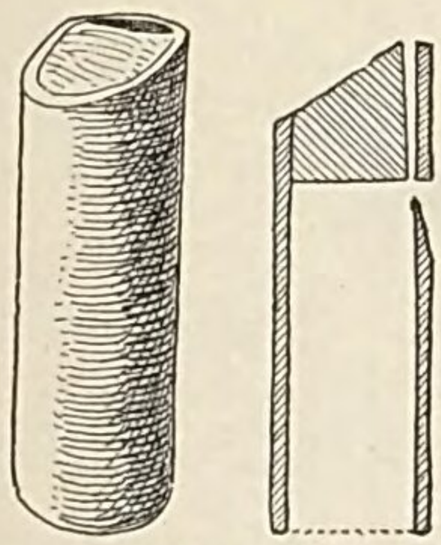


Fig. 70.

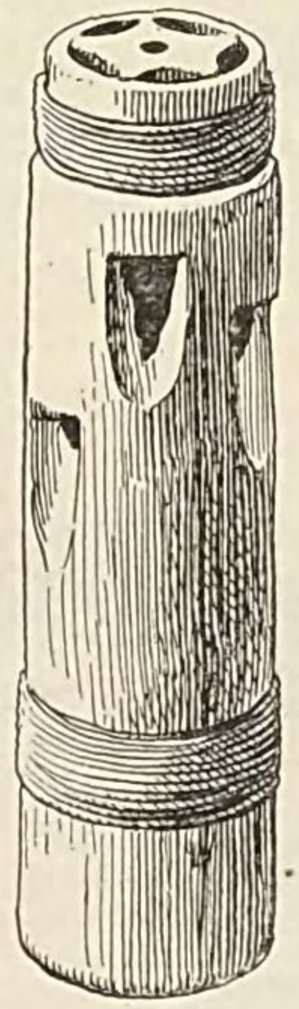


Fig. 71.

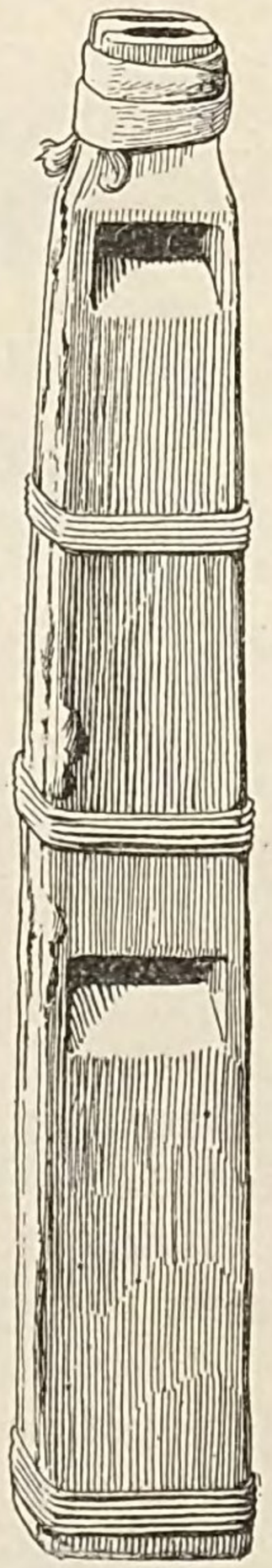


Fig. 74.

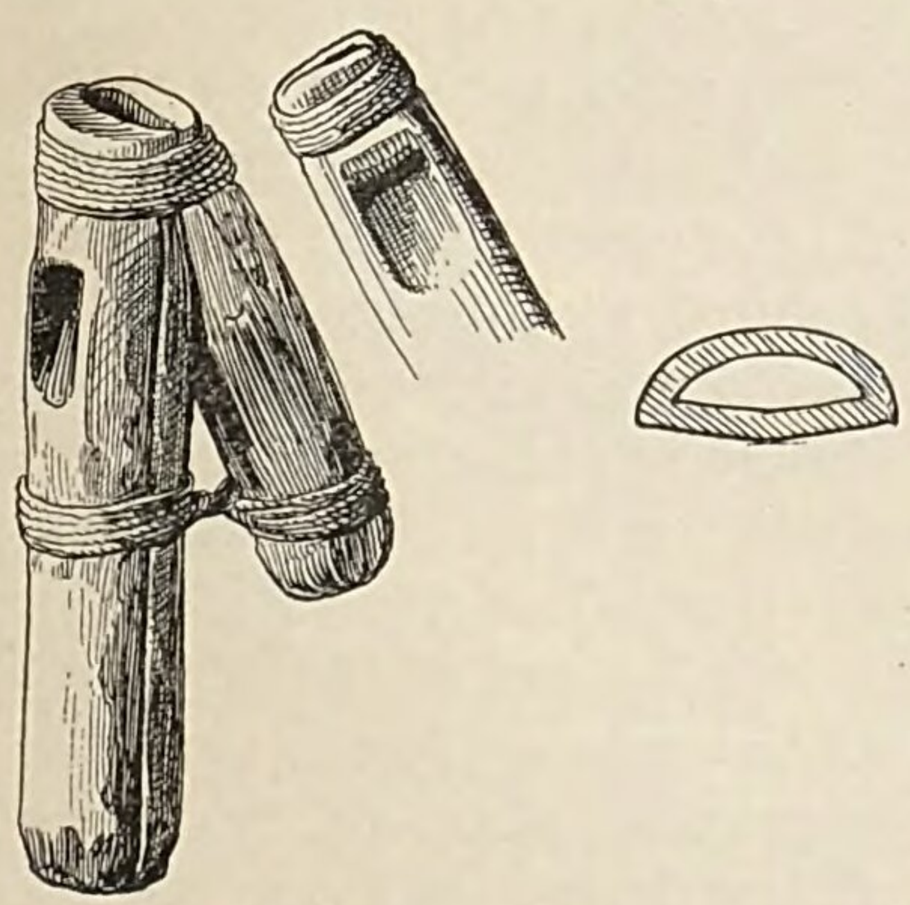


Fig. 72.

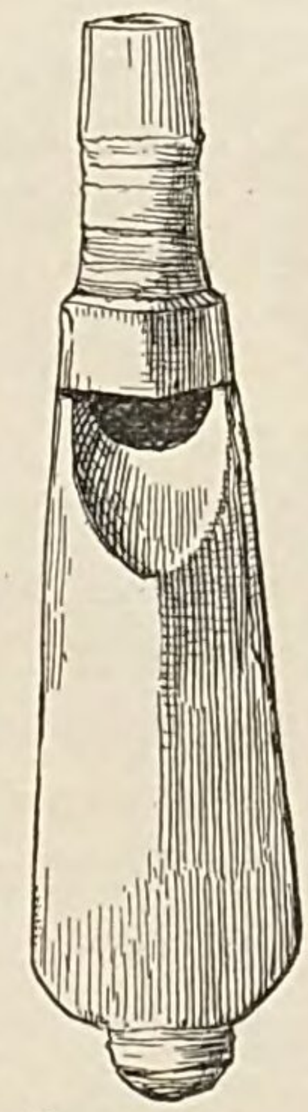


Fig. 73.

Figs. 69–73.

WHISTLES OF HĀ'MATS'A.

Fig. 69, double whistle; fig. 70, bone whistle; fig. 71, whistle of five voices; fig. 72, double whistle; fig. 73, single whistle.

Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

IV A, Nos. 1729*a*, 6857, 1730*d*, 1729*b*, 1729*c*, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen and F. Boas.

DOUBLE WHISTLE, WITH FOUR VOICES.

Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

IV A, No. 1730*c*, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

ghost or corpse; for another one, skulls; for still others, "a head cut off" or maggots or x·ā'wayu (open door). Whenever any of these words occur in a song, or when a dance, figure, or painting is shown representing these objects, the hā'mats'a who, according to his legend, is affected by them falls into a state of ecstasy.

If the dancer is not a novice, he dances the first dance with his cedar bark ornaments, which the new hā′mats'a does not wear until his fourth dance. These consist of a heavy crown of plated cedar bark and a neck ring to correspond, anklets, and bracelets (figs. 63–68).

The head ring fig. 63 is set with four crosspieces. These crosspieces designate the gifts of the spirits who have initiated the cannibal. The front piece represents the milky way, the cannibal pole of Baxbakuālanuxsī′waē, the two lateral pieces represent the hō′Xhokᵘ. The rear crosspiece is said to be merely an ornament. Some hā′mats'as wear a bear skin which is set with the scalps of the slaves whom he has eaten or of the enemies whom he has slain. The symbolic meaning of a number of crosspieces will be described in detail further on (p. 449).

Fig. 75.

PAINTING ON THE FRONT OF A MĀ′WIL, REPRESENTING THE FACE OF BAXBAKUĀLANUXSĪ′WAĒ.

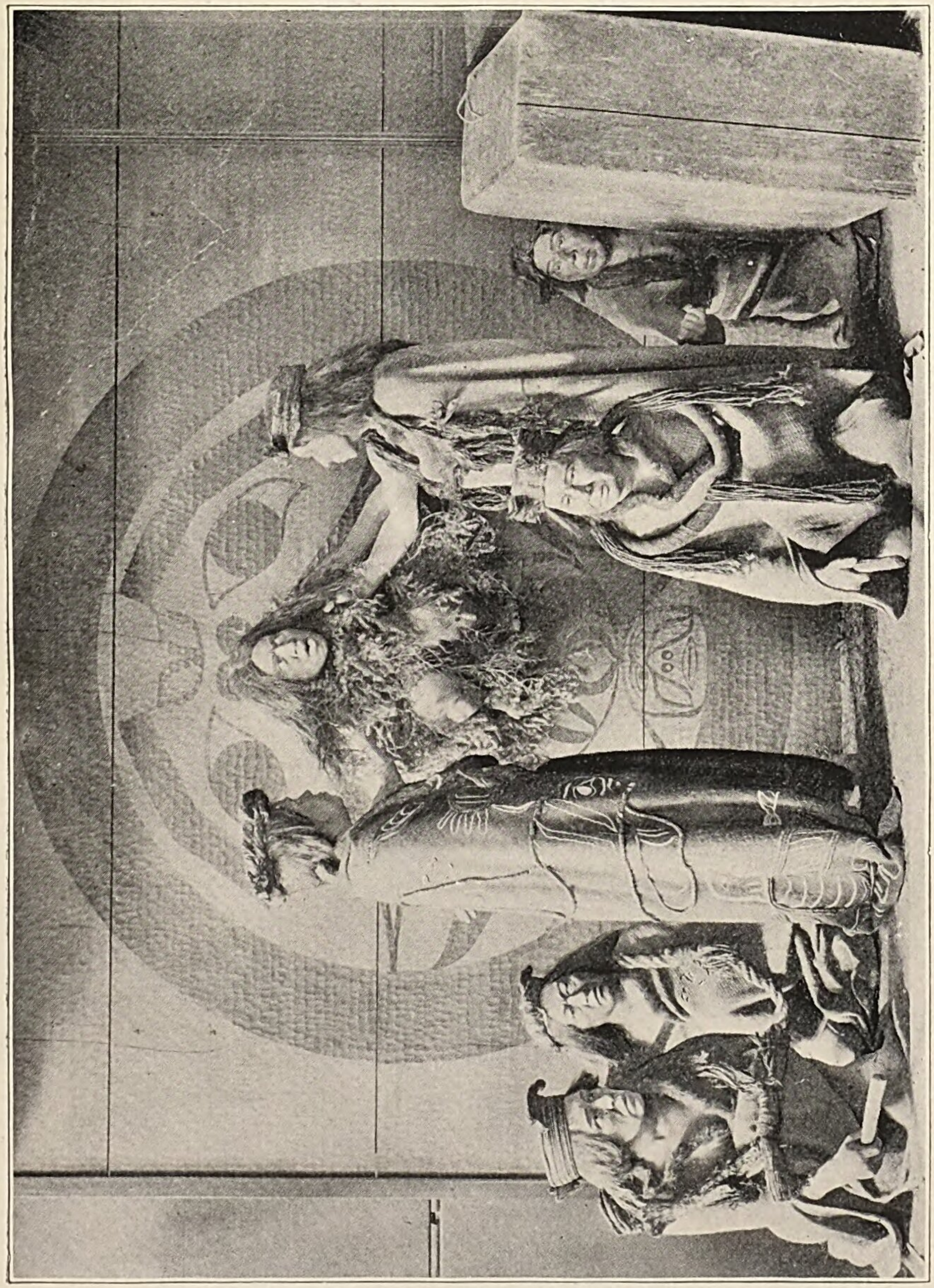
From a sketch.

During the dances of the hā′mats'a whistles are heard (figs. 69–74), which represent the voices of the spirits. Most of these whistles are small. They are made of red cedar. A few are made of bone.

After his first dance, the hā′mats'a disappears in a room set apart for this purpose in the rear of the house. It is called the mā′wiL, and is supposed to be the house of BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē. Its front is painted with designs which represent either the face of BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē himself or that of his servant the raven. The top of the front is set with fringes of red cedar bark (fig. 75). The room is always so arranged that when the hā′mats'a reappears, he comes out of the mouth of the painting on its front. Plate 29 shows the hā′mats'a coming out of the secret room, which is painted with the design of the raven. His attendants, as soon as he appears, run up to the secret room and hold the hā′mats'a at his neck ring. Then he comes forward and performs his dance.

This room is used only by the novice. For him also a high pole is erected in the middle of the rear of the house. It is called the ha′msp'ēq, the cannibal pole. It is a mast from 30 to 40 feet high, which is wound with red cedar bark. At the top is a short crosspiece about 4 feet in length. The cedar bark extends up to it so that it forms a triangle at the top of the pole. Sometimes a triangle painted with the face of BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē is fastened to it instead.

As mentioned before, the novice after his first dance disappears into his secret room. Soon his cries are heard again, and he is seen coming out backward at the side of the mā′wiL. He wears the mask of the raven, Qoā′qoaXualanuXsī′waē (fig. 76), which it is supposed is growing



HĀ'MATS'A COMING OUT OF SECRET ROOM.

From a photograph of a group in the U. S. National Museum.

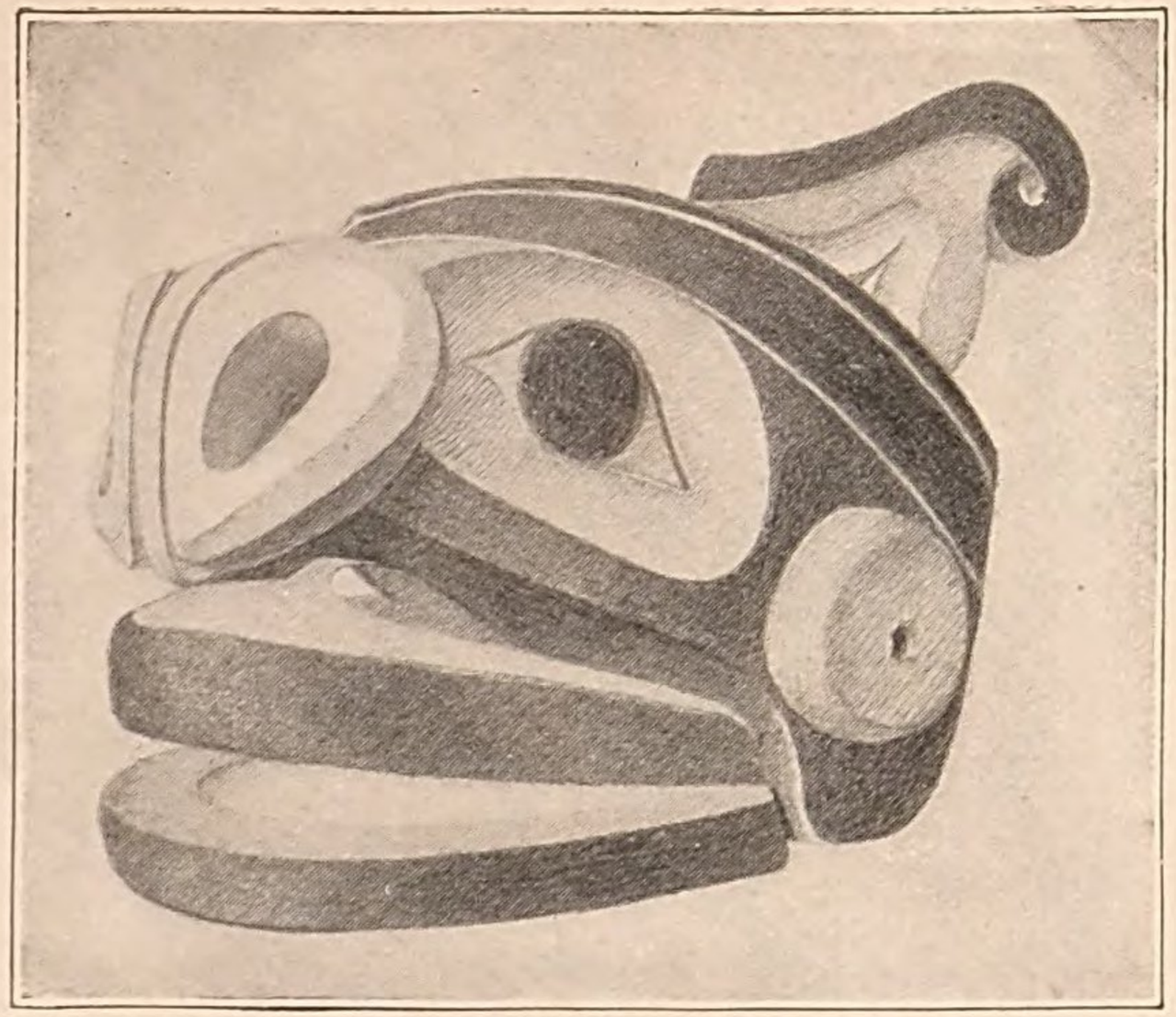


Fig. 1.

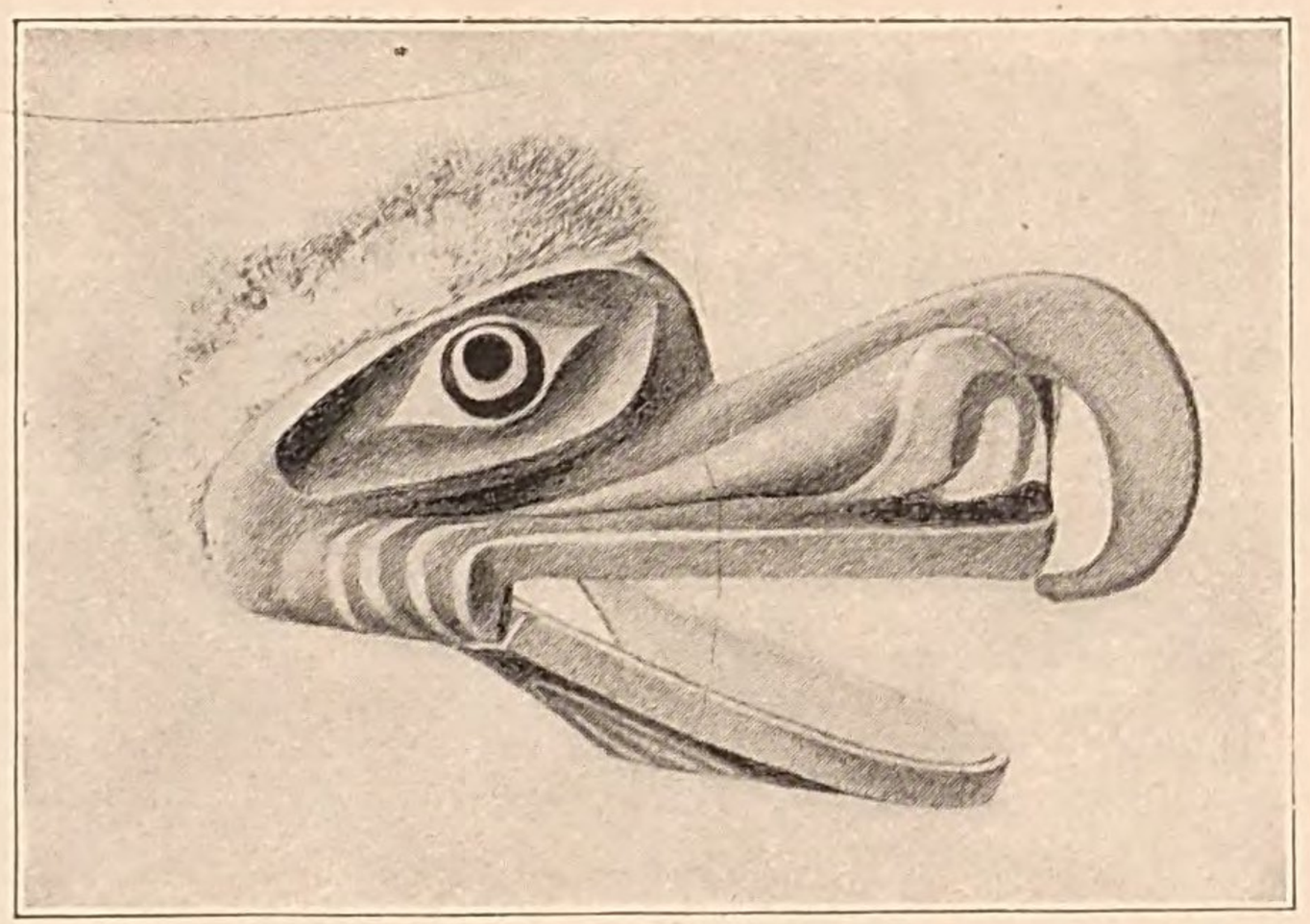


Fig. 2.

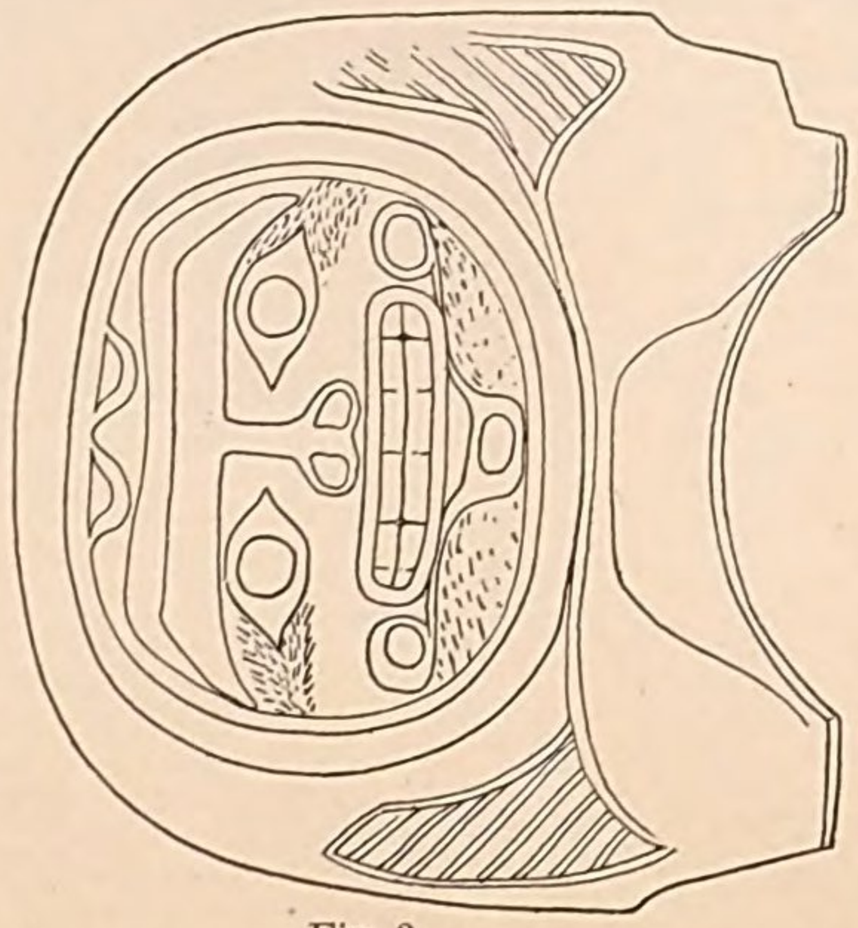


Fig. 3.

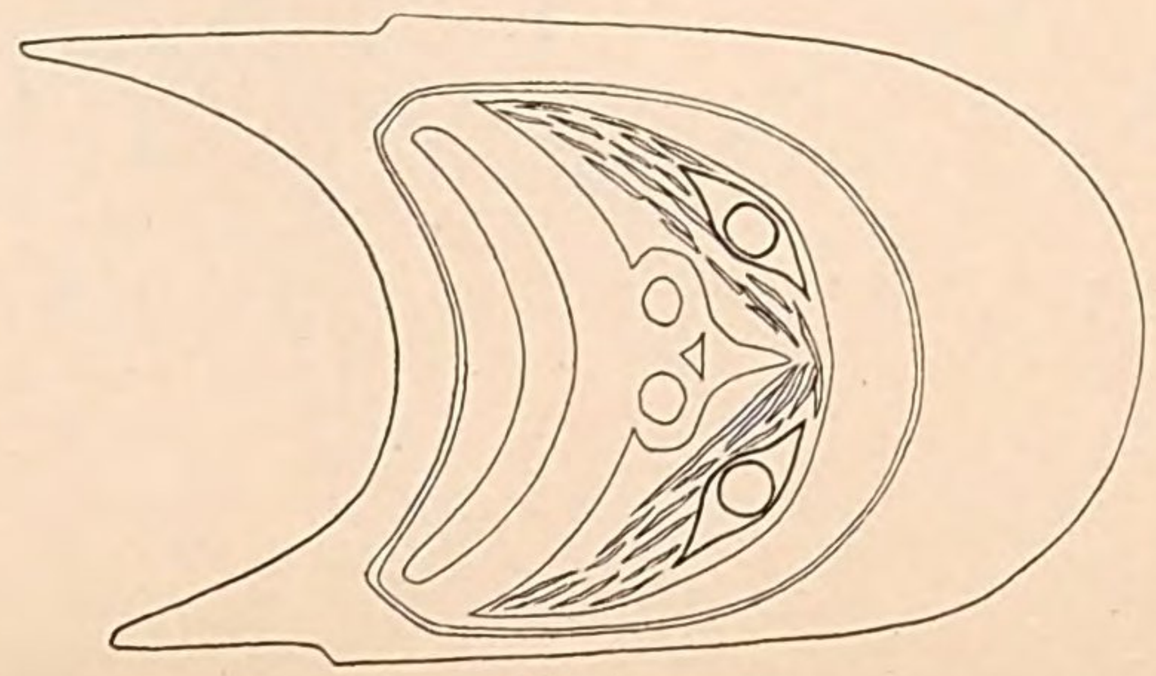


Fig. 4.

MASKS REPRESENTING BAXBAKUĀLANUXSÎ'WAĒ.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 30.

1	3
2	4

MASKS REPRESENTING BAXBAKUĀLANUXSĪ'WAĒ.

Fig. 1. Length, 17 inches; height, 15 inches; width, 18½ inches; black, red, and green.

Fig. 2. Painting on lower side of the mask represented in Fig. 1.
(Cat. No. $\frac{16}{1101}$, American Museum of Natural History, New York.)

Fig. 3. Length, 17½ inches; black and red.

Fig. 4. Painting on lower side of the mask represented in Fig. 3.
(Cat. No. $\frac{16}{1102}$, American Museum of Natural History, New York.)

out of his body. He now personates the slave of BaxbakuālanuXsī′-waē. Actually, it is not the same person who is wearing this mask, but somebody else who dances in his place. He crouches so that the long beak of the bird is close to the ground and turns his head with sudden jerks to the right and to the left. Both his hands are hidden under his blanket and with them he pulls strings which make the jaw of the mask open and shut very rapidly, thus producing a loud clappering noise. As soon as the mask appears, the singers begin the following song:

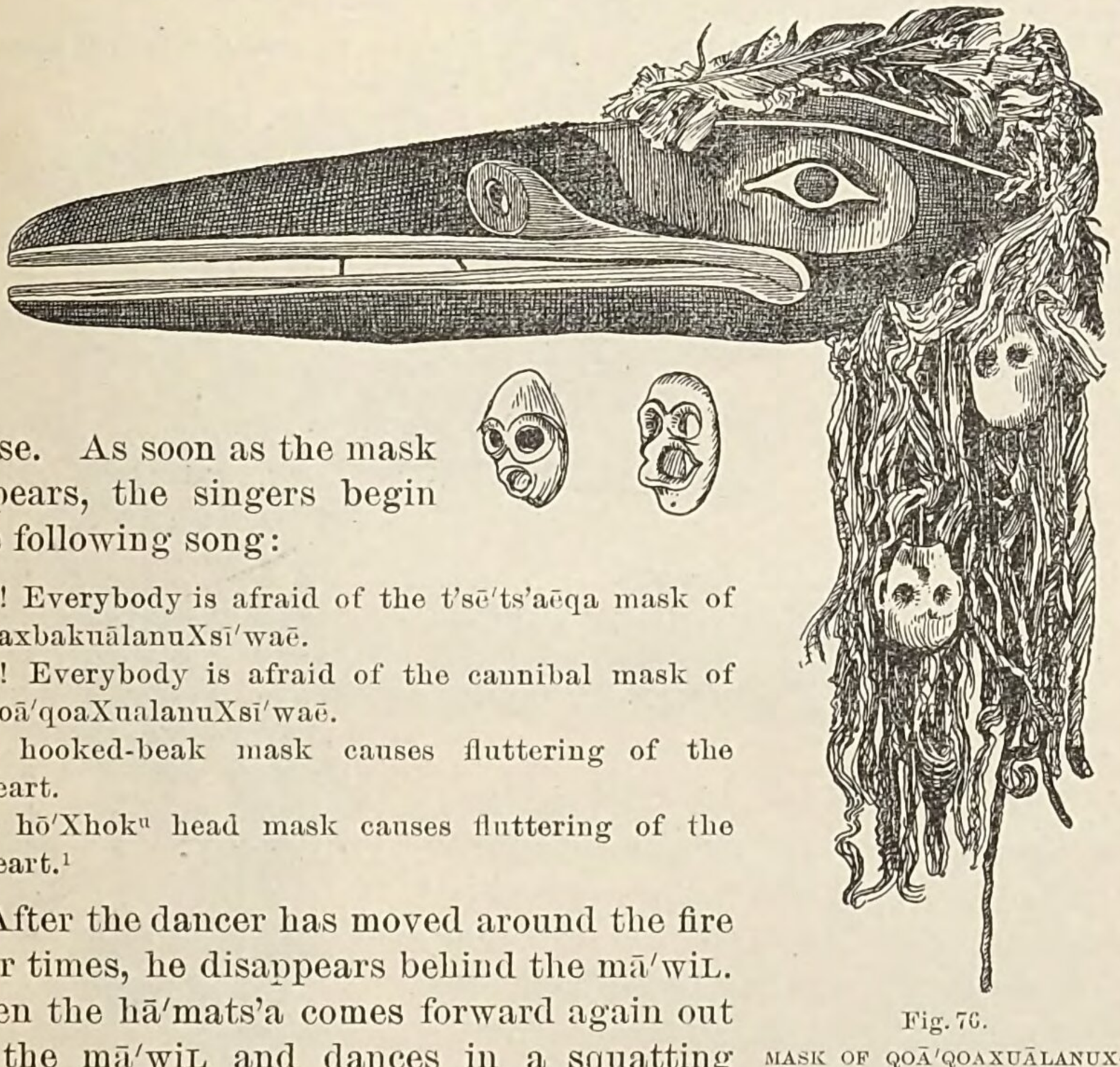


Fig. 76.

MASK OF QOĀ′QOAXUĀLANUXSĪ′WAĒ, SET WITH FEATHERS AND RED CEDAR BARK.

Length, 43½ inches; black, green, red, white.

IV A, No. 892, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

Wa! Everybody is afraid of the t'sē′ts'aēqa mask of BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē.
Wa! Everybody is afraid of the cannibal mask of Qoā′qoaXualanuXsī′waē.
His hooked-beak mask causes fluttering of the heart.
His hō′Xhokᵘ head mask causes fluttering of the heart.[1]

After the dancer has moved around the fire four times, he disappears behind the mā′wiL. Then the hā′mats'a comes forward again out of the mā′wiL and dances in a squatting position as before, but perfectly naked. He disappears, and next a dancer, the same one who wore the first mask, appears, coming out backward at the side of the mā′wiL. He wears the mask of BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē himself, and dances and moves in the same position as the Qoā′qoa-XualanuXsī′waē. (Fig. 77 and Plate 30.)

It will be noticed that some of these masks are set with skulls carved of wood. These have various meanings. They may indicate that the mask was obtained in war, or that as many slaves were killed for the novice as there are skulls attached to the mask, or finally they may belong traditionally to the particular hā′mats'a. Throughout these ceremonies it must be borne in mind that the different hā′mats'as have

[1] See Appendix, page 686.

each a separate tradition, and, therefore, their masks and ornaments differ. While the dancer who wears the mask of BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē is dancing, the singers sing the following song:

He is carrying the hā'mats'a head mask which he obtained from BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē all around our world.[1]

After he has danced around the fire four times he disappears, and then the hā'mats'a comes again from out of the mā'wiL dressed in his ornaments of red cedar bark and dances in an erect position.

When an old hā'mats'a performs these dances, the masks do not appear, but he dances four times in succession, first in the squatting position, then the latter part of the second dance and his third and fourth dances erect.

Fig. 77.

MASK OF BAXBAKUĀLANUXSĪ'WAĒ, SET WITH RED CEDAR BARK.

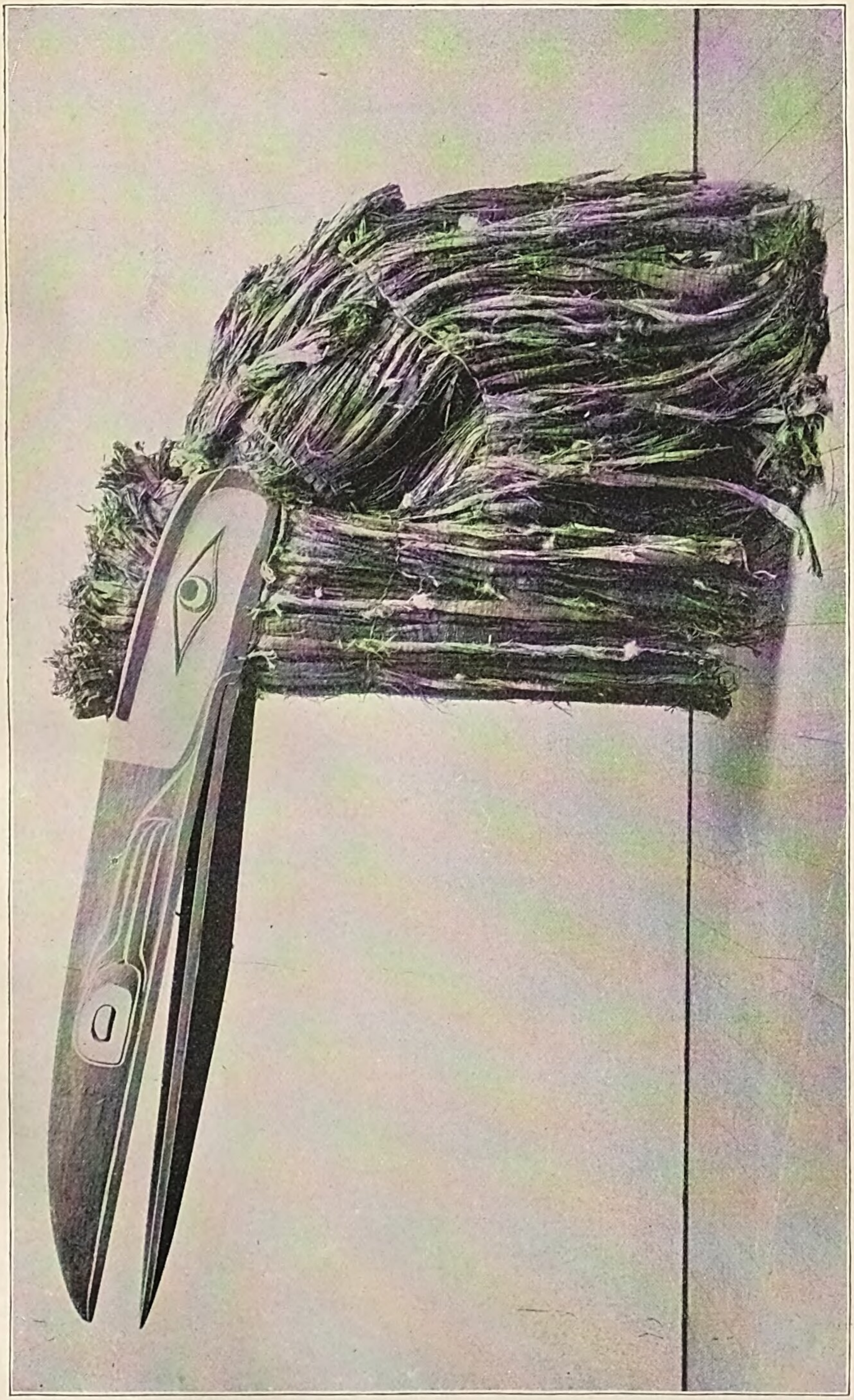
Length, 27 inches; black, white, red.

IV A, No. 893, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

The Nā'q'oaqtôq use for the novice the two masks represented in fig. 78 and Plate 31. The legend of their hā'mats'a was told in the preceding chapter (p. 396). The mask which appears first is the raven mask; then the dancer performs his second dance, wearing the ornaments shown on figs. 79 and 80. His third dance is that of the hō'xhokᵘ (Plate 31). His cedar bark headdress for the first dance is shown in fig. 79, for the last dance in fig. 80. In both dances he wears the neck ring fig. 81.

The raven mask (fig. 82) belonged originally to a hā'mats'a of the Hē'iltsuq, from whom the Kwakiutl obtained it by marriage. When in use, a sleeveless waist of eagle skins which reaches down to the hips is attached to it. The arms of the dancer are tied with red cedar bark above the elbows and at the wrists. He wears an ordinary neck ring. He also wears bands around knees and ankles and a waistband, all made of red cedar bark similar to those worn by the dancer represented in Plate 31. The legend from which the mask derives its origin is as follows: A chief

[1] See Appendix, page 687.



RAVEN MASK AND DRESS OF RED AND WHITE CEDAR BARK, WORN BY THE HĀ'MATS'A OF THE NĀ'Q'OAQTÔQ.
Cat. No. 169105, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

was deserted on an island by his slaves. He thought he would have to die of hunger. He sat down and covered his face with his blanket and cried. Then he heard his name being called. He looked up, but did not see anyone. He covered his head again. Soon his name was called a second time, but he could not discover anyone. The same happened a third time. Then he bit a hole in his cedar bark blanket and peeped through it. Soon he saw a mouse coming out of a hole and calling him. He threw off his blanket and spoke to the mouse, who invited him to enter. She warned him, however, to take care of the door. The chief followed her. She led him down the rock to Q'ō'moqoaē's house. The door of the house was the raven, Qoā'qoaXualanuXsī'waē, who snapped at everybody who entered the house. The chief jumped through the door when it opened. Q'ō'maqoaē gave him the hā'mats'a dance and the raven mask.

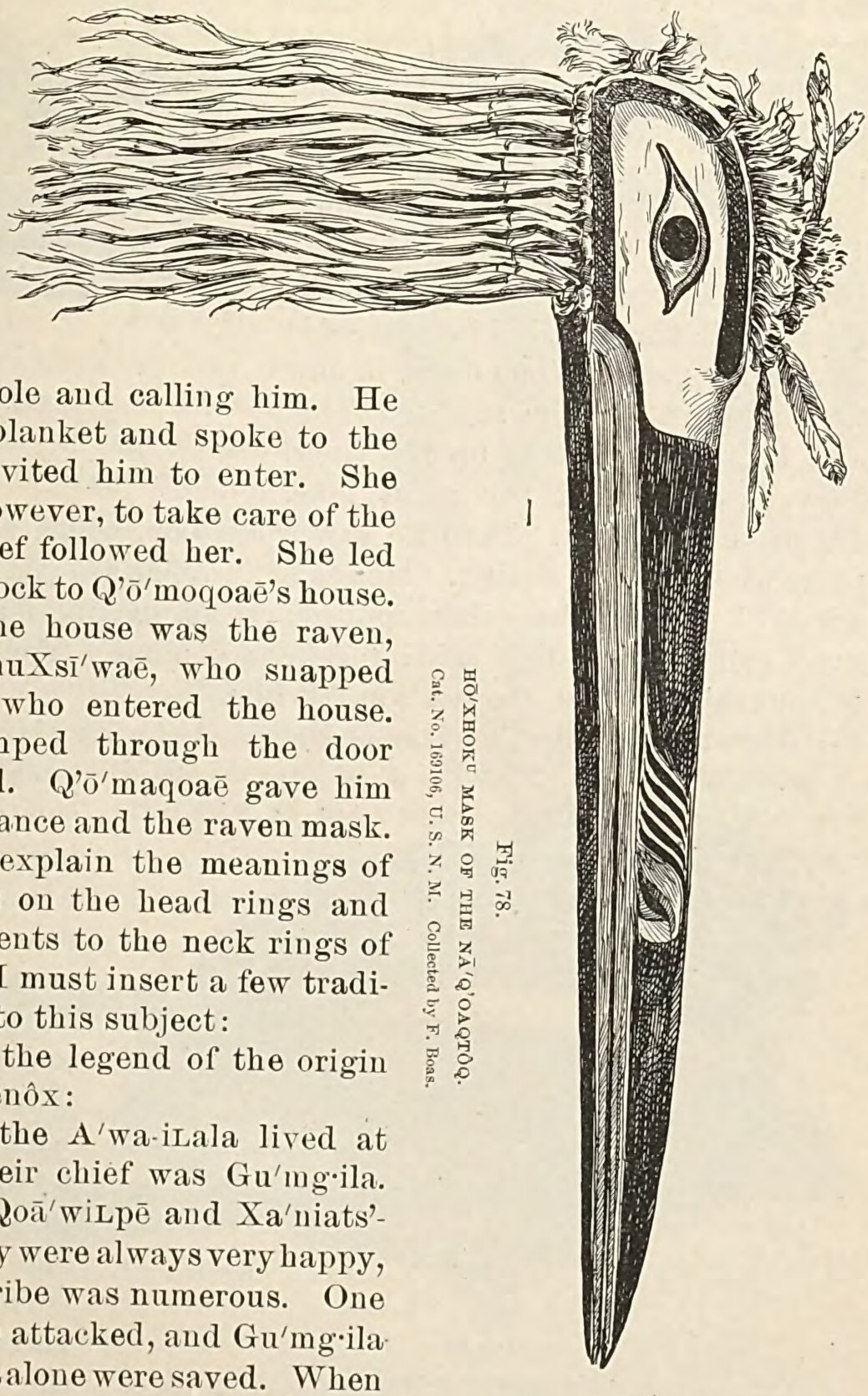


Fig. 78.

HŌ'XHOKᵘ MASK OF THE NĀ'Q'OAQTÔQ.
Cat. No. 169106, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

In order to explain the meanings of the crosspieces on the head rings and of the attachments to the neck rings of the hā'mats'a, I must insert a few traditions referring to this subject:

Following is the legend of the origin of the G·agg·aēnôx:

The first of the A'wa-iLala lived at Ts'ā'watē. Their chief was Gu'mg·ila. His sons were Qoā'wiLpē and Xa'niats'amg·ilakᵘ. They were always very happy, because their tribe was numerous. One night they were attacked, and Gu'mg·ila and his two sons alone were saved. When the day came Xa'niats'amg·ilakᵘ felt very ill at ease and told his father: "I will go into the woods. Do not try to see me, my dear!" His father replied: "Only take care, my son, lest something might happen to you. Do nothing that is wrong, because you intend to go and obtain a magic treasure. Rub your body for four days with hemlock branches, else you will smell like man." Then they separated. The young man

went into the woods at once and rubbed his body with hemlock branches for four days. He did not speak to anybody. Then he walked up the river Ts'ā'watē and came to a lake. A loon swam to the shore and asked him: "What are you doing here?" Xa'niats'amg·ilakᵘ replied: "I am looking for a magic treasure." "Take my name," said the loon. "Your name is now Ta'l-ts'aas." Then the loon flew away and Xa'niats'amg·ilakᵘ left the lake and went up the river. He arrived at the next lake and sat down on the shore. Now he saw a seal coming ashore. The seal said: "What are you doing here?" He replied: "I am looking for a magic treasure." The seal said: "Take my name. Your name is now Lā'lēlawēqamē." The seal left him, and he walked farther up the river. Now he arrived at the great lake. There he sat down. Then he saw a sea lion, which swam up to the place where he was sitting. He asked: "What are you doing here, my friend?" Xa'niats'amg·ilakᵘ replied: "I am looking for a magic treasure," and the sea lion said: "Take my name. Your name is now Mō'nakoala." Then the sea lion left him.

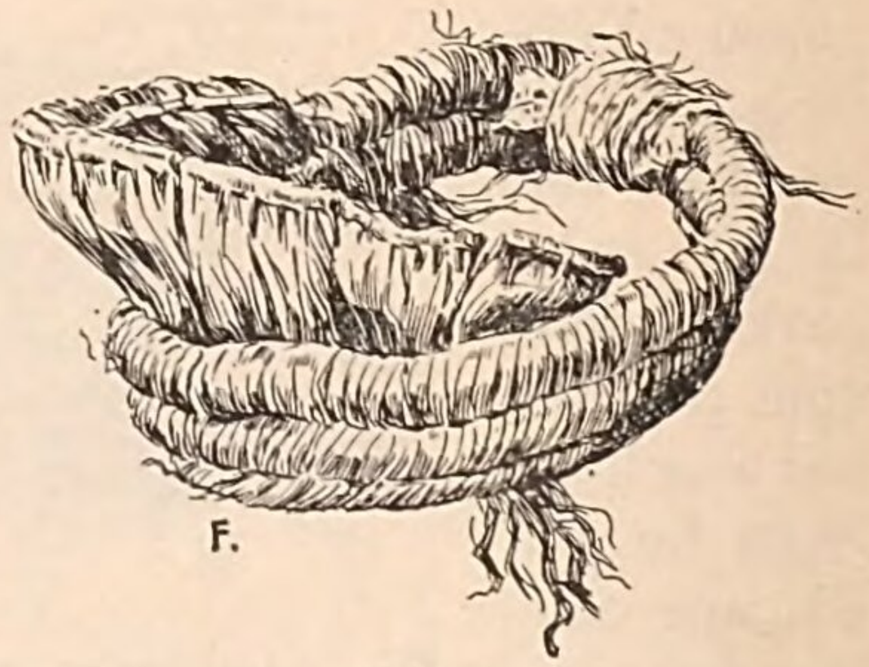


Fig. 79.

HEAD RING OF HĀ'MATS'A.

Cat. No. 169111, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

He went farther up the river and arrived at a very large lake. There he sat down. Then he saw a whale emerging and coming up to him. The whale asked: "What are you doing here?" He replied: "I am looking for a magic treasure." Then the whale said: "Take my name. Your name is now Yā'qaLnala and Qoayî'mts'ē and Gē'maxalas and a Lā'Layēgalîsē. Then the whale left him. Xa'niats'amg·ilakᵘ still felt badly and cried. There were no more lakes and he wanted to kill himself. For four days he stayed there and washed and rubbed his body with hemlock branches. Then he went to the top of the mountains. He came to the top of the great mountain Dā'duqola. He did not see anything there, and walked to the great mountain Nōla. He did not

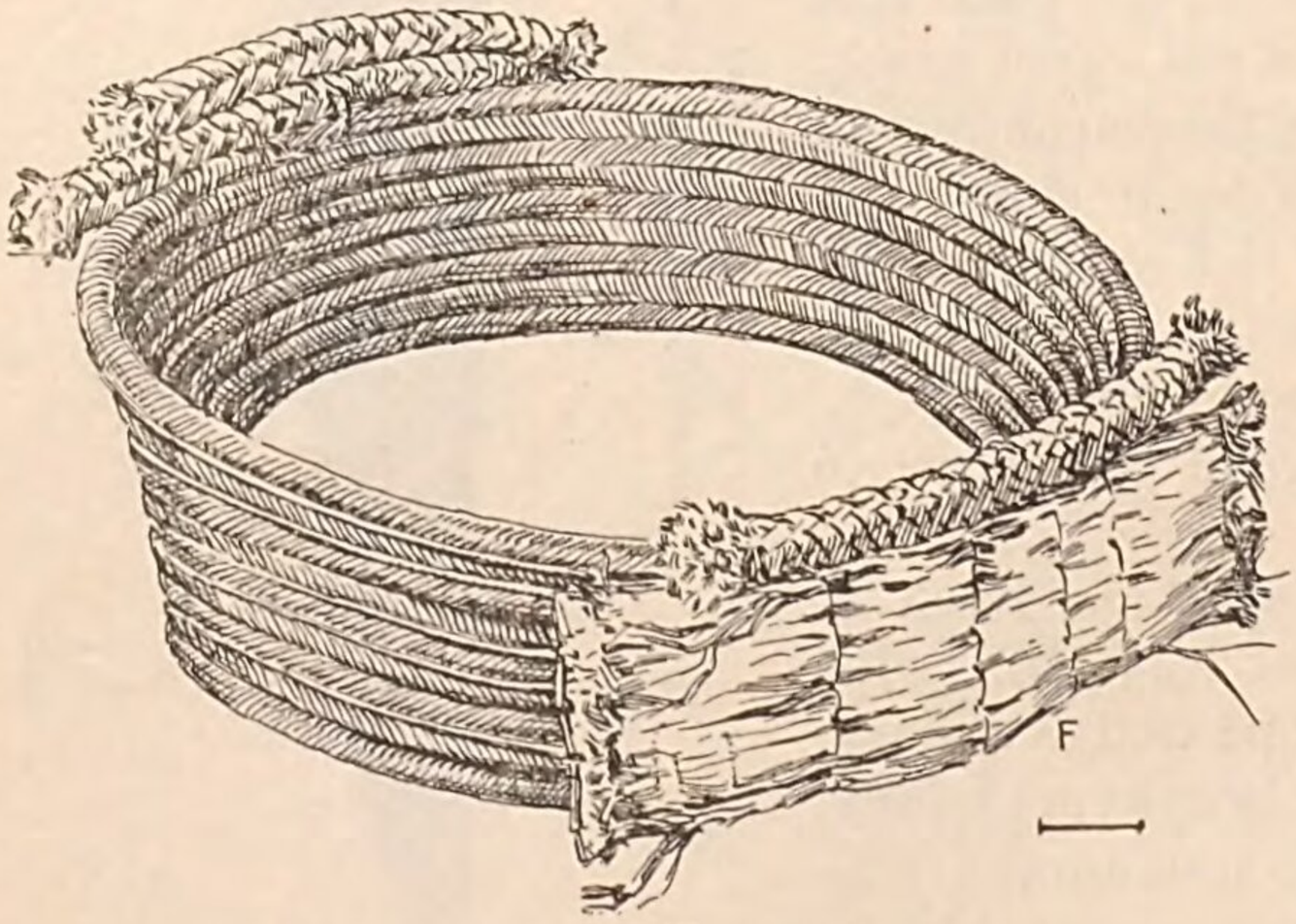


Fig. 80.

HEAD RING OF HĀ'MATS'A.

U. S. National Museum. Collected by F. Boas.

see anything there. Therefore he felt badly and was about to turn homeward. Then he discovered steam rising halfway down the mountain. He went to that place. It was evening when he arrived there. He saw a lake with steep precipices all around it, like to a washtub. He tried to find a way to go down to the lake. He slept during the night. In the morning he twisted cedar twigs. He made four long pieces so that the end reached down to the water. Now he saw a small island floating on the lake. He climbed down the cedar rope and came to the lake. Then the fishes in the lake covered his whole body and sucked at it. After he had bathed he climbed up the rope again. The fishes had sucked at his body so that it was all covered with blood. In the evening he climbed down again. The fishes tormented him in the same manner. Then he climbed up again and sat on the ground. The following morning he saw a cloud descending to the lake. When the cloud lifted, what should he see? There was a canoe on the lake with fifteen men in it. Fourteen were paddling and one was standing in the bow of the canoe. He carried a spear in his hand. They kept close to the island. Three times they went around it. Then Xa'niats'amg·ilak^{u} climbed down his rope. As soon as he reached

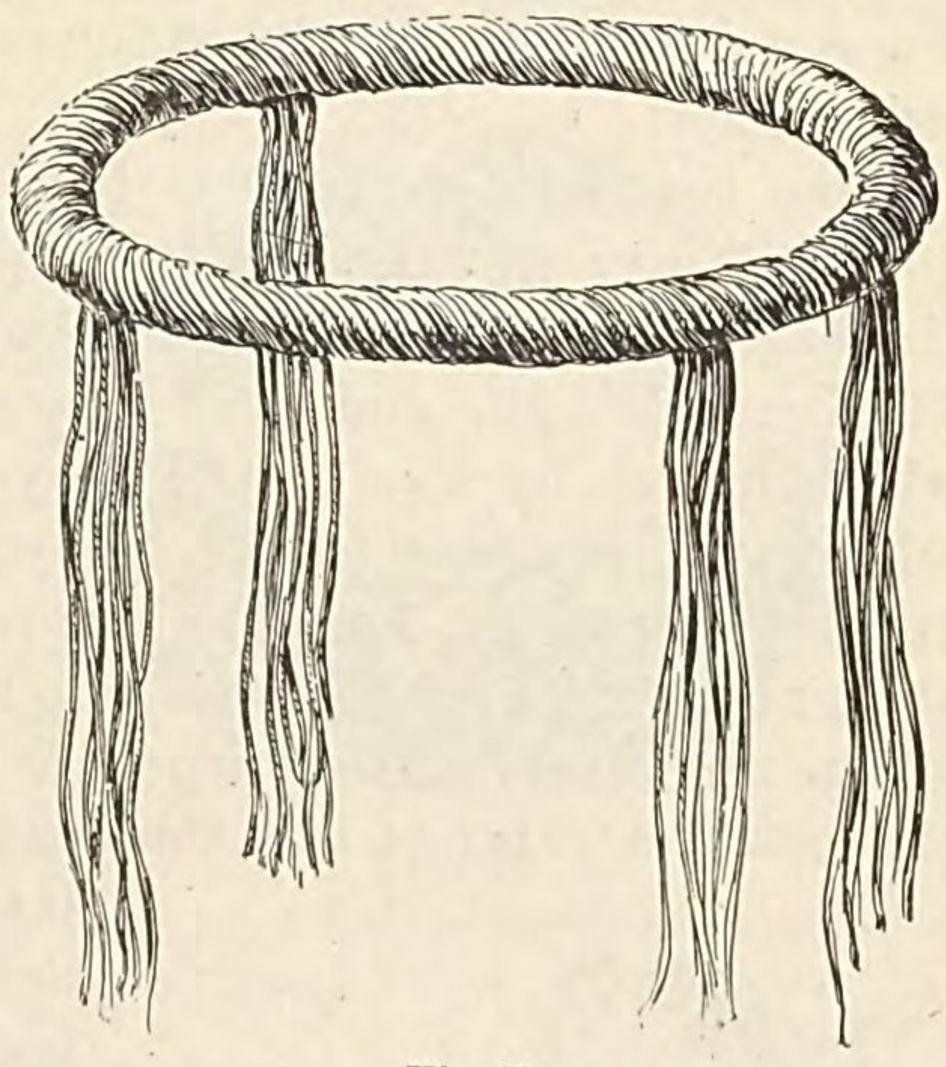


Fig. 81.

NECK RING OF HĀ'MATS'A.

Cat. No. 169112, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

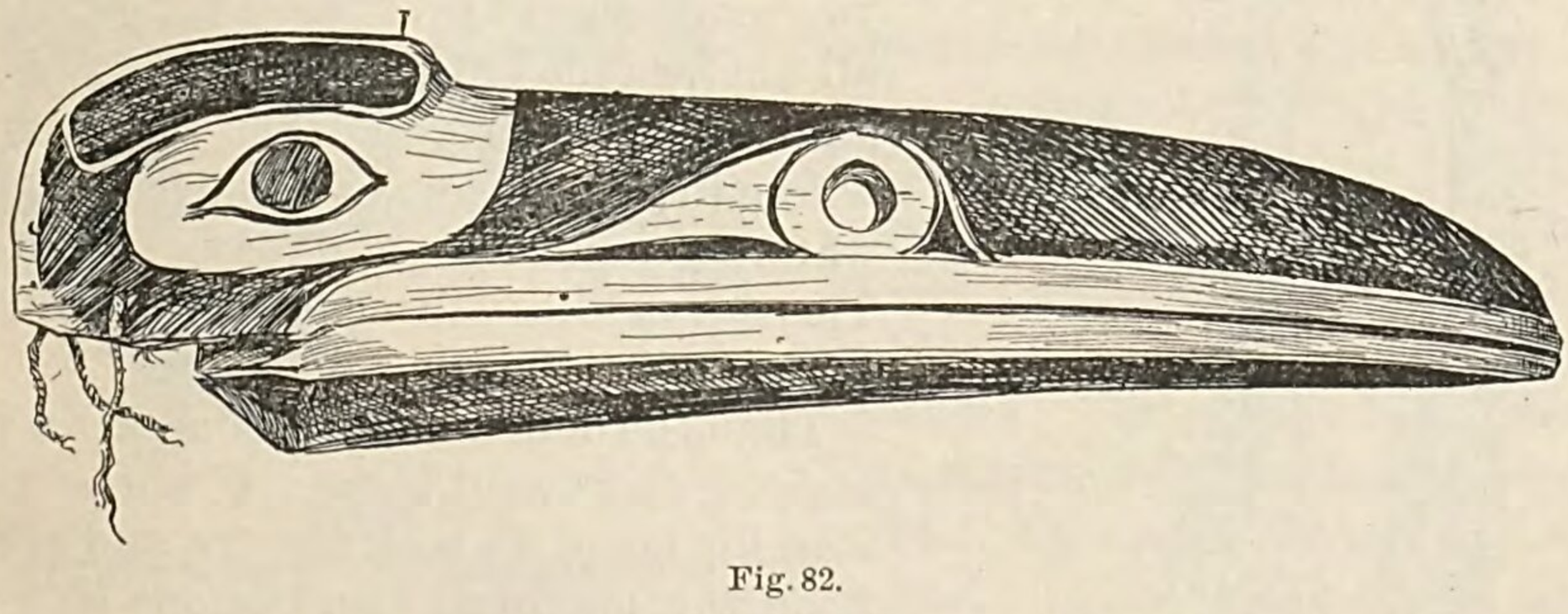


Fig. 82.

RAVEN MASK.

Cat. No. 169114, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

the water he dived and swam to the island. When he was near it, he raised his head. After a short time the canoe came to the place where he was in hiding. He took hold of the canoe under its bow. Then the men became afraid and rushed to the stern of the canoe. The chief of the men said: "Look what stops our canoe!" One of the men saw

Xa′niats'amg·ilakᵘ holding the bow of the canoe. He told the other men, and their chief said: "O Lord, let go! I will give you the water of life." But Xa′niats'amg·ilakᵘ only lifted the bow of the canoe higher. Then the men spoke: "O Lord, I will give you the fire that burns everything." Xa′niats'amg·ilakᵘ only lifted the canoe still higher.

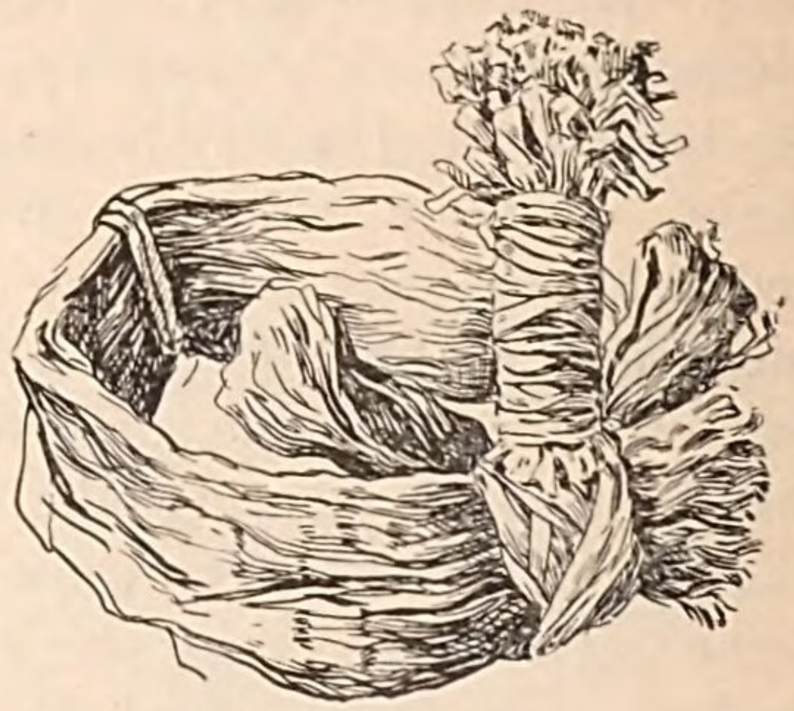


Fig. 83.

FIRST HEAD RING OF XA′NIATS'AMG·ILAKᵘ.

Cat. No. 175500, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

Then the man spoke: "O Lord, let go, I will give you the death bringer." He only lifted the canoe still higher. "O Lord, let go, and this my canoe which moves by itself shall be yours and my winter dance names, A′myax·it and Ts'ēg·ēʟilakᵘ. I am the harpooner of heaven." Then Xa′niats'amg·ilakᵘ let go the canoe. The harpooner and his crew went out of the canoe. He took the water of life, the death bringer, and the fire, and put them into the canoe. Then he took the canoe and squeezed it in his hands, so that it became small, and he put his cedar bark ornaments on the head of Xa′niats'amg·ilakᵘ. Then the harpooner told him what to do. He said: "Take care! Sprinkle the water of life on him whom you want to resuscitate. If you show your fire whatever you point at will be burnt, however far it may be; and when you go to war, take the death bringer, and all your enemies will die. And you will kill all the sea monsters and all kinds of animals. When you want to go anywhere in your canoe, just put it into the water, go aboard, and say, 'paddle.' Then its paddles will move by themselves. Its name is 'Paddle side canoe.'"

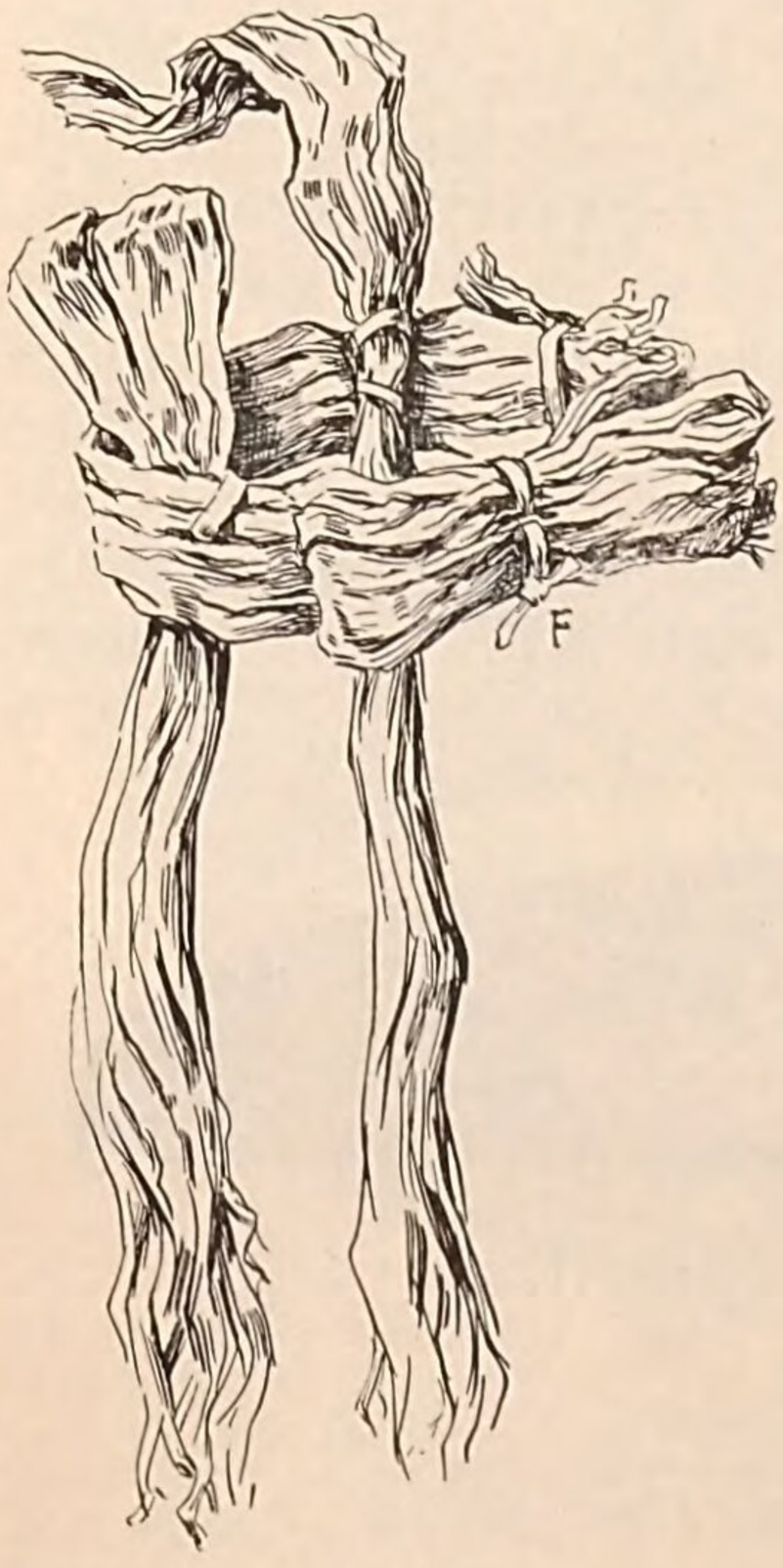


Fig. 84.

SECOND HEAD RING OF XA′NIATS'AMG·ILAKᵘ.

Cat. No. 175498, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

Then the man disappeared and Xa′niats'amg·ilakᵘ went home. When he was near his home, he took the fire and tried it on the mountains on the one side of the house of Gu′mg·ila. They burnt right away. Then he was glad. Now Gu′mg·ila saw the mountain burning and spoke to his other son: "O dear! your brother has done well," for he thought that it was he who made the mountain burn. Not long after Xa′niats'amg·ilakᵘ entered his father's house. They gave him to eat and he told everything to his father, about his red cedar bark and about

the names. After he had told his father, he said: "Now let us make war upon all the people of the world. Take a good canoe. We want to find them who killed all our friends."

His father said: "Yes, my son; I think you have obtained magic power. Let us go to-morrow. Only take care of the sea monsters." Then Gu'mg·ila cleaned a good canoe and put the mats and paddles into it in the evening. The next morning he launched the canoe. Then Xa'niats'amg·ilakᵘ made himself ready and went aboard. He called his brother Qoā'wiLpē, and he went aboard also. Gu'mg·ila stayed ashore. Then Xa'niats'amg·ilakᵘ said to his brother: "I do not like our canoe, and I will change it." Then he took his small stick out of his head ring and put it into the water. At once it became a canoe with five paddles on each side. He jumped into it and called his brother. He also jumped aboard. Then Xa'niats'amg·ilakᵘ took off his cedar bark ring and took out the wood carving in shape of a beaver. He said to his canoe "y i i i," and he pointed the fire bringer to the upper end of the village and it caught fire; then to the lower end of the village, and it also caught fire. Now he told his canoe: "Paddle!" and it paddled. Then Gu'mg·ila was glad to see that his son was a magician. They were going to Gā'yux, and there they met the monster sea otter. He struck it with the death bringer, and it was transformed into a stone. He arrived at Gā'yux. Then he saw the village and went ashore. He was invited and the people fed the two brothers. After they had eaten, Xa'niats'amg·ilakᵘ asked his host: "Who are you, brother?" He replied: "I am NEnā'lag·ila, and this is my wife, Yō'lagilayūkoa." Then Xa'niats'amg·ilakᵘ said: "Thank you, my brother. I am Xa'niats'amg·ilakᵘ, the son of Gu'mg·ila. This is my elder brother, Qō'awiLpē." Then NEnā'lag·ila asked: "Where are you going?" He replied: "We will go up this river." "Don't do that, master, else you will have bad luck, because there are monster herrings there." Xa'niats'amg·ilakᵘ replied: "Don't you know the monster at TsaXuala where canoes cross the inlet? I vanquished it." Then he called his elder

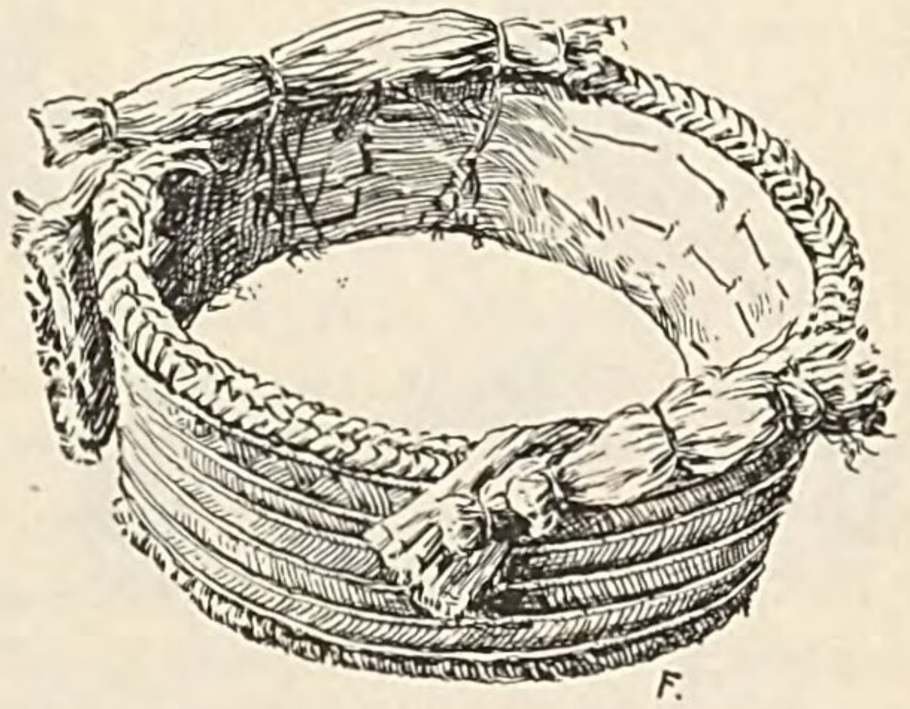


Fig. 85.

THIRD HEAD RING OF XA'NIATS'AMG·ILAKᵁ.

Cat. No. 175504, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

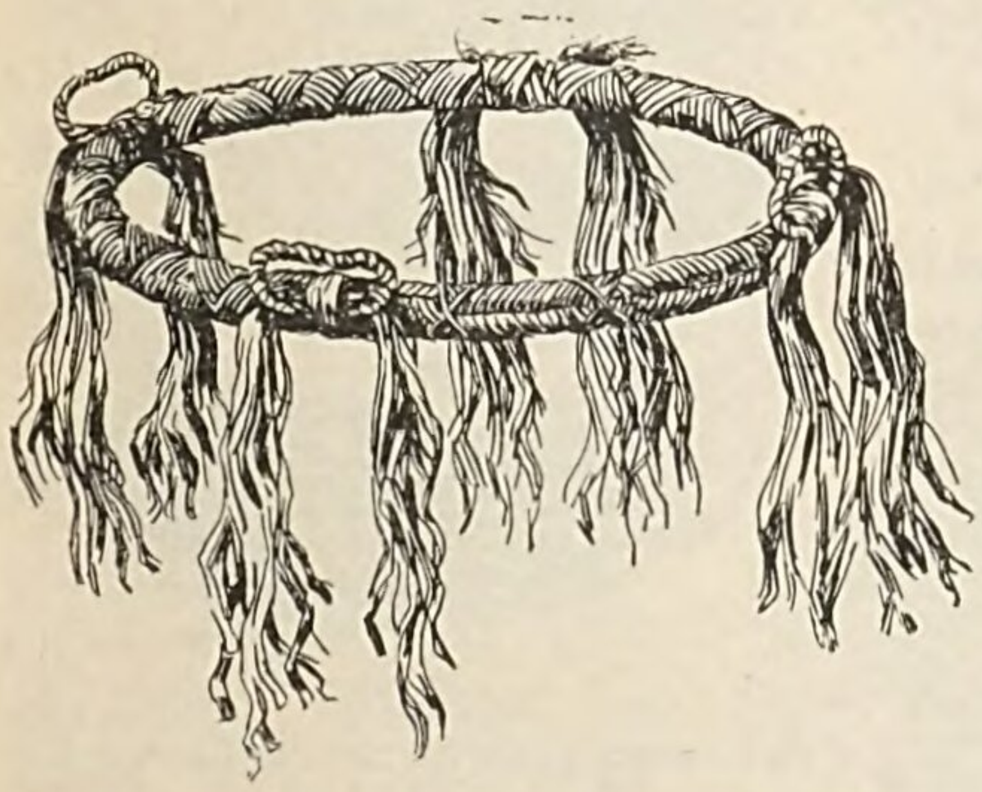


Fig. 86.

FIRST NECK RING OF XA'NIATS'AMG·ILAKᵁ.

Cat. No. 175506, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

brother and said: "Now I will change your name." He took his brother's hands and rubbed the death bringer over them. They were turned into stone, and he spoke: "Now your name shall be T'ētēsumx·stsana." Nenā'lag·ila said: "O, master! you are not a common man. Now I see what kind of a man you are. You will make war upon the monster herrings of whom we are afraid; but be careful." The canoe paddled, and he arrived at that lake. When they were in the middle of the lake, the monster herrings came. He struck his fire at them, but it did not kill them. They jumped into the canoe and it foundered. Then Xa'niats'amg·ilakᵘ and his brother were dead. That is the end.

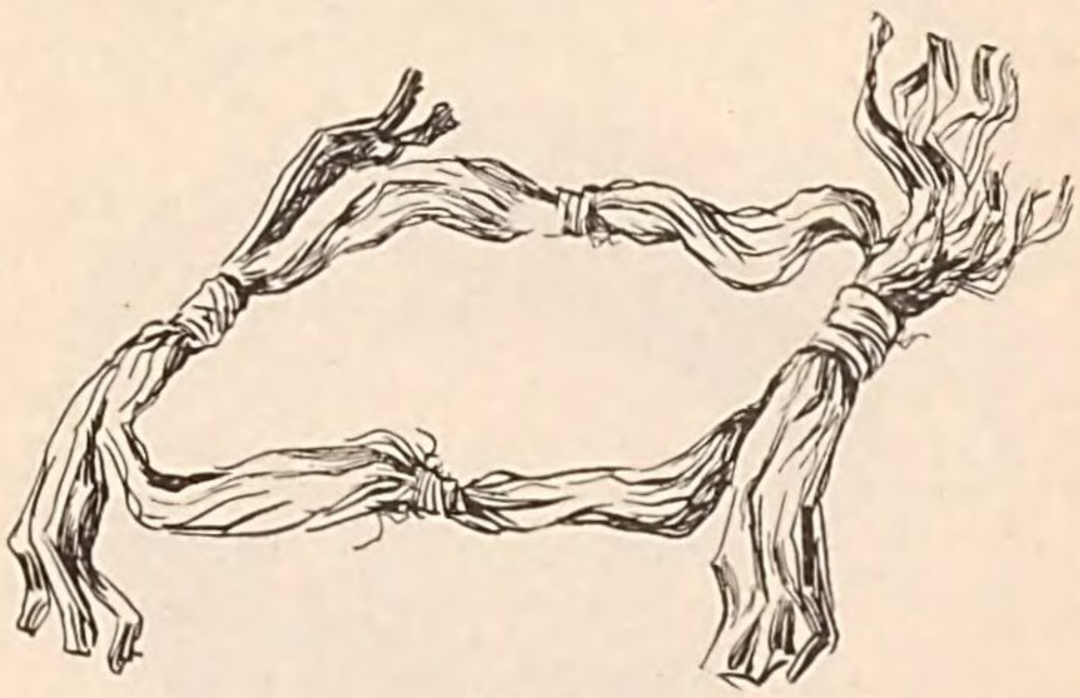


Fig. 87.

SECOND NECK RING OF XA'NIATS'AMG·ILAKᵁ.

Cat. No. 175499, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

Figures 83 to 91 represent the cedar bark ornaments of Xa'niats'amg·ilakᵘ. In fig. 83 is shown the head ring which he wears in his first dance. The upright piece in front represents the magic canoe which he obtained in the lake, as related on page 452. The upright pieces at both sides of his second head ring (fig. 84) represent the fire bringer.[1] The crosspiece on the forehead of his third head ring (fig. 85) represents the death bringer. Figure 86 shows his first neck ring, which has four rings attached to it. By these the attendants hold him when he is dancing the hā'mats'a dance. The front crosspiece of his second neck ring (fig. 87) designates that he has the powers of a shaman, the other one that he was made a hā'mats'a by encountering the spirits. Figures 88 and 89 are the rings which the dancer who personifies Xa'niats'amg·ilakᵘ wears in feasts during the winter-dance season. There are still two other rings worn by the dancer which refer to a portion of the legend not contained in the preceding version. The crosspiece on the head ring (fig. 90) represents the death bringer which he obtained in the lake, while the crosspieces and the front of the neck ring (fig. 91) represent the sī'siuL which he obtained from Ts'ā'eqamē.

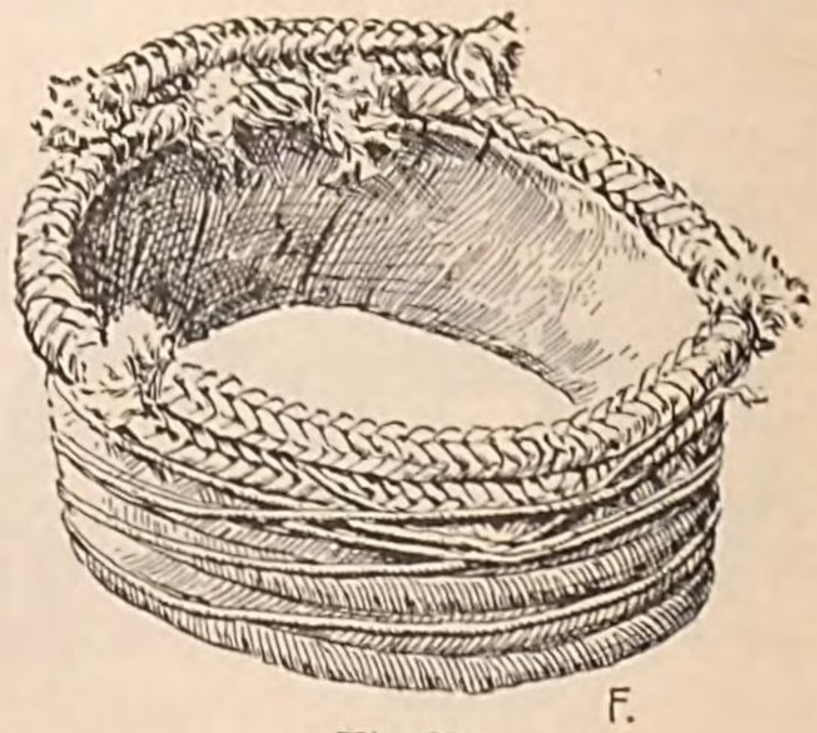


Fig. 88.

HEAD RING WORN BY XA'NIATS'AMG·ILAKᵁ IN FEASTS.

Cat. No. 175507, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

Figures 92 to 95 are the ornaments of Lexx·ā'lix·ilagū. According

[1] Owing to an oversight the one lateral horn has been pulled out. The loose end should have been pushed down into the ring.

to tradition, NōmasE'nxelîs, an ancestor of the Naqô'mg·ilisala had a son named LExx·ā'lix·ilagū (p. 335), who obtained his dances from the sī'siuL and from the wolves. His first head ring (fig. 92) shows six crosspieces in front. These are the death bringers, and the upright piece on top is the fire bringer, while the square behind represents the bucket containing the water of life. In his second head ring (fig. 93) only four death bringers are shown. This ring is worn in his second dance. As will be described below, the Naqô'mg·ilisala and La'Lasiqoala take off some of the symbols which designate the supernatural powers of the dancer after each dance. The ring shown in fig. 94 is stripped of all these crosspieces and is worn by the dancer in feasts. The dancing neck ring (fig. 95) has two crosspieces on the sides. These symbolize the gifts of the sī'siuL, while the gifts of the wolves are symbolized by the attachments in front and in the back.

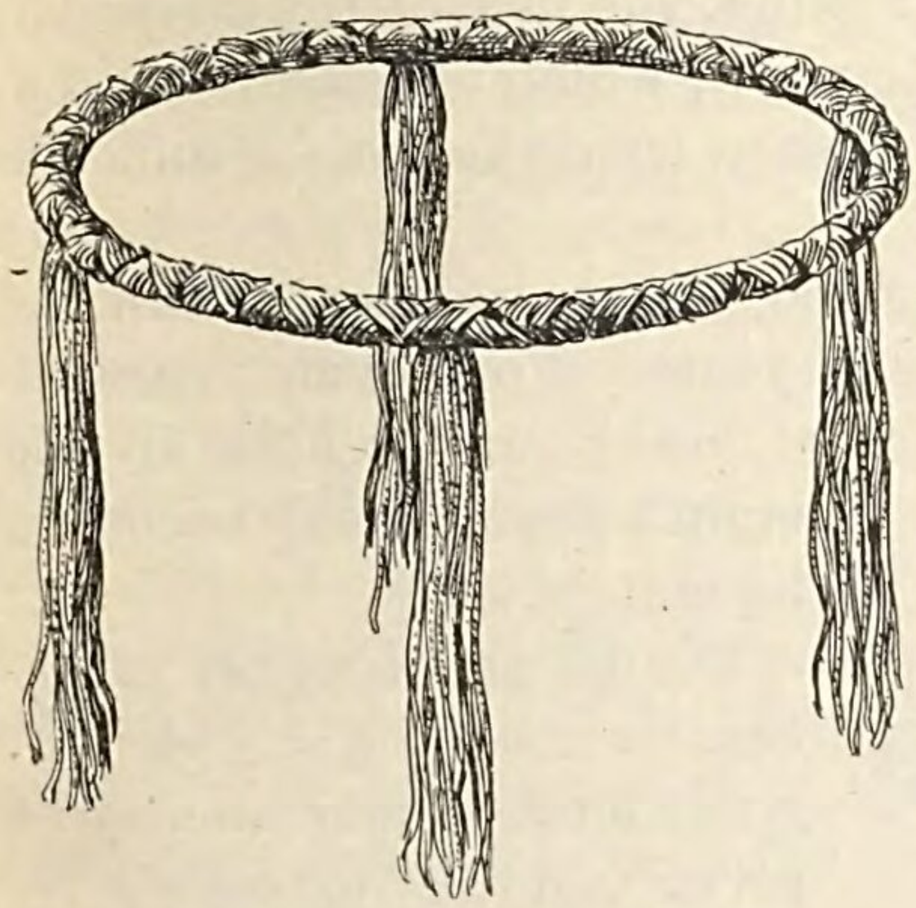


Fig. 89.

NECK RING WORN BY XA'NIATS'AMG·ILAKU IN FEASTS.

Cat. No. 175508, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

Another hā'mats'a of the La'Lasiqoala, on returning from the woods, dances four nights with wreaths of hemlock branches; the following four nights (the fifth to the eighth) without any ornaments; then four nights (the ninth to the twelfth) with ornaments of red cedar bark. He wears eight bundles over his forehead, which are called k·'ā'siwē, and four on each side. The next night, after he has finished dancing, one of the k·'ā'siwē is taken off, which is publicly announced the following morning. The fourteenth night two more of these bundles are taken away; the next, two more; and finally, the sixteenth, one more, which is also publicly announced each morning. The seventeenth night a black line is drawn over his face from the left side of his forehead to the right side of his chin, and then he rises to bite people. Later on he is excited by mistakes and by songs of the ghost dancer. The head ring is meant to symbolize the moon, and the decrease in the

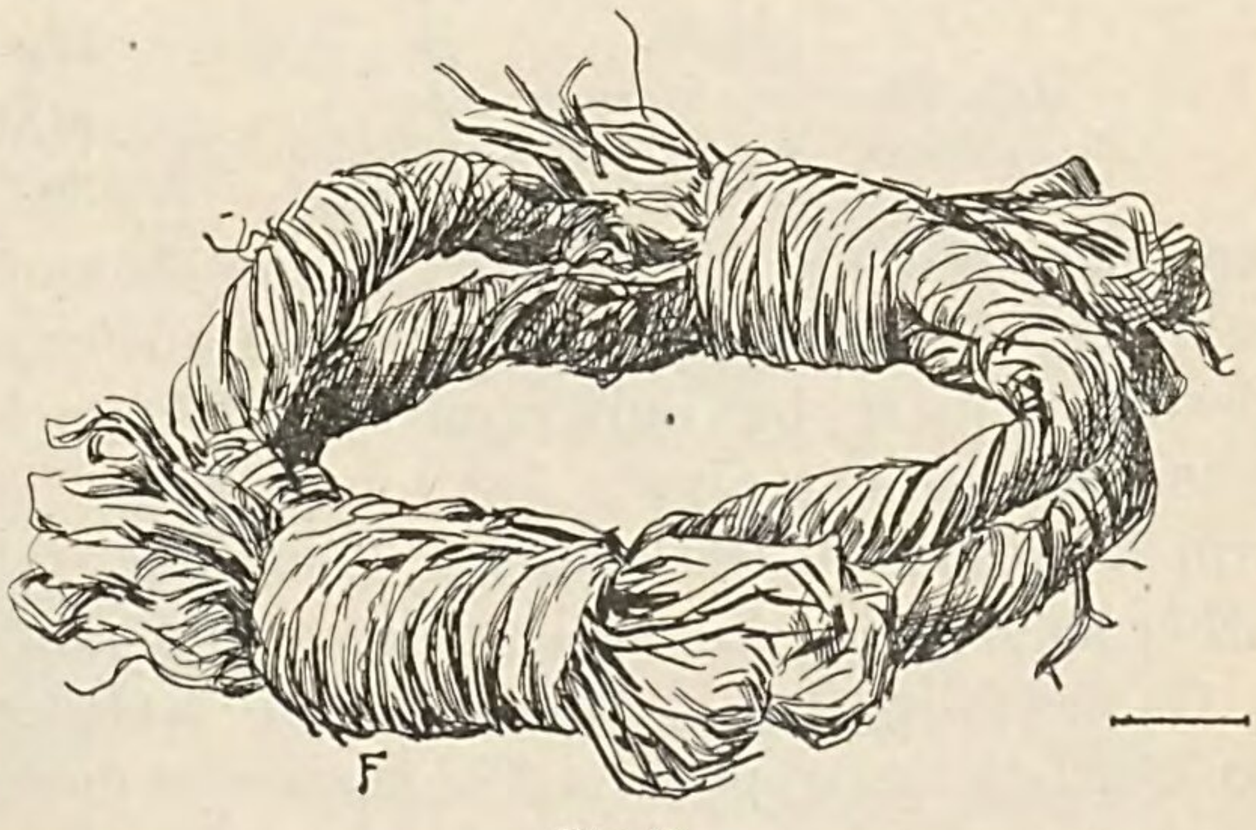


Fig. 90.

HEAD RING OF XA'NIATS'AMG·ILAKU.

Cat. No. 175492, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

size of the ring is said to signify the waning of the moon. When the hā′mats'a returns, a bloody line runs over his face, beginning on the cheeks, curving up toward the nose, which it crosses in its upper portion. It is said to designate the moon. The line is made by rubbing the face with dogfish skin. It is said that this line indicates the effect of Wina′lag·ilîs's canoe, which rubbed against the face of the novice.

Each hā′mats'a has eight songs of his own, which are composed for him by the nâ′qatē at the time of his return from the woods, and are sung whenever he dances.

A young man who first becomes a member of a secret society can not join the hā′mats'a until after a number of years. For seven years he must have been a member of societies of lower rank. Then in the eighth year he may become a hā′mats'a.

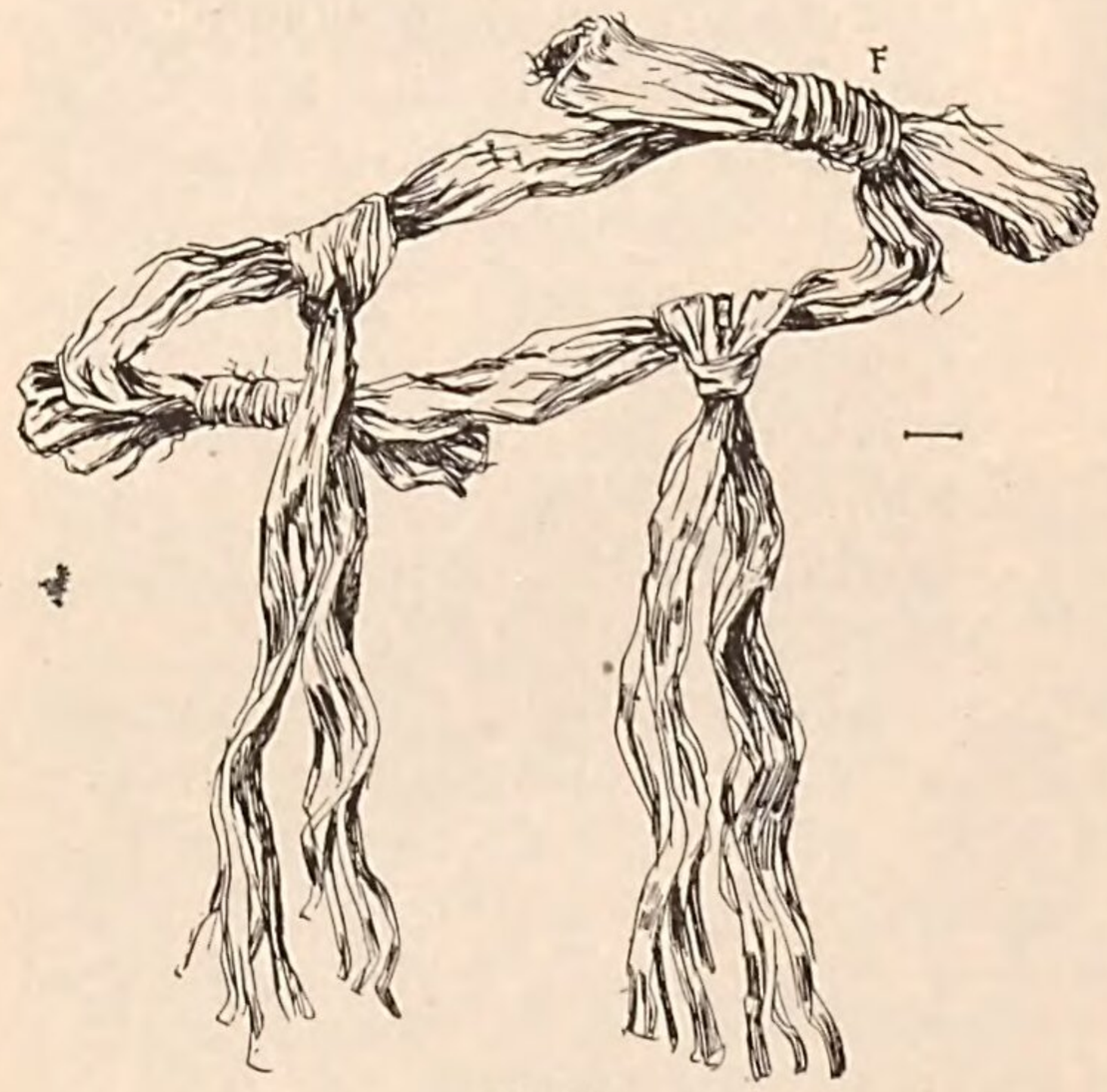


Fig. 91.

NECK RING OF XA′NIATS'AMG·ILAK^{U}.

Cat. No. 175493, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

The hā′matsa's first initiation is called g·ī′yak·ila. After four seasons he may be given another hā′mats'a by his father. This is called tâ. After he has been initiated four times (yuduXp'Ena tâ= three times gone into it), he may leave the ranks of the hā′mats'a and become a quē′qutsa. This is called "locking the whistles into the box." This is accomplished in the following way: When the master of ceremonies assembles all the people (qap'ē′k^{u}, see p. 502), all the hā′mats'as stand up; then the one who desires to join the quē′qutsa says:[1] "I will not stand up before you. I want to be quē′qutsa." He is asked why he desires to do so, but only replies:[2] "I have finished being hā′mats'a." Then the people reply:[3] "Let your whistles be quiet," and he says:[4] "I will keep my whistles quiet." The same statements must be made by other members of the seal society who desire to become quē′qutsa.

On the following day the master of ceremonies sends his messengers to invite to the qap'ē′k^{u}. The man who desires to become a quē′qutsa

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[1] K·'ē′sLEn LĀ′x'uiL. Quē′quatsāLLEn.
Not I stand in house. I shall be quē′qutsa.

[2] La'mEn qoā′L hā′mats'a.
I have finished hā′mats'a.

[3] Âlag·a ama awī′laLEx qas k·'ē′s'aōs q'oā′tsēowiL.
Really strong (real) not you cry inside.

[4] Qä′LaLEn k·'ēLEn q'oā′tsēowiL.
I will not I cry inside (whistles).

must join them. He is painted with the particular design which used to excite him—a head, maggots, the raven, the x·ā′wayū, or the corpse. When painting them, the people hold them tight and torment them. The skull is painted in black on the hā′mats'a's face; the maggots are represented by numerous little dots, and the x·ā′wayū is indicated by a rope. The painting representing the corpse are feet, because when the hā′mats'a enters the house carrying a corpse, its feet are always visible under the blanket.

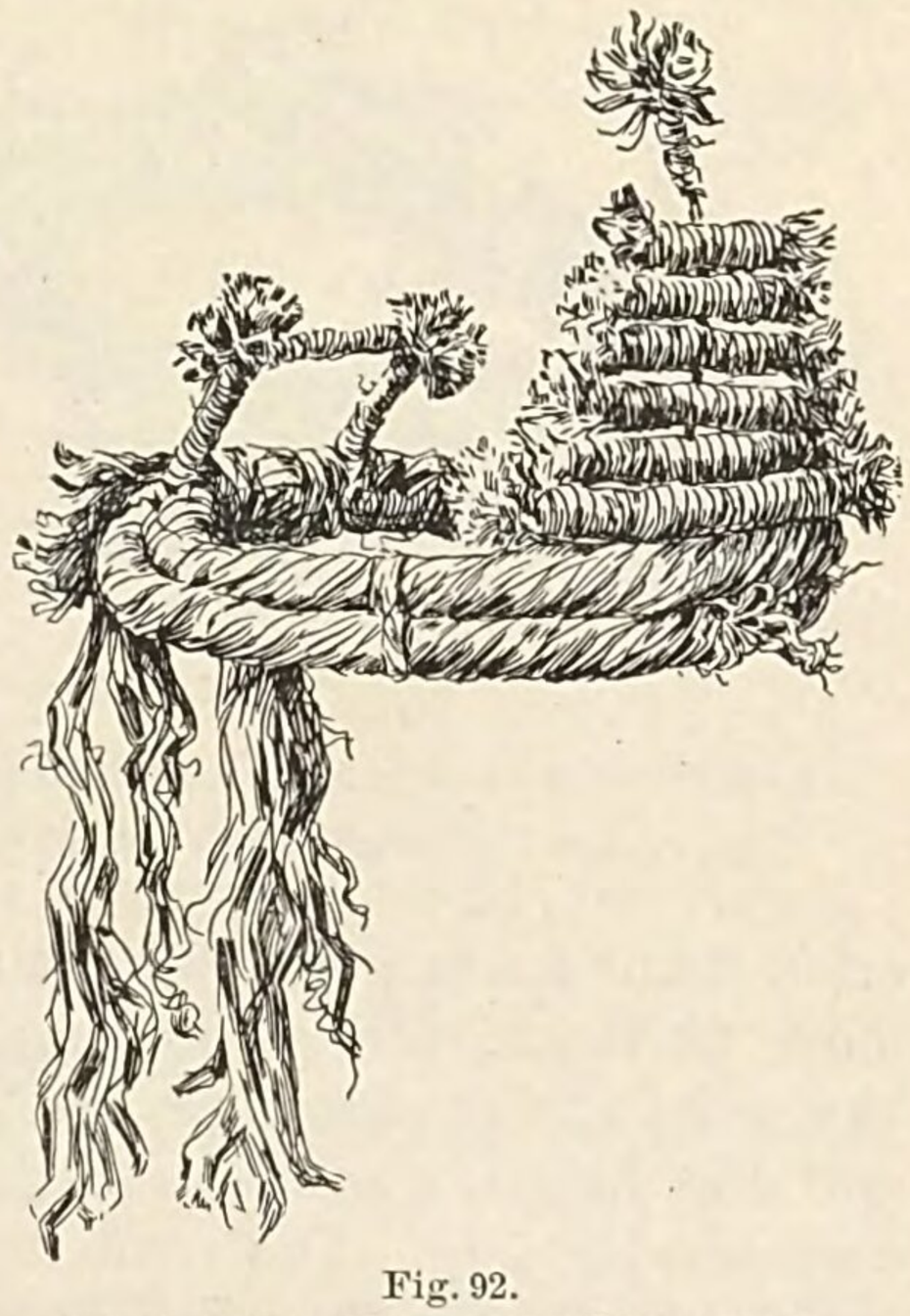

Fig. 92.

FIRST HEAD RING OF LEXX·Ā′LIX·ILAGŪ.

Cat. No. 175518, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

Painted in this manner he accompanies the messengers, who carry long staffs (quē′sp'ēq). The hā′mats'a pretends that he can not do the work assigned to the messengers properly. When they call a name, they always strike the threshold with their staffs. The hā′mats'a stands in their midst and they strike his feet with their staffs when calling a name. In short, he is maltreated in all conceivable ways, particularly by his rival. If he can not endure the torments longer, he will rush to the seat of the seal society. The people pull him back, push him, and tear his clothes. Then he gets excited and bites the people.

Following are a number of songs of the hā′mats'a:

HĀ′MATS'A SONG COMPOSED RECENTLY BY QOAYŌ′STĒTSAS.[1]

1. I am going all around the world eating everywhere with BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē.
2. I give you no time to escape from me when I go with BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē.
3. I am at the center of the world; for me BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē is crying hāp.
4. I am at the post of the world; for me BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē is crying hāp.

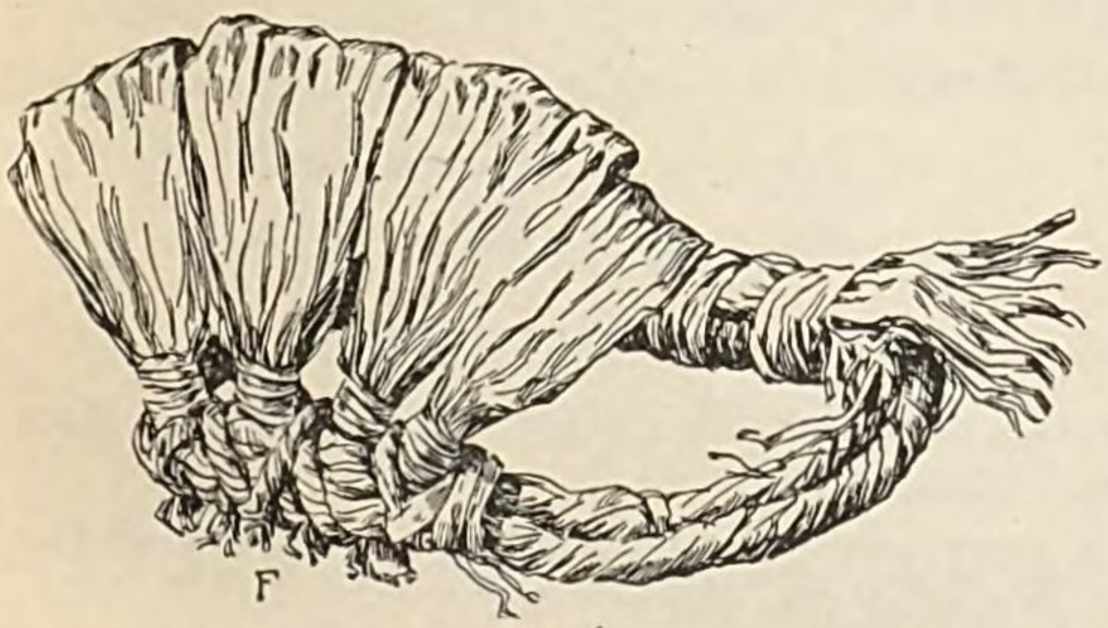

Fig. 93.

SECOND HEAD RING OF LEXX·Ā′LIX·ILAGŪ.

Cat. No. 175519, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

When the hā′mats'a moves his trembling arms from right to left, he indicates by gestures the contents of the song. In the preceding song the gestures are as follows: With the words "I am going," the arms are stretched out to one side; "all around the world," the arms swing around in a wide circle; "I," the shoulders are alternately brought

[1] Appendix, page 688.

forward and backward—this means that the dancer himself is being referred to; "eating everywhere," the right hand stretches far out, as though it was taking food, and is then brought to the mouth, while the left describes a wide circle, indicating everywhere; "BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē," both hands are bent inward and the finger tips moved toward the mouth, meaning the eater.

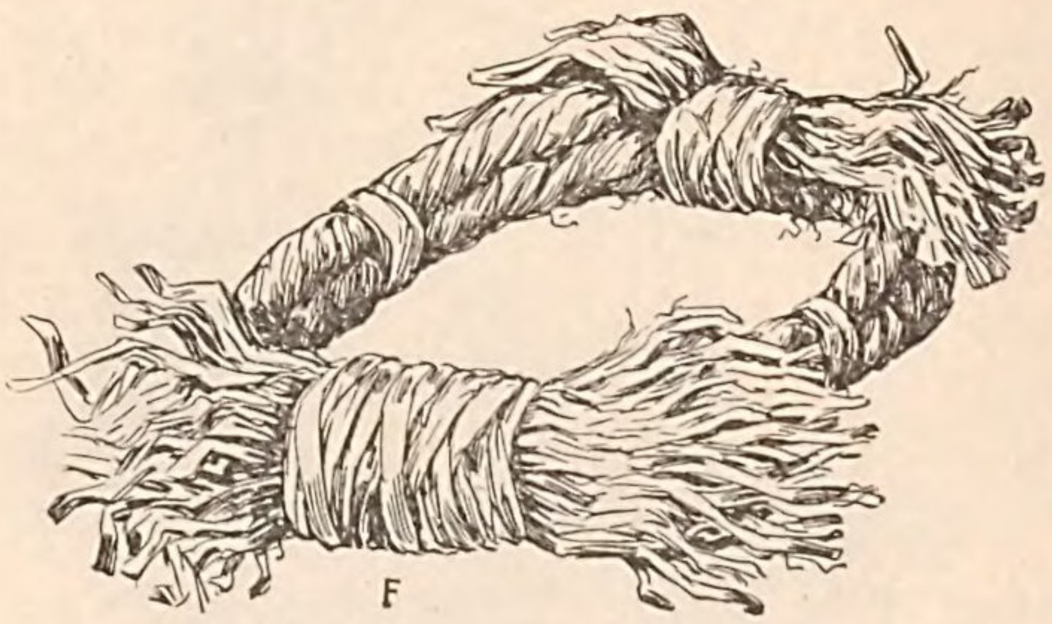

Fig. 94.

HEAD RING WORN BY LEXX·Ā'LIX·ILAGŪ IN FEASTS.

Cat. No. 175520, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

I did not see the dance of the second line. In order to explain the gestures of the third line, I must give a literal translation:

"I went, you cried 'hāp' for me, BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē, at the center of the world." "I went," gesture as above, "you cried 'hāp' for me, BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē," both hands bent inward move to the mouth, as above, designating the cannibal spirit; then the arms are stretched far backward, the palms turned downward, and the head is lowered, this being the cannibal spirit's attitude when crying hāp. The same attitude is taken by the dancer wearing the mask (fig. 77) when he clatters with its movable jaw, at the same time crying hāp. "At the center of the world." When these words are sung, the dancer is in front of the fire and looks up to the rear of the house in BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē's attitude, as before, because then he is looking at the center of the world. The last line is the same as the third.

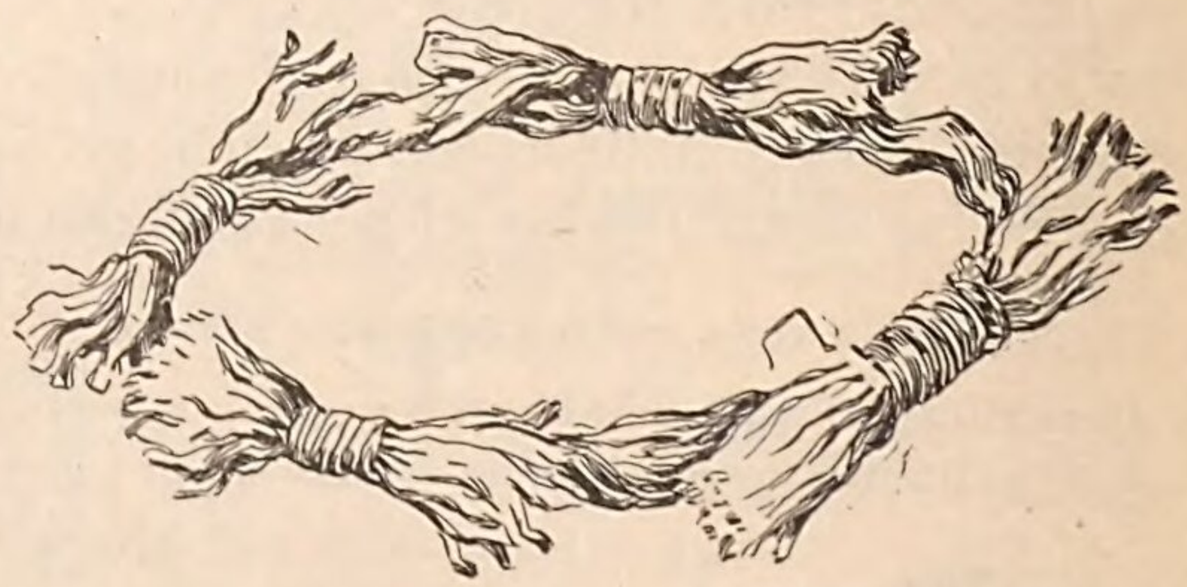

Fig. 95.

NECK RING OF LEXX·Ā'LIX·ILAGŪ.

Cat. No. 175521, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

HĀ'MATS'A SONG COMPOSED RECENTLY BY HĒ'ILTSAQULS.[1]

Ham ham ā'mai, ham ham ā'mai, hamai, hamaima mā'mai, hamai hamamai. Ham hamām ham am ham amāmai hamēi hamā'mai.

1. Ham ham ā'mai. Utter the hā'mats'a cry, utter the hā'mats'a cry, the cry of the great spirit who dwells at the north end of the world.
2. Ham ham ā'mai. Utter BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē's cry, BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē's cry, the cry of the great spirit who dwells at the north end of the world.
3. Ham ham ā'mai. Utter the hō'Xhok^{u} cry, the hō'Xhok^{u} cry, the cry of the great spirit who dwells at the north end of the world.
4. Ham ham ā'mai. Utter the raven cry, the raven cry, the cry of the great spirit who dwells at the north end of the world.

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[1] Appendix, page 689.

The mention of the north refers to the fact that the composer is a descendant of the Tongass by his mother's side. He claims to have obtained his hā′mats'a from her tribe.

HĀ′MATS'A SONG COMPOSED ABOUT FIFTY YEARS AGO.[1]

1. Food will be given to me, food will be given to me, because I obtained this magic treasure.
2. I am swallowing food alive; I eat living men.
3. I swallow wealth; I swallow the wealth that my father is giving away.

The presents given away at the time of the initiation of the hā′mats'a and at his later dances are said to be swallowed by him. The song means, therefore, that through his ecstasy his father was compelled to give away much wealth.

HĀ′MATS'A SONG OF THE LAU′ITSÎS.[1]

1. I went all around the world to find food.
2. I went all around the world to find human flesh.
3. I went all around the world to find human heads.
4. I went all around the world to find corpses.

HĀ′MATS'A SONG OF THE KOSKIMO.[1]

1. You will be known all over the world; you will be known all over the world, as far as the edge of the world, you great one who safely returned from the spirits.
2. You will be known all over the world; you will be known all over the world, as far as the edge of the world. You went to BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē, and there you ate first dried human flesh.
3. You were led to his cannibal pole in the place of honor of his house, and his house is our world.
4. You were led to his cannibal pole, which is the milky way of our world.
5. You were led to his cannibal pole at the right-hand side of our world.

This song was sung for a youth who had taken the place of another one who had died. Therefore the song says that he safely returned from the spirits. The text says: "You returned from Ia′lag·ilîs," which is another name for the spirit of the winter dance. The milky way is the cannibal pole of BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē; in other cases (see p. 405) it is the rainbow.

SECRET SONG OF THE HĀ′MATS'A WHO CARRIES A CORPSE.—AWĪ′K·'ENÔX.[2]

Now I am going to eat.
My face is ghastly pale.
I shall eat what is given to me by BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē.

HĀ′MATS'A SONG OF WA′NUK COMPOSED ABOUT EIGHTY YEARS AGO.[3]

That is the way of the real BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē.
Are you the real BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē?

This refers to Wā′nuk's war expedition. He had cut off the head of his enemy, and, holding it with his teeth, he said: That is the way

[1] Appendix, page 690.
[2] Appendix, page 691.
[3] Appendix, page 692.

of BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē! And turning to his dead enemy he mocked him, who had also been a hā′mats'a, saying: "Do you think you were the real BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē?" thus implying that he was more powerful.

FEAST SONG USED IN A FEAST GIVEN IN HONOR OF THE HĀ′MATS'A.[1]

1. I came to your dancing house to eat my fill.
2. The heat of the whirling flames scares me, frightens me to enter your dancing house, where everybody warms himself. Wa ha hai, waiya wai.

FEAST SONG USED IN A FEAST GIVEN IN HONOR OF THE HĀ′MATS'A.[1]

1. I came to your dancing house to eat my fill.
2. It does not matter if your fire hurts me, and if I vomit all kinds of food that you set before us in your dancing house—you to whom everybody goes to get food.

HĀ′MATS'A SONG, LA′LASIQOALA.[1]

1. The hō′Xhokᵘ's voice is heard all over the world. Assemble at your places, dancers! at the edge of the world.
2. The raven's voice is heard all over the world. Assemble at your places, men! at the edge of the world.
3. The hā′mats'a's voice is heard all over the world. Assemble at your places, men! at the edge of the world.

HĀ′MATS'A SONG, LA′LASIQOALA.[2]

1. Truly! He goes around the whole world, the great hā′mats'a, looking for food everywhere, the great hā′mats'a, on both sides of the world.
2. Truly! He wants to eat plenty, the great hā′mats'a. He is trying to eat all himself, the great hā′mats'a, but he did not reach the food that he was going to obtain at the edge of the world.
3. He wants to eat with both hands, the great hā′mats'a, at the house of the one who is trying to eat all himself all over the world; but he did not reach the coppers that he was going to obtain at the edge of the world.

This translation is not quite certain. The song refers to the Goasi′la who in olden times had many dances and did not want to give them to the other Kwakiutl tribes, who desired to obtain them through marriage. The La′Lasiqoala heard that the Goasi′la intended to invite them to their winter dance. They were invited and started to go, but their chief was afraid, it seems, and returned back without attending the feast.

K'Î′NQ̣ALALALA SONG BELONGING TO THE HĀ′MATS'A SONG (p. 459, No. 1).[2]

1. I hold down your furor, great hā′mats'a.
2. I hold down your whistles, great hā′mats'a.
3. I appease your voracity, great hā′mats'a.
4. You are looking for food all the time, great hā′mats'a.
5. You are looking for heads all the time, great hā′mats'a.
6. You devour wealth, great hā′mats'a.

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[1] Appendix, page 692.

[2] Appendix, page 693.

K·Î′NQALALALA SONG.[1]

1. Begin! You whose eagle down which is strewn all over her body, fills the house, who brings all the people together from all over the world.
2. Begin! You who make the people weak, tempting with food those who ate too much, whose body makes the people of the whole world oversatiated.
3. Begin! You who pile the red-hot stones up to the roof of the house all over the world.

The girl who danced this k·î′nqalaLala was a prostitute in her tribe. She is scourged in this song. The composer meant by the eagle down and the piles of red stones the young men who came in crowds to her house. The meaning of the second verse becomes also clear from this point of view.

K·Î′NQALALALA SONG.[2]

1. BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē cries hāp for me; he utters the hā′mats'a cry for me. I have the great supernatural power.
2. BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē and his companion have thrown the sound of whistles, the sound of the magic power into me. I have the great supernatural power.
3. I reached the place where the exciting cry of BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē and his companion is heard. I have the great magical power.

K·Î′NQALALALA SONG.[3]

1. The sounds of the winter dance are heard wherever you are, great one.
2. Hā′mats'a cries are heard wherever you are, great one.
3. You went right up to the raven, and the sound of fighting ravens is heard wherever you are.
4. You went right up to the shutting mouth, and the sound of the hō′Xhok^{u} is heard wherever you are.
5. You went right up to him who carries one corpse on each arm for you.

The hā′mats'a cry "hāp" was obtained by the Kwakiutl through intermarriage with the Awī′k·'ēnôx. The dancer was by descent partly Awī′k·'ēnôx. Therefore the song says that he carried the hā′mats'a cry through the world. (Line 4, shutting mouth=the hō′Xhok^{u}.)

K·Î′NQALALALA SONG.[4]

1. I have the winter dance song, I have magic powers.
2. I have the hā′mats'a song, I have magic powers.
3. I have BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē's song, I have magic powers.
4. Your magic power killed the people, and therefore they all hide before you, fearing your great power.

This song belonged to a man who had killed a chief of the Qoē′xsōt'ēnôx, and the song refers to this fact. Later on he was killed by a Qoē′xsōt'ēnôx, who now owns the song.

K·Î′NQALALALA SONG OF THE NIMKISH.[4]

1. I tame the wildness of BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē when I see it.
2. I cut the veins of the wild monster in the north when I see it.

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[1] Appendix, page 693.

[2] Appendix, page 694.

[3] Second song of the same dancer who owns the preceding song. See Appendix, page 694.

[4] Appendix, page 695.

The k·î′nqalaLala to whom belonged this song, used the rattles shown in figs. 96, 97. Each rattle represents a raven with a skull on its back; a fish is shown on its stomach. The skull indicates that the hā′mats'a is filled with the desire of eating skulls. The form of the rattle is evidently suggested by the beautiful northern raven rattles. (See pp. 623, 629.)

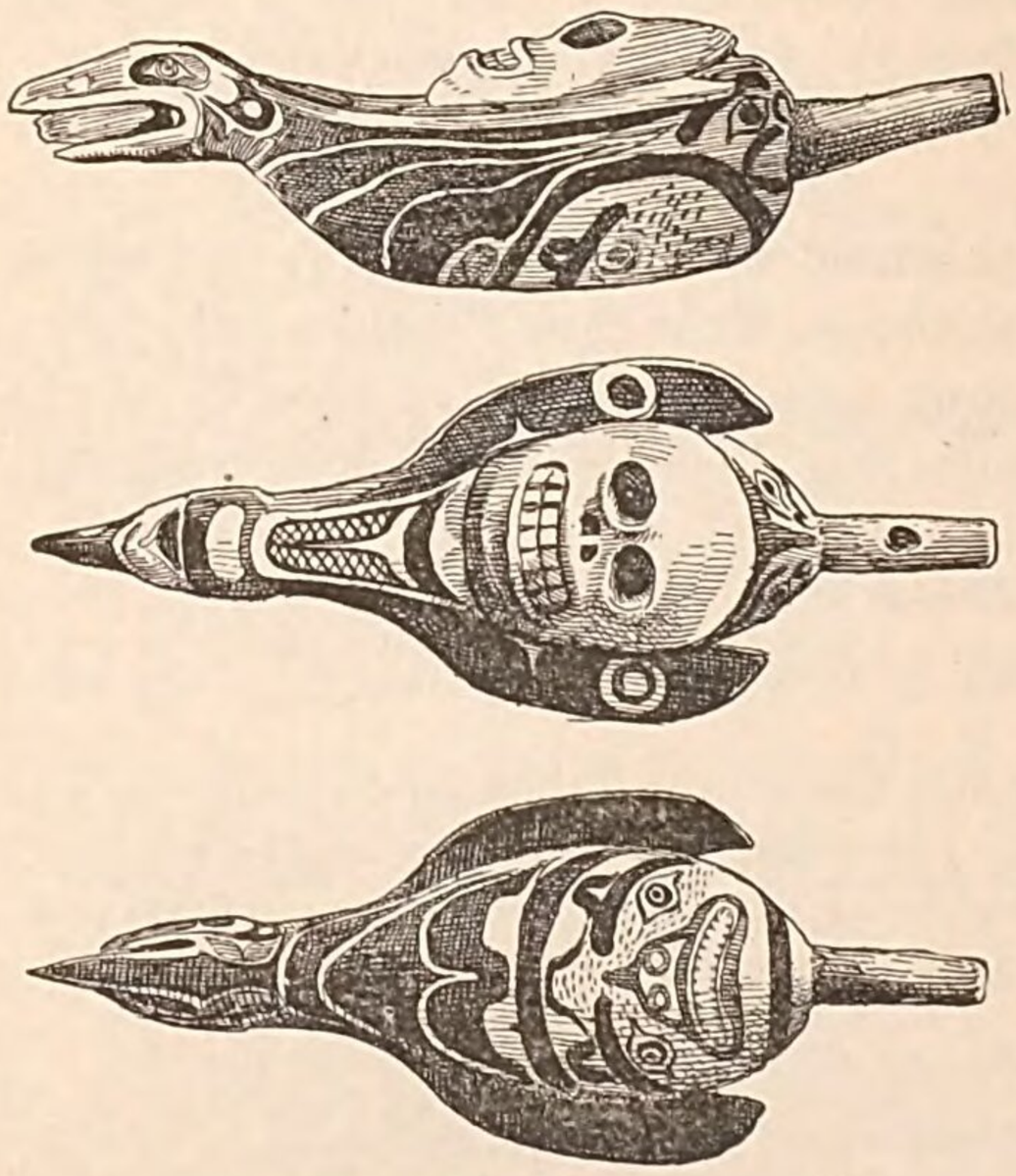

Fig. 96.

RATTLE OF K·Î′NQALALALA.

Length, 17½ inches; black, blue, red.

IV A, No. 6935, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by F. Boas.

This song was also made for a girl of ill repute who had spread the syphilitic contagion among her tribes. To this refers the remark: "I cut the veins of the wild monster." The singers mean that she is infecting everybody, even the wild monster.

Q'Ō′MINŌQA.

The q'ō′minōqa dance was obtained recently, through intermarriage, from the La′Lasiqoala. The novice also disappears in the woods to be initiated by BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē. When she is brought back by the tribe, her hair is falling out, and her head is covered with blood, because it is torn by BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē. She is carrying a skull in each hand. As soon as she is seen, the hā′mats'as begin to cry hāp and dance squatting with trembling hands up to her, full of desire to devour the heads which she is carrying. The other q'ō′minōqas and those who have formerly been q'ō′minōqa join her dance and move as though they were carrying heads. Thus she dances into the house, always surrounded by the hā′mats'as, who finally take the skulls out of her hands and lick them and eat the maggots and the dry skin that is still attached to them. When returning, the q'ō′minōqa is dressed in hemlock in the same way as the hā′mats'a. Loose hair is placed on her head and alder juice is streaming down her hair, giving the appearance as though she was bleeding profusely and as though her hair was falling out, being torn off by BaxbakuālanuX-

Fig. 97.

RATTLE OF K·Î′NQALALALA.

Length, 16½ inches; blue, black, red.

IV A, No. 426, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

sī′waē. In the dances performed in the night of her return and later on she wears head ring, neck ring, anklets, and bracelets of red and white cedar bark mixed.

Q'Ō′MINŌQA SONG.[1]

1. Q'ō′minōqa went with me all around the world.
2. Q'ō′minōqa walked with me all around the world.
3. Q'ō′minōqa's left side is foreboding evil.
4. Q'ō′minōqa's right side is foreboding good.

By the La′Lasiqoala the q'ō′minōqa dance is sometimes called yiai′-atalaL. Among them she has the ornament shown in fig. 98. One of her songs is as follows:[2]

1. Truly, the people join your dance.
2. Because you are carrying a rattle in your hand while you dance, they join in your praise.
3. On account of all that you are carrying in your hand, they join in your praise.

THE HA′MSHAMTSES.

The Kwakiutl state that before obtaining the hā′mats'a from the Hē′iltsuq they had only the ha′mshamtsEs, who is also initiated by BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē. Nowadays he is considered as inferior to the hā′mats'a, and the dance belongs almost exclusively to women. The ceremonial following the ha′mshamtsEs's return from his or her initiation is the same as that of the return of the hā′mats'a. The ornaments are also of the same description, except that his cedar bark is not twisted and plaited, but simply wound around his head, neck, wrists, and ankles. He does not use a mā′wiL. His cry is not hāp, but wîp. He does not dance in a squatting position, but always standing, his forearms stretched forward, the elbows close to his sides. His hands are trembling. After his first dance, which, as all others, consists of four rounds, he reappears wearing a mask. This is either a head mask, similar to the QoāqoaXualanuXsī′waē mask described on page 447 or it is a full face mask. Almost all of these represent animals, the protectors of the dancer. It has not become clear to me why it is that so many different animals may become the protectors of the ha′mshamtsEs.

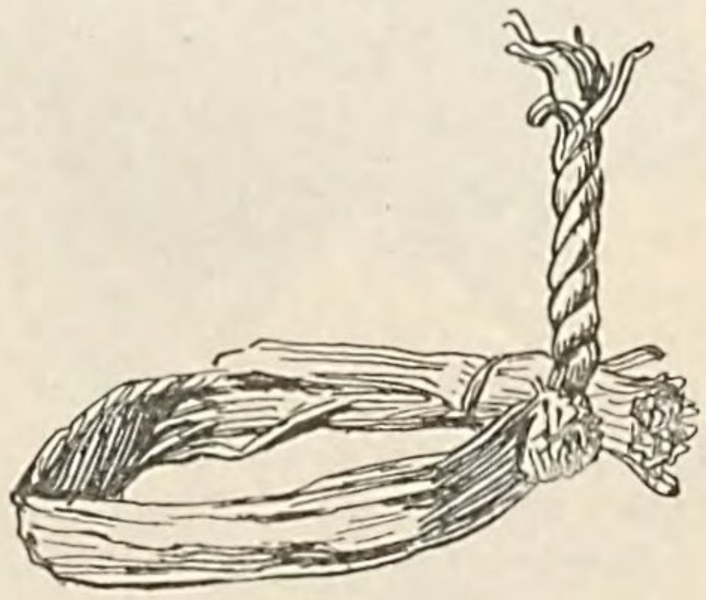

Fig. 98.
HEAD RING OF Q'Ō′MINŌQA.
La′Lasiqoala.
IV A, No. 6869, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by F. Boas.

I will describe a few of these masks and give the songs which belong to them. Figure 99 is a ha′mshamtsEs mask, the outer figure of which represents the grizzly bear. The inner face represents Baxbakuālanu Xsī′waē. The red rim around the mask is blood, which is shown because the bear is cut open in order to make the inner face visible.

[1] Appendix, page 695.

[2] Appendix, page 696.

The painting of the face represents parts of his body. The chin tuft is at the same time the uvula. It is the opinion of the Kwakiutl that the uvula is the cause of hunger, and that BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē has a very large uvula, which is the cause of his voracity. The mustache represents his legs; the green blots on the cheeks, his body. The ears are painted over the eye, and have the shape of a raven's ears. The blue ornament on the forehead is merely painting, intended to fill a gap that did not please the artist. The peculiar shape of the nose is called "voracious nose," and is meant to indicate that he can scent man a long distance off. The name of the owner of this mask, as a member of the "seal society," is always Nā'wis. After he joins the

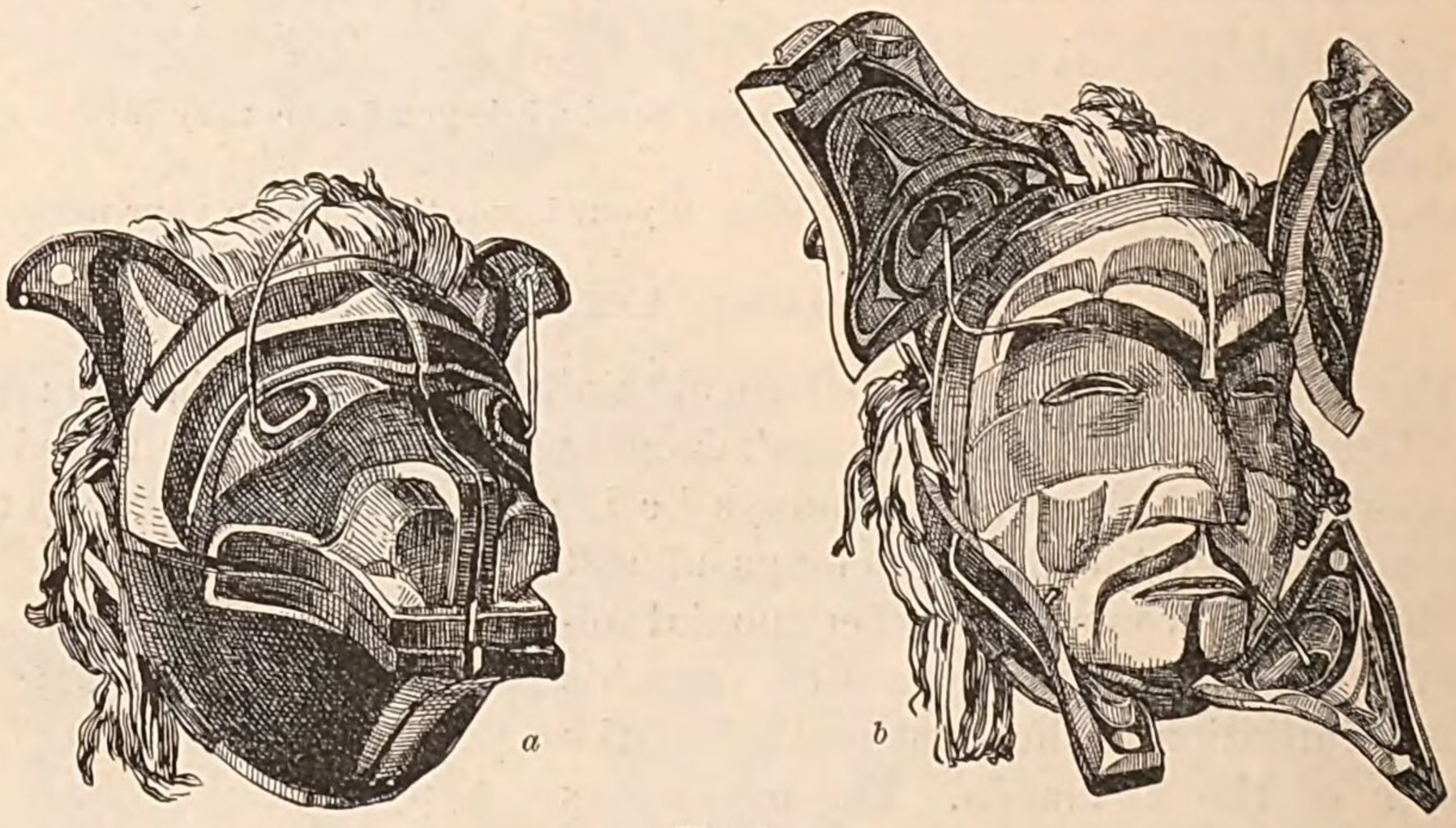

Fig. 99.

HA'MSHAMTSES MASK.

a, Mask closed, representation of the grizzly bear. Black and white; decoration of ears, red. *b*, Mask open, representation of BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē. Face, white; ring surrounding face, red; region around eyes and decoration over eyebrows, blue; decoration on cheeks, green. Breadth, 15 inches.

IV A, No. 1242, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

quē'qutsa, his name is QalēsEmak^{u} (=quartz sound in front of him). Following is his song:[1]

1. He is looking for food all over the world, hamāma, āma, āma, mai, hamā, mai.
2. He is looking for men all over the world.
3. He is devouring living men all over the world.
4. He is looking for heads all over the world.

SONG OF HA'MSHAMTSES.

The following song is sung in connection with the mask shown in fig. 100:[2]

1. He will sing the great dancing song of our supernatural friend whom everybody tries to imitate.
2. He will cry hāp on the beach, our supernatural friend whom everybody tries to imitate.
3. We shall see his mask which makes him go all over the world, our supernatural friend whom everybody tries to imitate.

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[1] Appendix, page 697.

[2] Appendix, page 698.

The next song belongs to the mask shown in fig. 101:[1]

1. Famous are you, your fame reaches the end of the world.
2. The people try to imitate you, even at the end of the world.
3. We shall see you dancing in our house.

The mask (fig. 102, p. 467) represents a sea monster called Ia′k·îm (badness). It opens, and the inner face represents the killer whale.

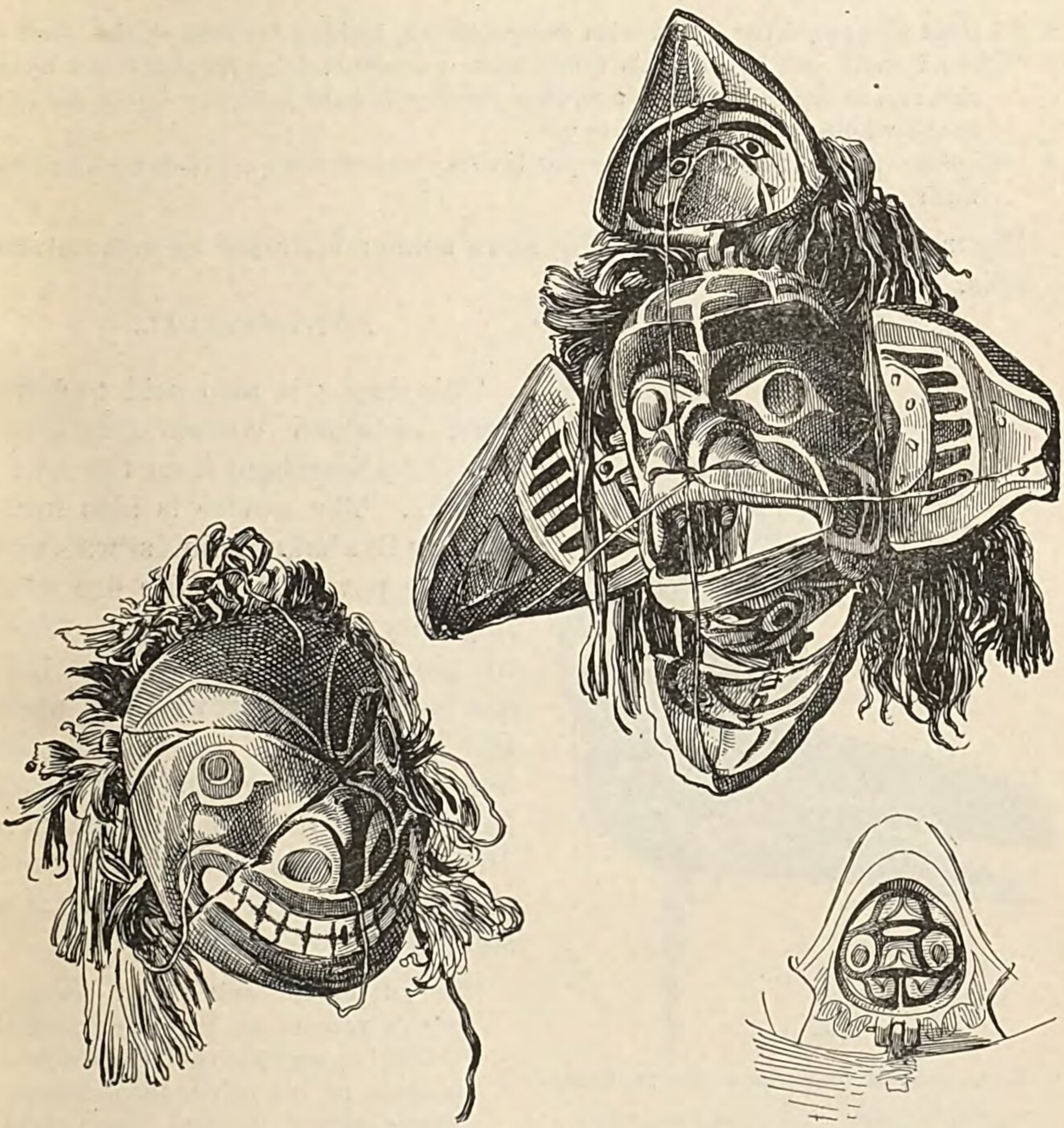

Fig. 100.

MASK OF HA′MSHAMTSES.

The small figure shows painting on the chin of the inner mask.

IV A, No. 1248, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

The dorsal fin is shown on the inside of the top flap, the fins on each side flap, and the tail on the lower flap. The song used in connection with this mask is as follows:[2]

1. You were wandering in valleys and over mountains, you great supernatural one.
2. Farther and farther you went, led by your supernatural power.
3. You went to the end of the world, led by your supernatural power.

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[1] Appendix, page 700.

[2] Appendix, page 703.

4. You will sing your secret song. Everybody will imitate your hā′mats'a cry. You were the first to utter the hā′mats'a cry, you great supernatural one. You were the first one into whom BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē threw his power. Your power is desired even at the edge of the world. Everybody desires to possess your powers.

In connection with the mask shown in fig. 103 (p. 468) the following song is sung:[1]

1. "I went all around the world with my protector, looking for food on the beach."
2. "Thus I went and he took his cedar bark ornaments from his body and hung them on to me." Therefore everybody wishes to have your power, but nobody in the whole world can imitate you.
3. "For me cried the raven. His cry put into my mouth the great Qoā′xqoaXuā′lanuXsī′waē.

Figures 104 to 110 (pp. 469–473) show some additional ha′mshamtsEs masks.

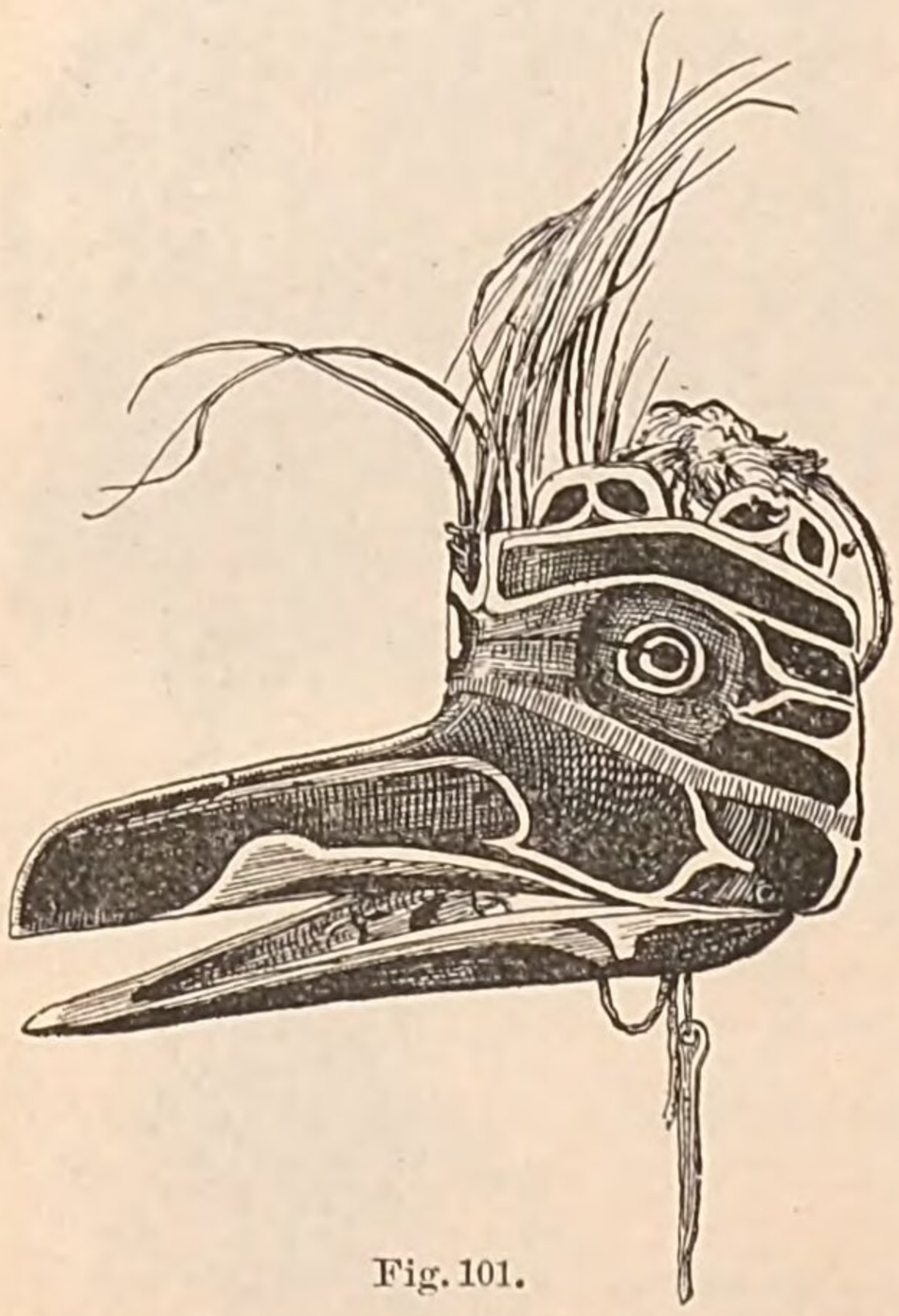

Fig. 101.

MASK OF HA′MSHAMTSES, REPRESENTING THE RAVEN.

Length, 17¾ inches; black, red, green, white.

IV A, No. 1247, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

NŌ′NTSÎSTĀLAL.

This dance is also said to have been obtained comparatively recently by marriage from the Awī′k·'enôx. The novice is also initiated by BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē, and has the power to handle fire with impunity. In his ecstasy he takes up glowing coals, puts them into his mouth, and throws them upon the people. At the end of the dancing season he must pay for all the damage done in this manner. His ornaments are made of red and white cedar bark. Following is a song of the Nō′ntsîstālaL:[1]

1. The gift of the spirit that destroys man's reason, O, real supernatural friend! is making the people afraid.
2. The gift of the spirit that destroys man's reason, O, real supernatural friend! scatters the people who are in the house.

NĀ′NĒ, THE GRIZZLY BEAR.

There are two degrees of this society, BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē's grizzly bear and the ordinary grizzly bear. The former is the higher in rank. Both are among the most important members of the seal society. While all the preceding ones belong to the laxsâ, they are wī′xsâ.[2] Therefore at the time of the initiation they are not taken away by the spirit, but are only hidden in a corner of the house, whence they come

[1] Appendix, page 705.

[2] See page 420.

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DRESS OF WALAS NĀ'NĒ.

From A. Bastian, "Northwest Coast of America."

forward when they are ready, to show that they have been initiated. They are perhaps the most dreaded helpers of the hā′mats'a, as it is their duty, in conjunction with the nū′LmaL, to punish all transgressions of laws referring to privileges of the hā′mats'a, or to the winter ceremonial in general. I stated before that the penalty of some mistakes was death. The unfortunate ones were killed by the grizzly bears and nū′LmaL. They are also the watchers of the dancing house, and often with the other members of the seal society assemble on the roof, and by their wild cries and threatening attitude frighten away everybody. They always wear bear's claws on their hands, and sometimes appear clad in bearskins. Their faces are painted in imitation of an immense mouth of a bear. Their head rings and neck rings are made of red and white cedar bark. Each of these is twisted in a tight rope. Then they are twisted around each other and tied at their ends

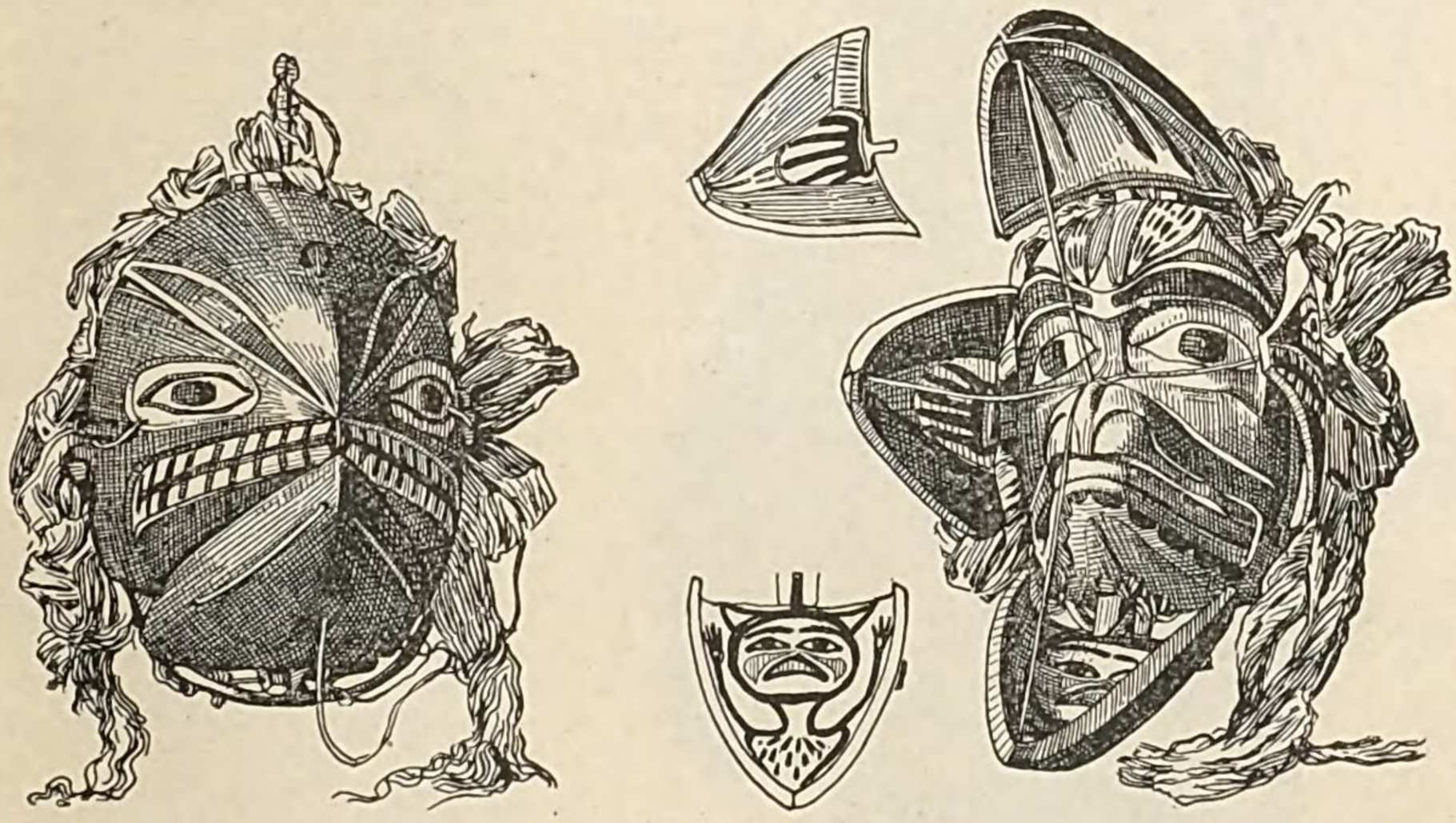


Fig. 102.

MASK OF HA′MSHAMTSES: OUTER MASK, THE SEA MONSTER IA′KÎM; INNER, THE KILLER WHALE.

The small figures show the inner sides of the lateral and lower flaps when open. (Height, 17¾ inches; outer mask black and white; inner, blue, black, white, red.)

IV A, No. 565, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

(figs. 111, 112, pp. 473, 474). Their circuit around the fire can hardly be called a dance. In the first and the third dances the dancer wears his cedar bark ornaments. The dances consist in violent motions of the body, imitating the actions of a bear who sits on his haunches. Every now and then the dancer growls and scratches the ground with his paws. In the second and fourth dances he appears clad in a bearskin, walks on hands and feet, and paws the ground, imitating the motions of an angry bear.

SONG OF A BEAR DANCER NAMED WALAS NĀ′NĒ (GREAT BEAR).[1]

1. How shall we hide from the bear that is moving all around the world?
2. Let us crawl underground! Let us cover our backs with dirt that the great terrible bear from the north end of our world may not find us.

[1] See Plate 32, and Appendix, page 705.

ANOTHER SONG OF A BEAR DANCER, LA'LASIQOALA.

Haiōō' a haiōō'! Let your great name be called, Great Bear!
You will go at once to the chiefs of the tribes, whom you will make your slaves, Great Bear!
Then we shall have war!
Then we shall have trouble!

THE NŪ'LMAL.

The nōō'nLEmaLa (pl. of nū'LmaL) or "fool dancers" are also messengers and helpers of the hā'mat'sa, who help to enforce the laws referring to the ceremonial. Their method of attack is by throwing stones at people, hitting them with sticks, or in serious cases stabbing and killing them with lances and war axes.

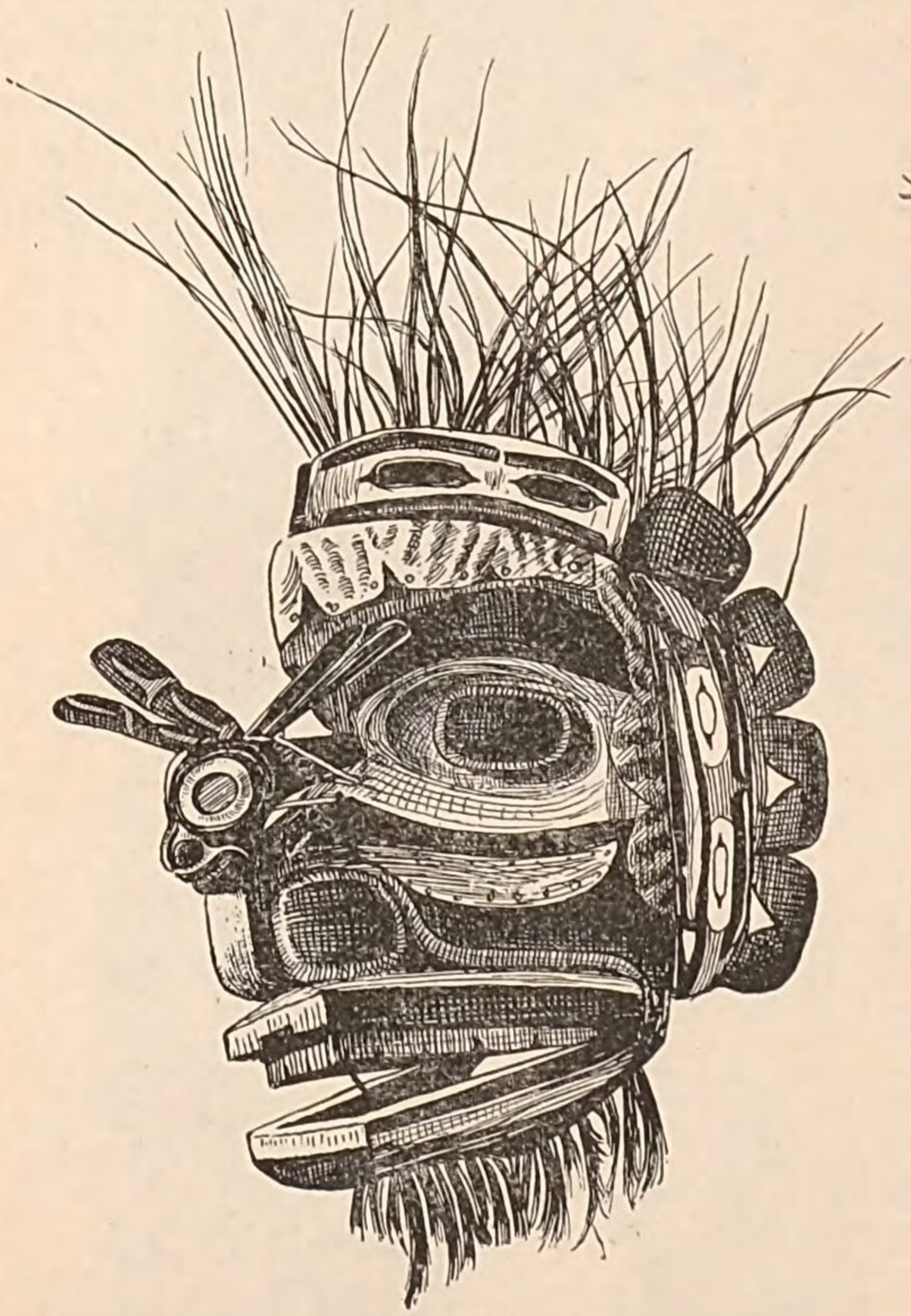


Fig. 103.

MASK OF HA'MSHAMTSES.

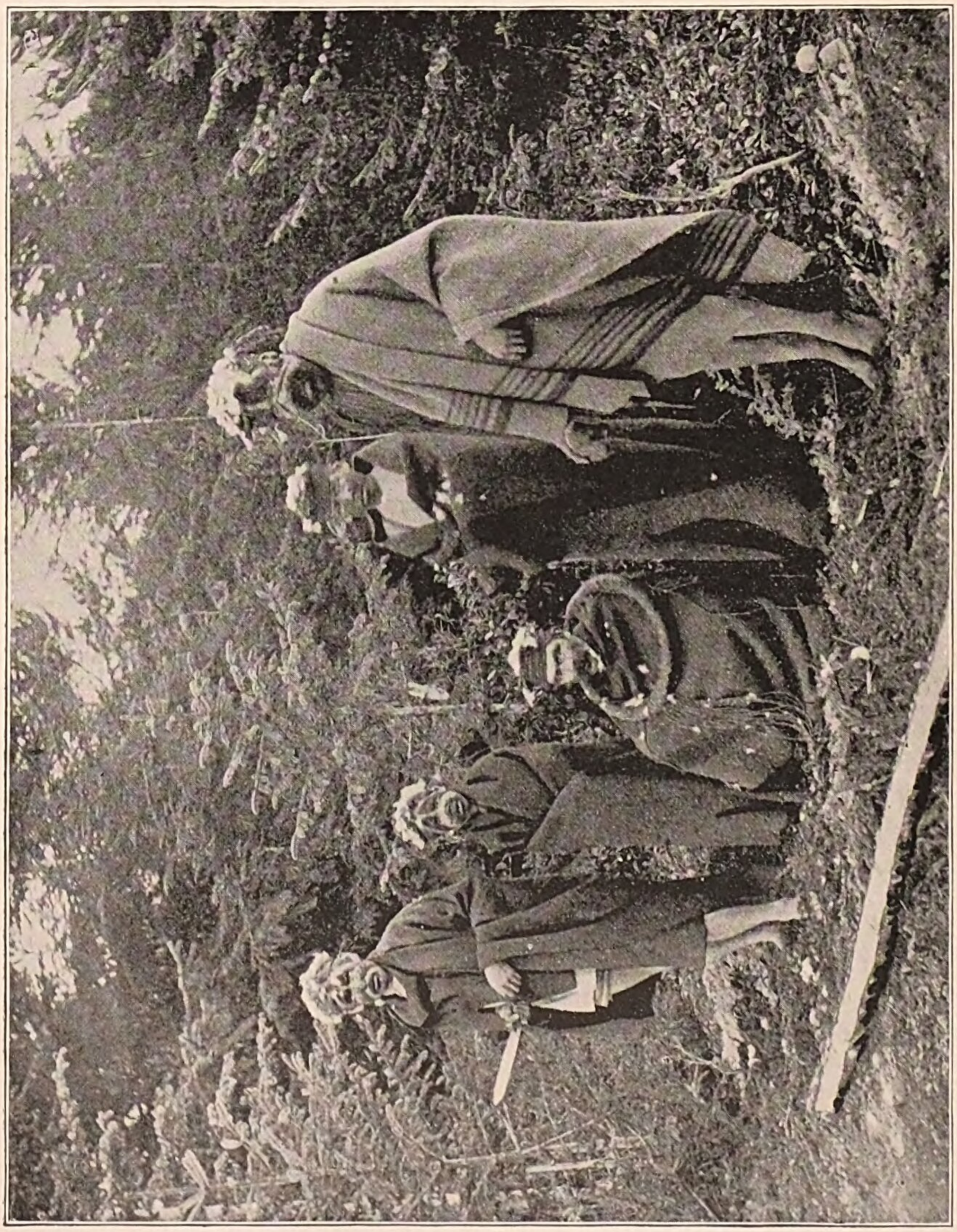
Height, 17½ inches; white, red, black.

IV A, No. 917, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

The nōō'nLEmaLa are initiated by a fabulous people, the Ā'Lasîmk·, who are believed to live near a lake inland from LîXsī'waē. Their village is believed to be on an island floating on the lake. They have enormous noses and their bodies are covered with snot. In olden times a man went beaver hunting and fell in with these people. He came back exhausted and "crazy." His nose was running all the time; he ate the mucus and smeared it all over his body. He urinated and defecated in the house, and only after a long time did the people succeed in restoring him to his senses.

From him the nōō'nLEmaLa are said to derive their origin. They are supposed to be out of their senses and to have long noses. They are as filthy as the first nū'LmaL is said to have been. Some of them when initiated are taken away by the Ā'Lasîmk·, others are initiated in the house. The nōō'nLEmaLa are wī'xsâ. Those who are to be initiated in the house will all of a sudden begin to scratch their heads and bodies. They scratch more and more violently. This indicates that they are

[1] Appendix, page 705.



THE NŌŌ'NLEMALA.
From a photograph.

MASK OF NŪLMAL.
British Museum.

possessed by the winter dance spirit. After four days they are confined in the corner of the house, and appear as nōō'nLEmaLa at the time of the next dance. When a young man is to be initiated in this order, the old nōō'nLEmaLa will throw mucus from their nose on to him and thus "throw the spirit of the winter ceremonial into him."

The nū'LmaL, according to what was stated above, is filthy and acts as though he was out of his senses. His cry is wē, wē, wē. Paintings of fool dancers are shown on Plate 33. They do not dance, but, when excited, run about like madmen, throwing stones, knocking people down, and crying. They turn to the right instead of to the left, and make the circuit of the fire turning to the left. Then the quē'qutsa try to correct them, but they grow only the more excited. They dislike to see clean and beautiful clothing. They tear and soil it. They break canoes, houses, kettles, and boxes; in short, act the madman in every conceivable way. At the close of the dancing season they must indemnify the owners for all the property destroyed.

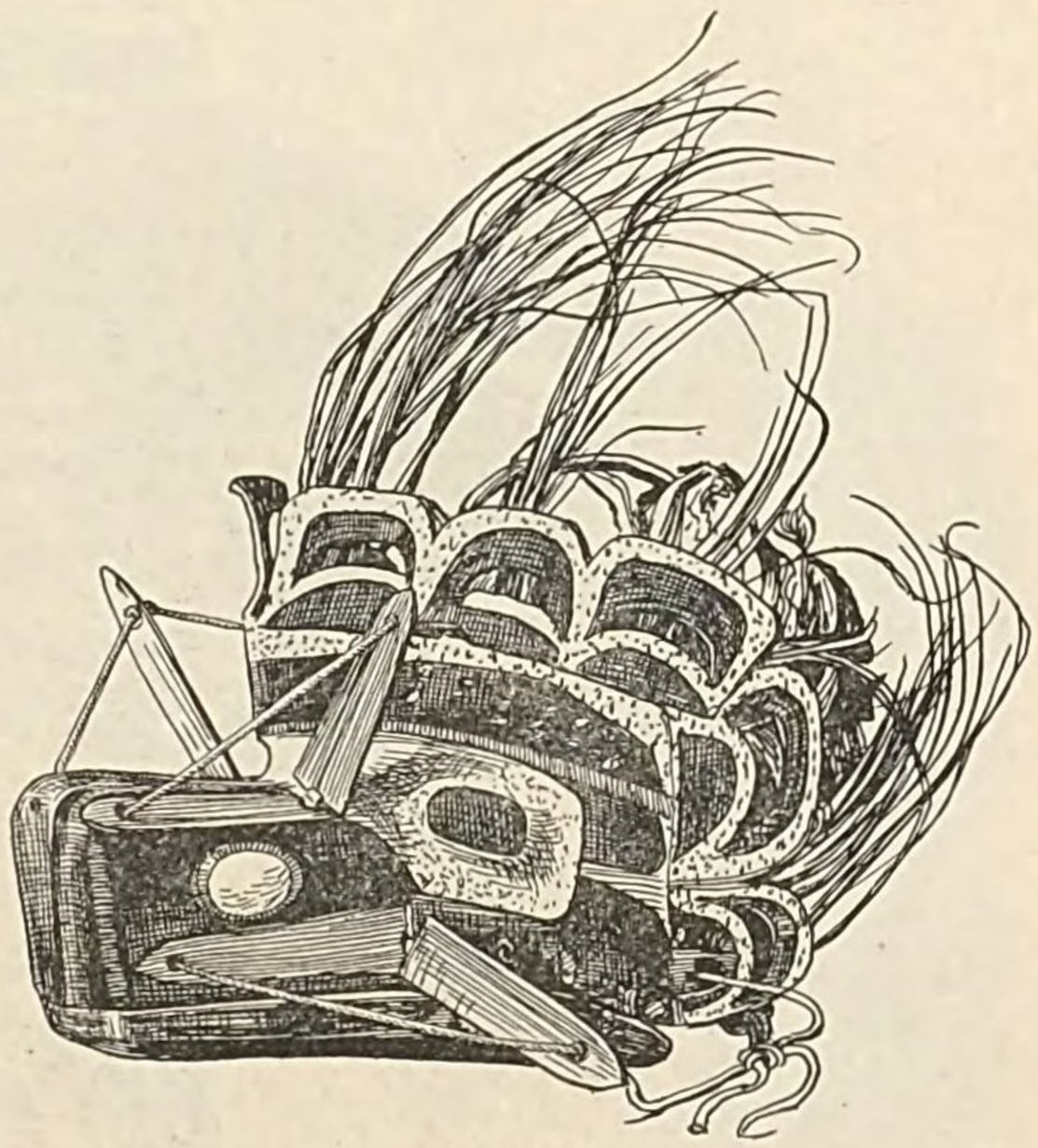


Fig. 104.

MASK OF HA'MSHAMTSES.

Length, 13¾ inches; black, white, red.

IV A, No. 1241, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

The nōō'nLEmaLa wear lances and war clubs during the ceremonials, with which they kill the offenders of the hā'mats'a (figs. 113–116, pp. 475, 476). Many of these lances are carved and painted with the design of the raven. The nōō'nLEmaLa wear rings of red cedar bark, which is simply tied around their heads and hung around their necks. It is not plaited.

When they first appear after their initiation, and also when performing their ceremonial dance they use masks. All these masks are characterized by long noses of curiously round shape. The face is surrounded by a red ring which represents the red cedar bark. The type of these masks has not changed during the last century. There is one in the U. S. National Museum that was collected by the Wilkes Expedition (fig. 117, p. 477). Another old specimen is in the British Museum (Plate 34). The similarity of this type of mask and of the newer ones collected of late years will be noticed (figs. 118–122, pp. 477–479). Any mention of a long nose excites the nū'LmaL. He does not allow his nose to be touched.

SONG OF NŪ′LMAL.[1]

Go on! go on! go on! you great one! Do you not see the curdled blood on the water, the blood on the water of the many foes whom I killed and cut to pieces? I shall be the greatest nū′LmaL.

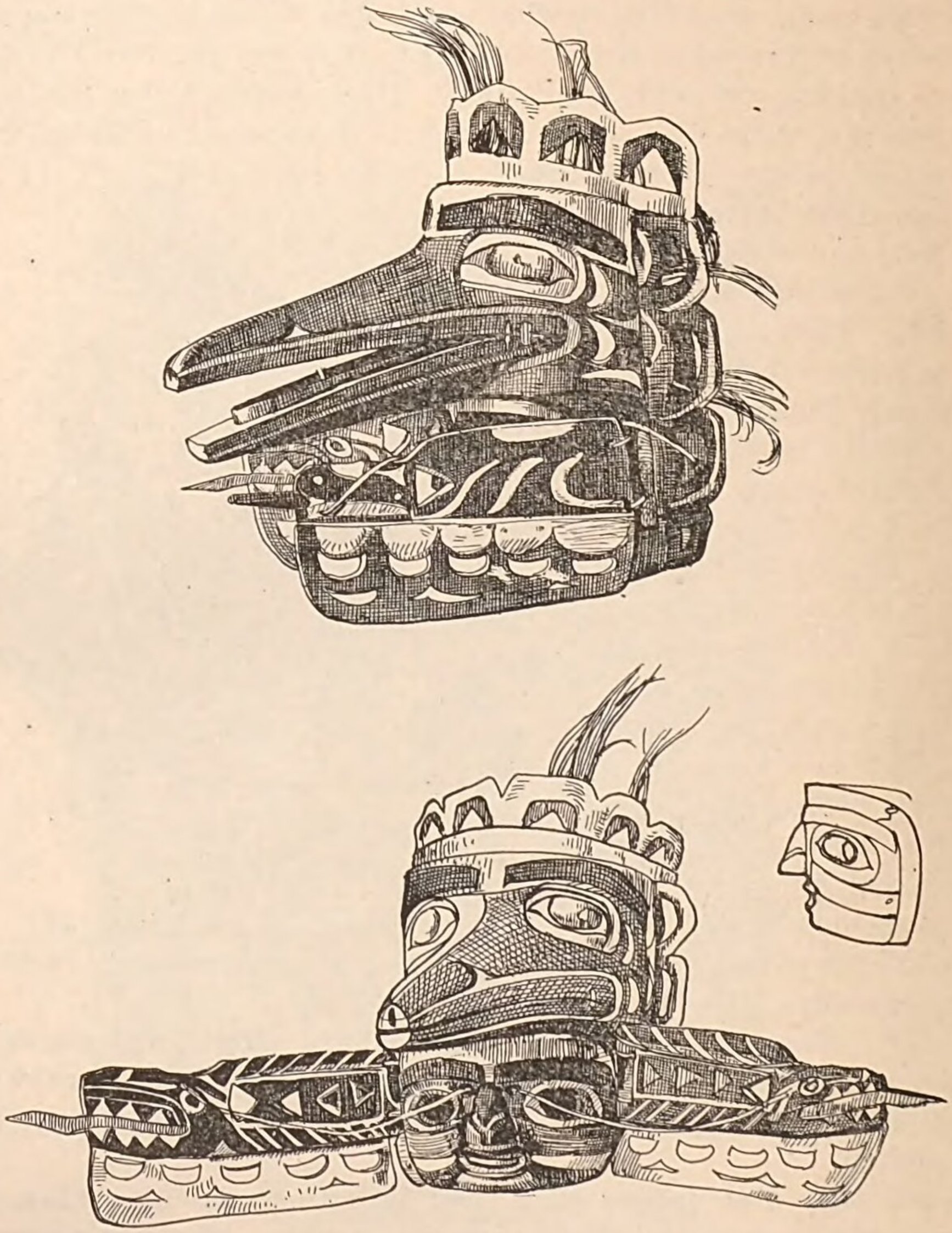


Fig. 105.

MASK OF HA′MSHAMTSES.

The upper portion represents the raven, and the lower portion the wings of the raven, on the outside, and the sī′siuL inside. The smaller figure shows the profile of the lower face. Length, 18½ inches; black, white, red.

IV A, No. 1250, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

The name of the dancer to whom this song belongs is Nū′LElag·ilîs as a member of the seal society, and Tsauxstâ′lag·ilîs as a member of the quē′qutsa.

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[1]Appendix, p. 706.

SONG OF NŪ'LMAL.[1]

1. Ha! The great madness came down and is disturbing our friend.
2. (NŪ'LMAL says:) "The weapon flew into my hands with which I am murdering, with which I am cutting off the heads."
3. Ha! The great madness entered our friend and he is killing old and young.

SONG FOR PACIFYING THE EXCITED NŪ'LMAL.[1]

1. Great is the fury of these supernatural ones.
2. He will carry men away on his arms and torment them.
3. He will devour them skin and bones, crushing flesh and bones with his teeth.

SONG OF NŪ'LMAL, LA'LASIQOALA.[2]

1. Oh wonder! He is making a turmoil on the earth.
2. Oh wonder! He makes the noise of falling objects on the earth.
3. Oh wonder! He makes the noise of breaking objects on the earth.

There is a chief NŪ'LMAL, who is called G·ēqamēq'ōLEla or Ō'maq'ō'LEla. It is stated that nine generations ago TSEX'UĒ'TĒ, chief of the SĪ'SÎNLAĒ, had a son who was a NŪ'LMAL. He gave a feast and said that he wanted to make his son chief of all the NŌŌ'NLEMALA and call him G·Ē'qamēq'ōLEla. He sent him to be initiated as a NŪ'LMAL once more, and when he came back, he distributed an immense amount of property, sea-otter skin blankets, canoes, slaves, coppers, etc. As he was unable to bring all this property into the house, he scattered eagle down, which symbolized the property, all over his guests. Since that time "property is the lance of the G·Ē'qamēq'ōLEla," and the father of a new G·Ē'qamēqōLEla must distribute all his property at the time of the initiation of the novice.

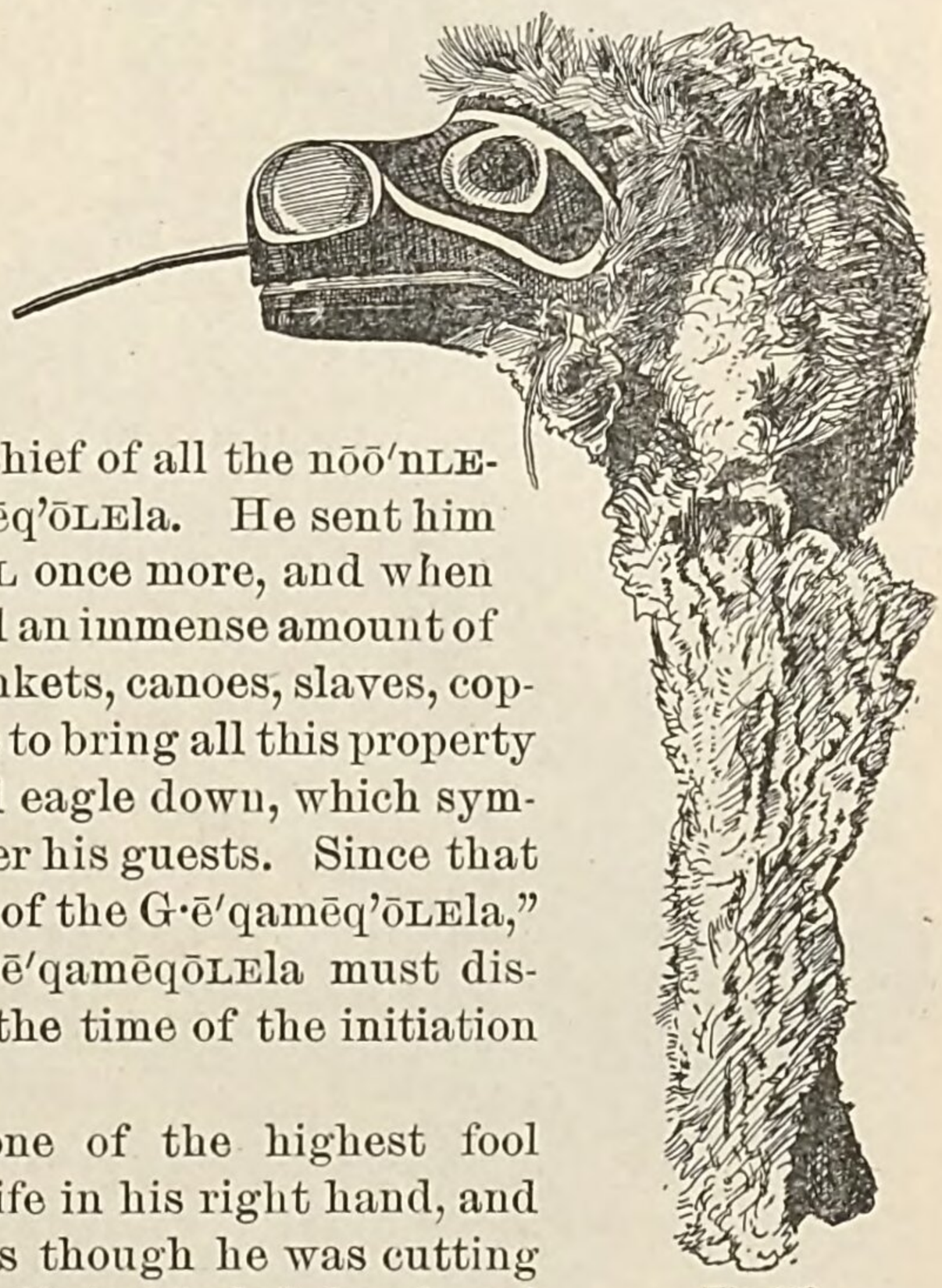

Fig. 106.
MASK OF HA'MSHAMTSES, REPRESENTING THE BEAR.
Length, 15 inches; white, red, black.
IV A, No. 1255, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

The HĀ'WAYADALAL is one of the highest fool dancers. He carries a knife in his right hand, and moves it along his neck as though he was cutting it. Then he changes the knife to his left hand, and repeats the same motion. In doing so he stabs himself, or pretends to do so, actually stabbing his neck ring, which is filled with a bladder containing blood.

NĀ'NAQAUALIL.

The dance of the NĀ'NAQAUALIL consists in very rapid motions of the body from right to left, according to the rhythms of the song. The trunk is slightly inclined forward, the hands are open and held upward,

[1]Appendix, page 706. [2]Appendix, page 707.

with the palms toward the front and at about the height of the shoulders. The dancer wears a blanket which is ornamented with feathers sewed all over it at regular intervals of about 10 inches, and a head mask with a long beak surmounting his forehead (figs. 124 and 125, p. 479).

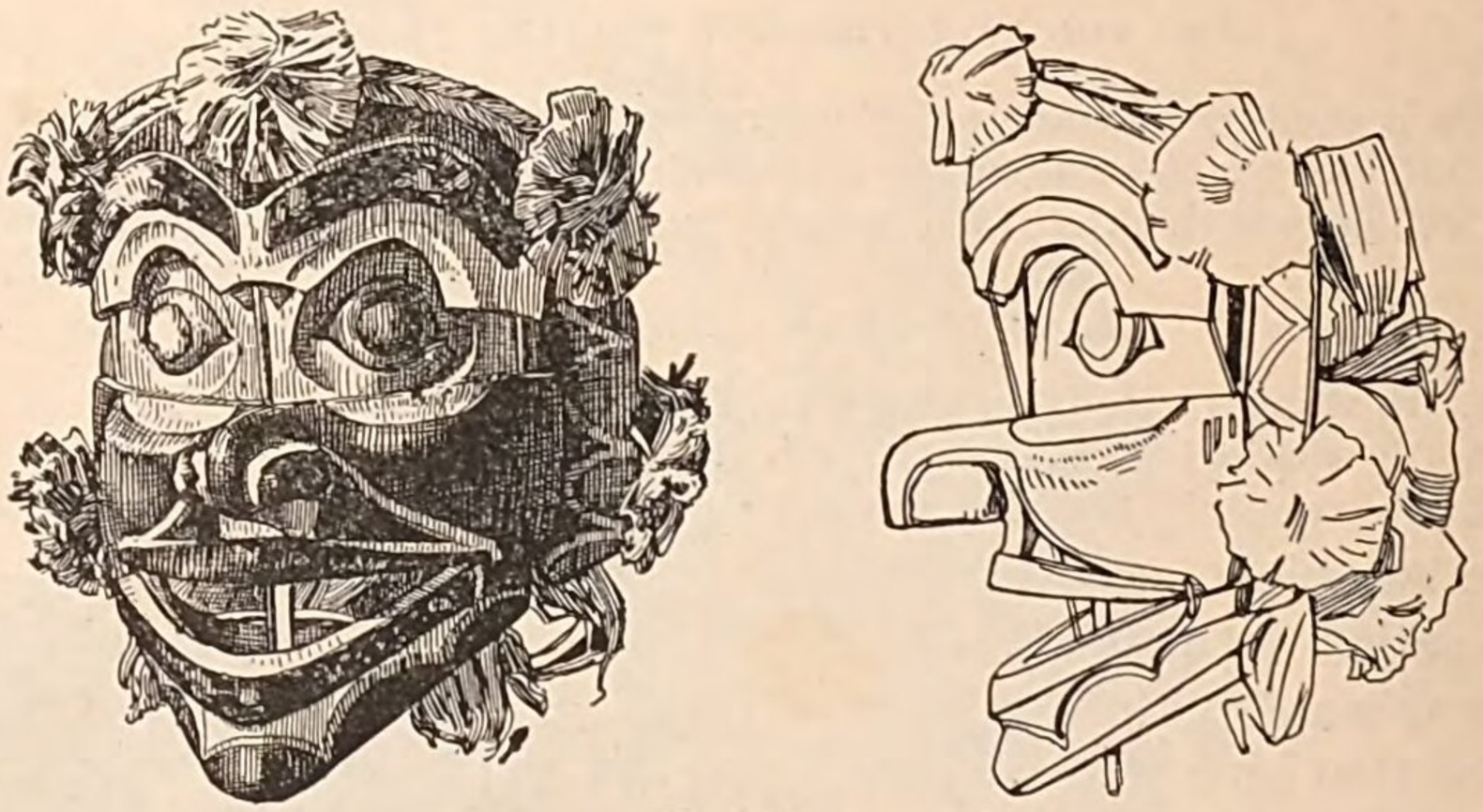

Fig. 107.

MASK OF HA'MSHAMTSES WITH MOVABLE JAW AND FOREHEAD.

Height, 13½ inches; black, white, red.

IV A, No. 1239, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

The dance is sometimes also called "the dance of the wind." The lively motions of the blanket are supposed to be caused by the winds of the higher regions of the atmosphere (Plate 35). The dancer is initiated at BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē's house. He is wī'xsa.

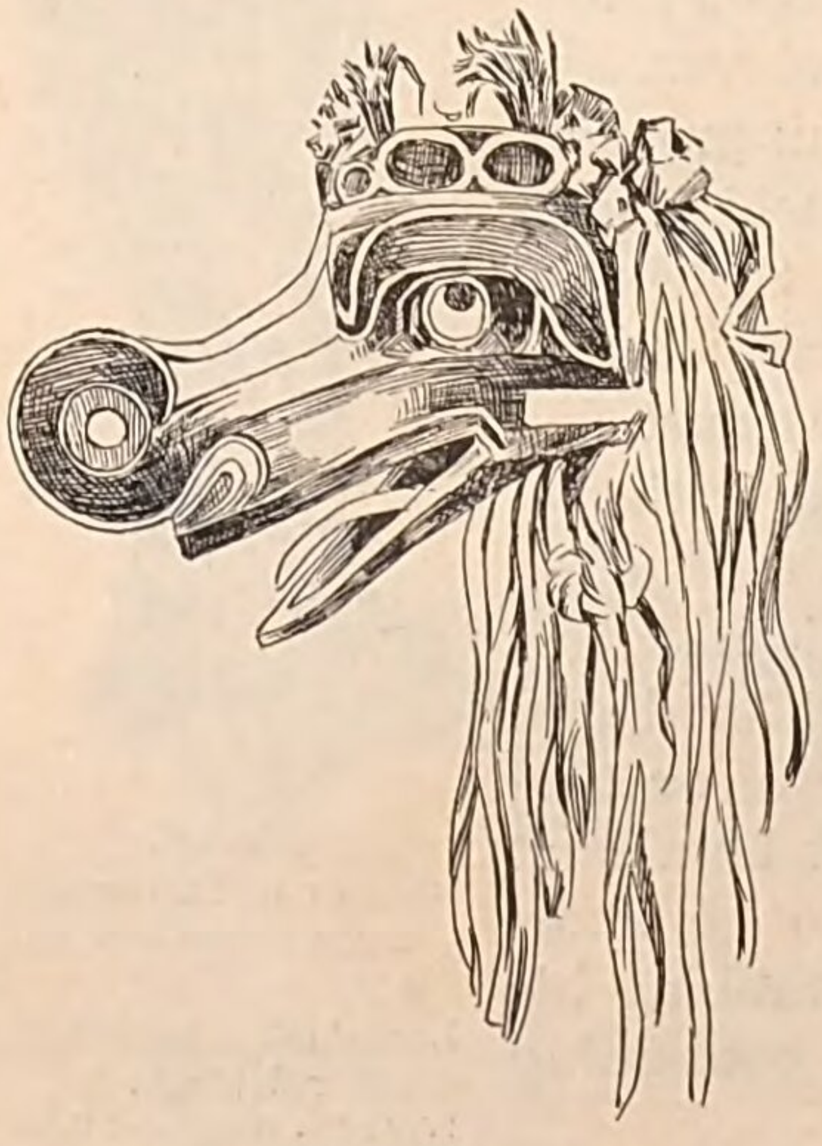

Fig. 108.

MASK OF HA'MSHAMTSES.

From a sketch made at the World's Columbian Exposition

SONG OF NĀ'NAQ\UALIL.[1]

1. The people gather all around you to see your dance, great supernatural one.
2. Many gather to see you, great supernatural one.
3. They walk right up to your house, great supernatural one, asking you for food.

SONG OF NĀ'NAQAUALIL.[2]

1. Rows of wealth are standing across the floor of the house. That is your song.
2. Everybody will obtain wealth from you. Everybody will obtain blankets from you. That is your song.

SONG OF NĀ'NAQAUALIL.[2]

The Awī'k·'ēnôx first obtained the mask (fig. 126, p. 480) from the Hē'iltsuq. Q'ō'mEnakula, a chief of the La'Lasiqoala clan G·ē'xsEm, married an Awī'k·'ēnôx girl, and obtained in this way the right to the mask. The Hē'iltsuq, however, did not

[1] Appendix, page 707.

[2] Appendix, page 708.

NĀ'NAQAUALIL DANCE.
From a photograph.

want the La'Lasiqoala to have it. They invited the Awī'k·'ēnôx to a place named Qoā'qumē, under the pretext that they were going to give a feast. When the Awī'k·'ēnôx came, they killed many of them, among others the father of Q'ō'mEnakula's wife. Thus the Hē'iltsuq recovered the mask, and Q'ō'mEnakula could not obtain it. Later on he obtained it by marrying the daughter of the Hē'iltsuq who had killed his father-in-law. The mask is called by the Awī·'k'ēnôx ha'mtsEtsowē. It represents the raven and the hō'Xhoku. Its name and song show its connection with the hā'mats'a ceremonies. The skulls which are attached to the mask commemorate the war which was waged on account of it.

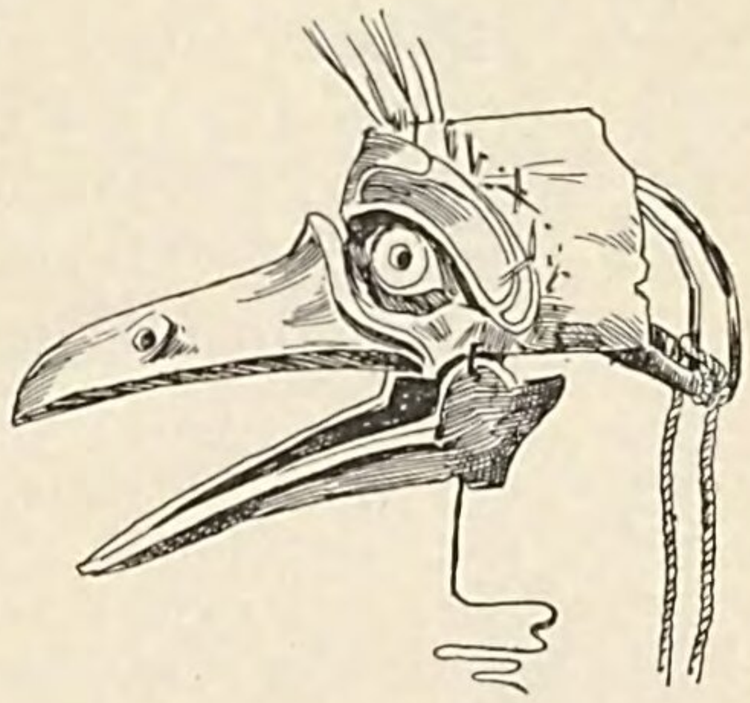

Fig. 109.

MASK OF HA'MSHAMTSES, REPRESENTING THE RAVEN.

From a sketch made at the World's Columbian Exposition.

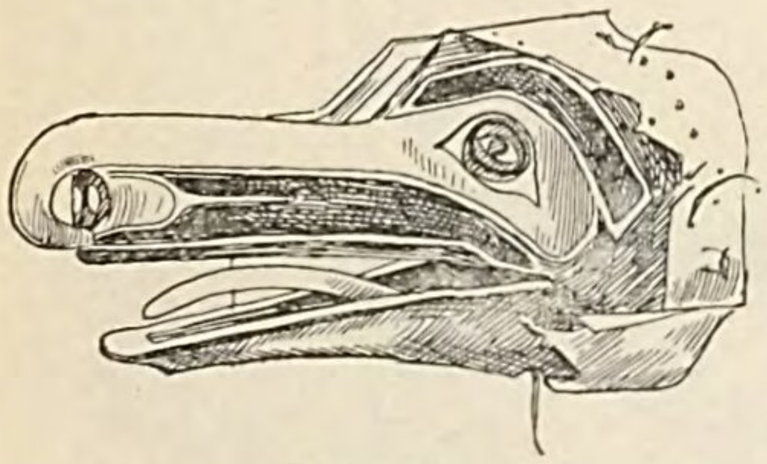

Fig. 110.

MASK OF HA'MSHAMTSES.

From a sketch made at the World's Columbian Exposition.

1. I am coming, crying hāp on the beach! I, the supernatural one.
2. I am coming out of Wīnā'lag·ilîs's canoe, the hā'mats'a mask on my forehead, the winter dance mask on my forehead.

Figs. 127–128 show masks very much like the preceding one. They also belong to the dance Nā'naqaualiL. On page 410 was told the legend of the origin of the sunrise dance of the Koskimo. Figs. 129 to 133 (pp. 484–486), show the masks and ornaments which the Kuēxala'lag·ilīs obtained from Nēnalaats'ēqa.

Fig. 134 (p. 488) shows the ornaments of another Nā'naqaualiL.

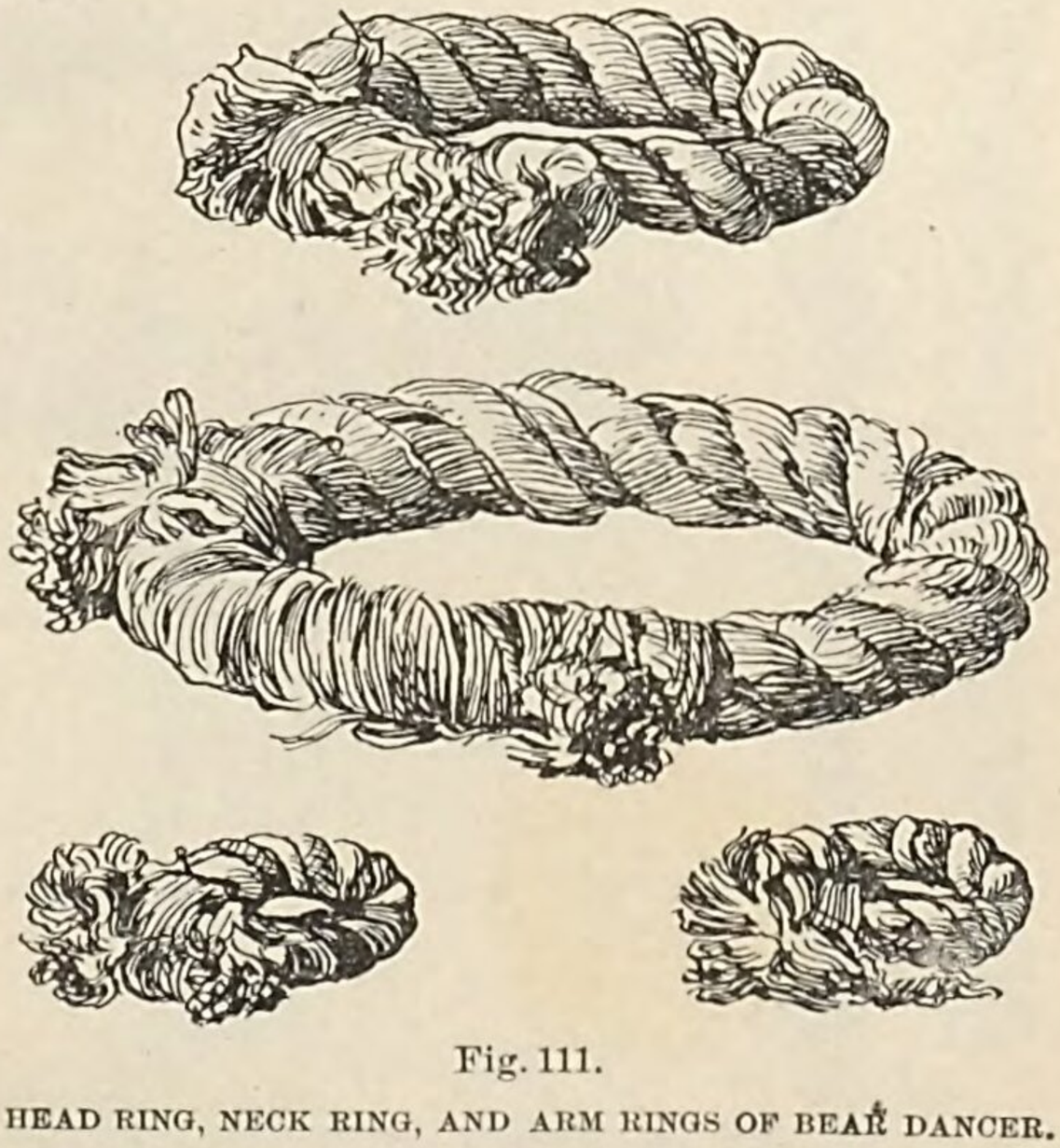

Fig. 111.

HEAD RING, NECK RING, AND ARM RINGS OF BEAR DANCER.

IV A, Nos. 934, 557, and 935, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

HĀ''MAA.[1]

This mask was purchased from the La'Lasiqoala, who called it qē'sqēsk·änē, the panther. They obtained it by marriage from the Kwakiutl, who used it in the winter ceremonial. It represented the fabulous being hā''maa, a voracious carnivorous monster which lives

[1] See fig 135, p. 489, and Appendix, page 708.

in the woods. The novice who is to acquire this dance disappears in the woods. When he returns, he bites the people, not like the hā′mats'a, but imitating the voracious hā″maa. His cedar bark rings are like those of the bear dancer, but smaller. His cry is "hup! hup!" When returning from the woods, he does not wear hemlock, but red cedar bark ornaments. The dancer's name as member of the seal society is K·'ē′k·aLElayu (of whom all are afraid); his quē′qutsa name is ĀLtsala (coming ashore from the middle of the lake). His song is as follows:

1. There is hā″maa. We shall not live, for he is there.
2. Where he is, there is danger.
3. Where shall we hide?
4. Let us hide underground. Let us cover ourselves with dirt, for the terrible hā″maa is going around the world.

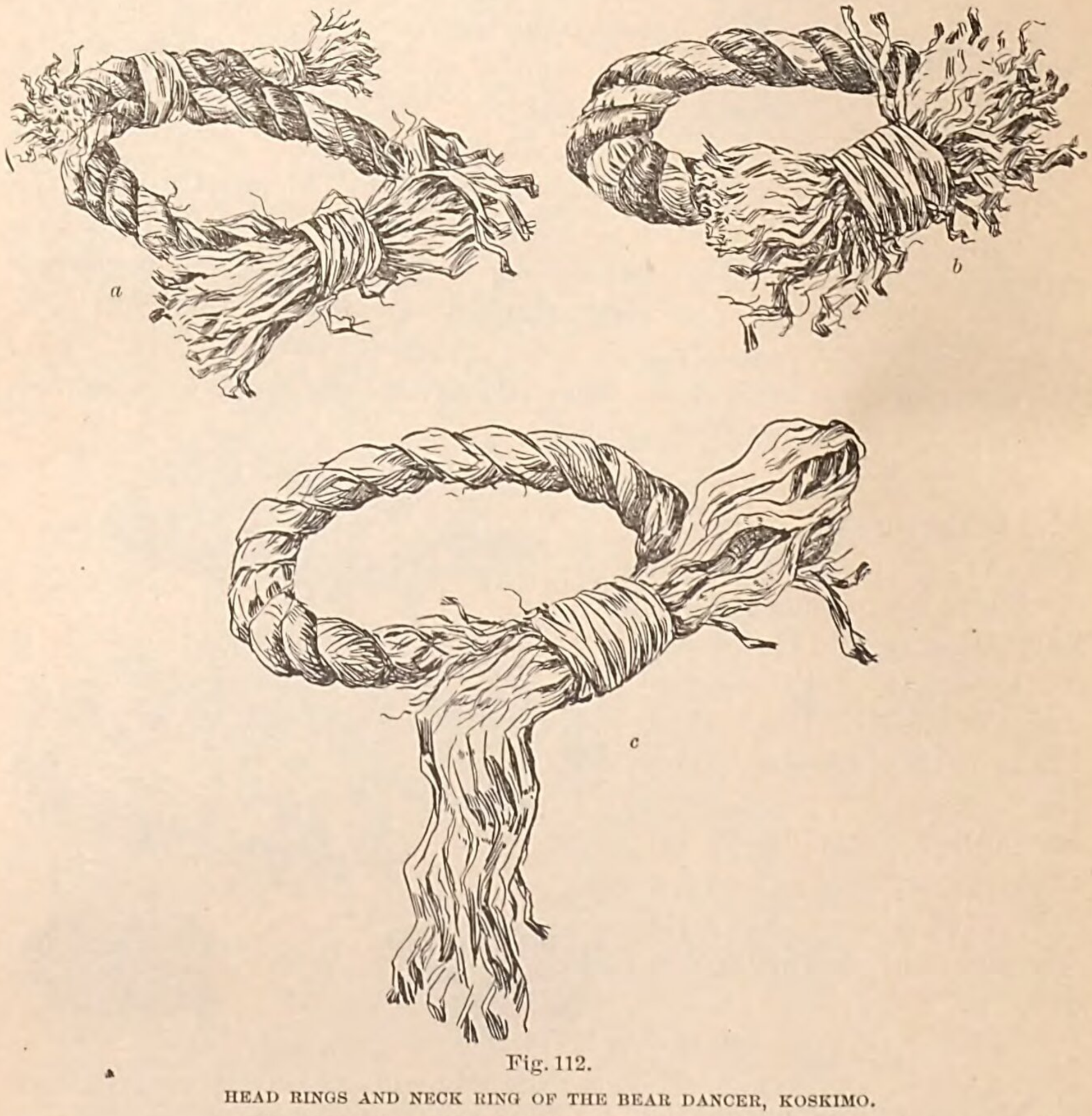

Fig. 112.

HEAD RINGS AND NECK RING OF THE BEAR DANCER, KOSKIMO.

a, First head ring; *b*, head ring worn in feasts; *c*, neck ring.

Cat. Nos. 175515, 175516, 175517, U. S. N. M., collected by F. Boas.

THE SALMON.[1]

This dance belongs to the La′Lasiqoala. The novice disappears and stays in the woods several months. When he is brought back, the

[1] See fig. 136, page 490, and Appendix, page 709.

people hide all the eagle down, the symbol of wealth, but put it on when he enters, indicating that the salmon brings affluence. He is greeted with the cry "haiohō′." The amount of property distributed by the dancer's father is as large as that needed for initiating a hā′-mats'a. His dance is intended to imitate the motions of the jumping salmon. He holds his head sideways and dances with stiff legs, the feet remaining at the same spot, the body turning first to the right then to the left. His forearms are bent upward, the open palms stretched forward. Following is his song:

1. Many salmon are coming ashore with me.
2. They are coming ashore to you, the post of our heaven.
3. They are dancing from the salmon's country to the shore.
4. I come to dance before you at the right-hand side of the world, overtowering, outshining, surpassing all; I, the salmon.

SONG OF A SALMON DANCER.[1]

1. The salmon came to search for a dancer.
2. He came and put his supernatural power into him.
3. You have supernatural power. Therefore the chief of the salmon came from beyond the ocean. The people praise you, for they cannot carry the weight of your wealth.

THE SALMON WEIR DANCE.[2]

The weir in the legends of the Kwakiutl is a toy of the salmon. The salmon weir dancer is initiated by the salmon. The dance belongs at present to the Maa′m-tag·ila, who obtained it by marriage from the Awī′-k·′ēnôx. The novice remains in the woods for about one month. When he returns, he is naked. His body is smeared with the juice of a plant, which makes it very slippery. His cedar bark ornaments are similar to those of the hā′mats'a, but much smaller. The dancer first rests on one leg, his body bent almost horizontally at one side, the other leg extended to the other side. Then he changes to the other leg, bending his body to the other side and extending his other leg. Here is his song:

1. I went to work at my salmon weir. When I took out the salmon, their eyes were picked out by the crows.
2. (Speaking to the chief of the tide:) Stand still, chief! You who makes the tide rise, who causes whirlpools where the tides meet, whose skirt of seaweeds makes the tide rise.
3. (Chief of the tide says:) Cry hāp! supernatural one! Cry hāp!

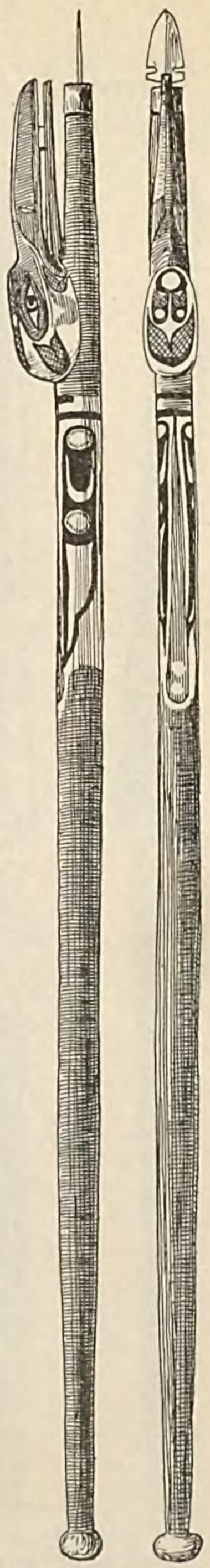

Fig. 113.

LANCE OF NŪ′LMAL.

Length, 64 inches; brown, red, green.

IV A, No. 1596, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

[1] Appendix, page 709.

[2] Appendix, page 710.

WASP DANCE—HA′MASELAL.[1]

According to the legend, this dance belongs originally to the Ts'E′nts'Enx·q'aiō, to one of whose ancestors the chieftainess of the Wasps appeared. There is only one person at a time owning this dance. I obtained only one line of the song:

1. Do not let us go near the house of the wasp.[2] There is great danger.

KU′NXULAL, THUNDER BIRD DANCE.[3]

1. You are swooping down from heaven, pouncing upon a whole tribe.
2. You are swooping down from heaven, burning villages, killing everything before you, and the remains of the tribes are like a rest of your food, great thunder bird; great thunderer of our world.
3. You are swooping down from heaven, going from one tribe to the other. You seize with your talons the chiefs of the tribes.

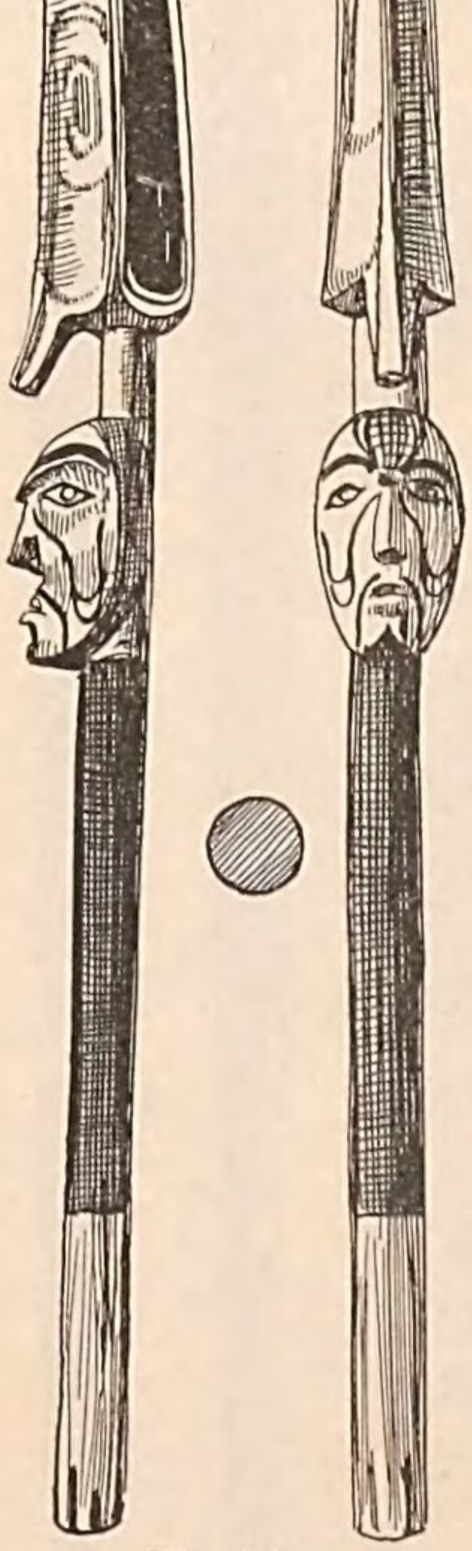

Fig. 114.

LANCE OF NŪ′LMAL.

Length, 52 inches; red, black.

IV A, No. 872, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

KU′NXULAL, LA′LASIQOALA SONG.[3]

This will be the dance of the thunderbird. Wonderful will be the dance of the thunder bird.

Fig. 115.

LANCE OF NŪ′LMAL.

From a sketch made at the World's Columbian Exposition.

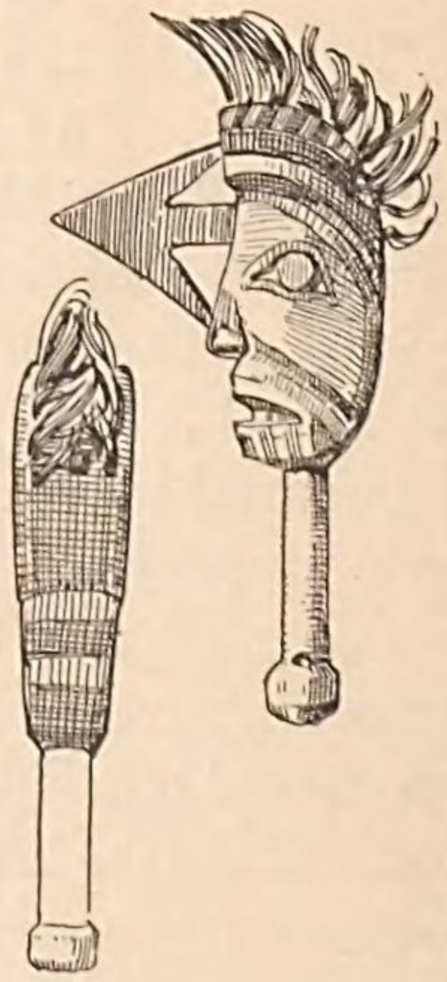

Fig. 116.

CLUB OF NŪ′LMAL.

Length, 10¼ inches; blue, red.

IV A, No. 863, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

QŌ′LÔC,[4] LA′LASIQOALA SONG.[3]

1. Do not let us drive him away, the bird of our chief.
2. The real Qō′lôc who is sitting in the middle of our world.

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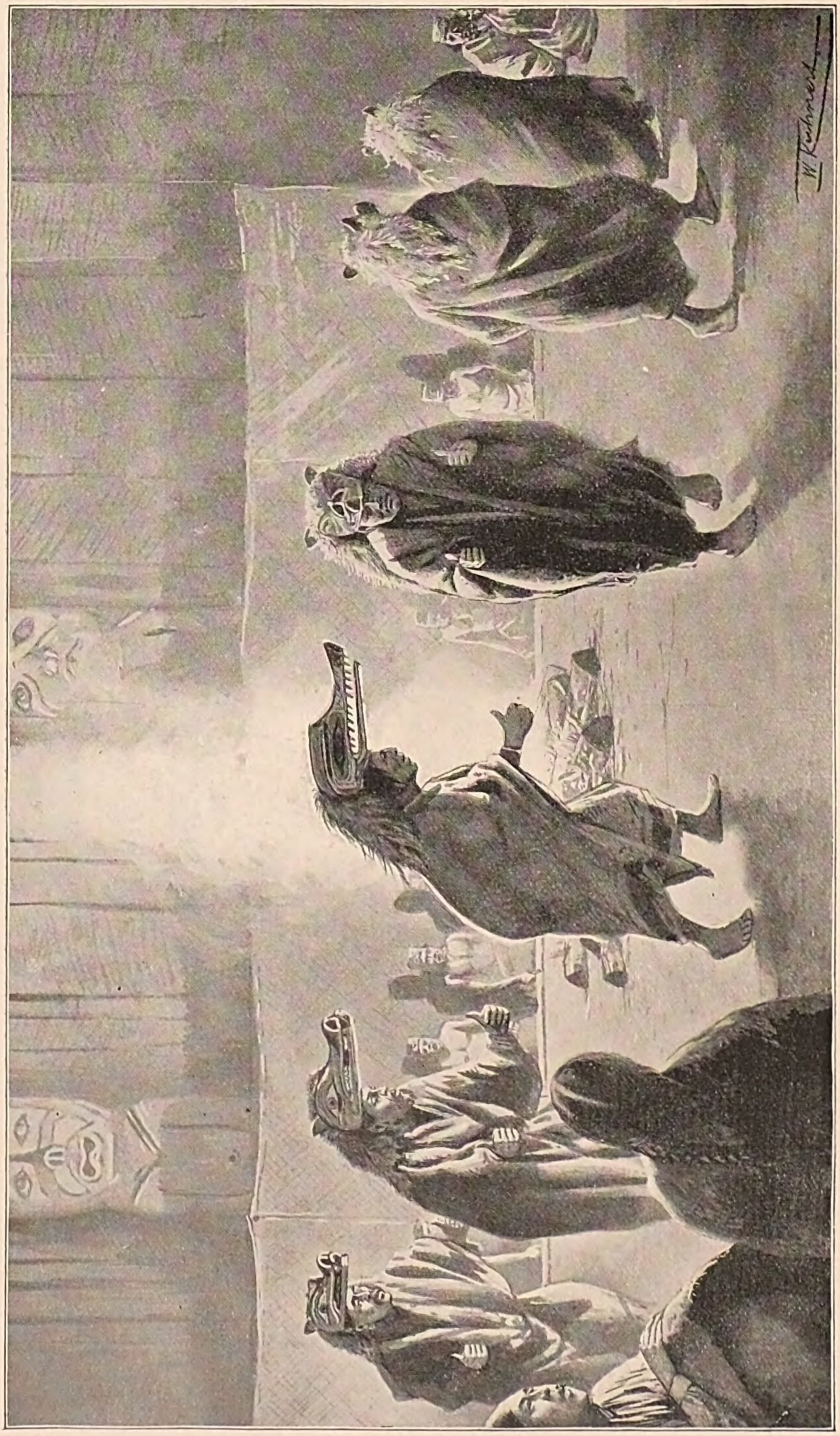
[1] See fig. 137, page 491, and Appendix, page 710.
[2] The wasp nest.
[3] Appendix, page 711.
[4] A species of eagle.



THE WALAS'AXA'.

The whistle (fig. 139, p. 492) is used by the dancer to imitate the sound of the bird represented by the mask (fig. 138, p. 491).

THE WOLF.[1]

1. I go to the seat of the chief of the wolves. Yihihi ahahi.
2. I am taken to the middle of the rear of the house of the wolves. Yihihi ahahi.
3. Thus I obtained all the supernatural powers of the wolves. Yihihi ahahi.

WOLF SONG, LA'LASIQOALA.[1]

1. I come barking on the beach. I make the noise of distributions of blankets, for you will be as great as your ancestor, the first one of all the chiefs.
2. Wonderful are the words of our chief, the wolf. It is said: We shall assemble with our children, asking him to give blankets, to give blankets to each tribe, even to all the tribes of the world. Yihēi.
3. Let us try to pacify our chief, else he will swing his death bringer and cut short our lives, and we shall fall before the chief of the wolves. Yihēi.

WĀLAS'AXA'.[2]

The Wālas'axa' is a peculiar wolf's dance. It belongs to the legend of O'maxt'ā'laLē (see p. 382), who obtained it by marrying the daughter of Qāwatiliqala. The Wālas'axa' is danced in the following way: All the men of the tribe dress in blankets and headdresses representing the wolf. They hide behind a curtain which stretches across the rear of the house, and when the singers open their song, come forth from the right-hand entrance of the curtain. There two criers are stationed, who hold staffs and announce their arrival. As soon as a dancer appears, he turns and proceeds on a march around the fire. The fists are held forward, the thumbs erect (Plate 36). When the dancers arrive in front of the door, they turn once and then proceed around the fire, disappearing again behind the curtain, at the left-hand side. When all have disappeared, two more circuits are made in the same manner. In the fourth circuit they stop when all have come out. They squat down on hands and feet, imitating the motions of wolves. They rest on their toes and knuckles and turn their heads to the right and to the left.

Fig. 117.
MASK OF NŪ'LMAL.
Cat. No. 2659, U. S. N. M.
Wilkes Expedition.

Fig. 118.
MASK OF NŪ'LMAL.
Height, 9¾ inches; black, red.
IV A, No. 1297, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin.
Collected by A. Jacobsen.

In fig. 140 (p. 493) and in Plate 37 a number of the masks used in the Wālas'axa' are shown. Some of these claim particular interest, as they

[1] Appendix, page 711.

[2] The great one from above.

were collected on Cook's expedition, and show that no change of the type of these masks has taken place during the last century. The teeth of the mask (Plate 37) are made of dentalia, and the trail is carefully worked of cedar bark.

Fig. 119.
MASK OF NŪ'LMAL.
Height, 14 inches; black, red.
IV A, No. 1289, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

THE LŌ'KOALA.

There is still another wolf dance, which is derived from traditions of the initiation of men by the wolves. The tradition underlying this dance is that of Mink and the wolves. The sons of the chief of the wolves were preparing to be initiated. Mink found and killed them and thus obtained their names and places. He came back wearing the wolf's scalp as a head mask. Three times he danced around the fire, covering his face and his head with his blanket. Then the fourth time he uncovered it and thus showed that he had killed the wolves. All the animals tried to kill him, but were unable to do so. I shall give the full legend later on. Mink, whose quē'qutsa name is K·ēx·, thus obtained the wolf's name, Nūn, as a member of the seal society, and also the wolf's LŌ'koala or supernatural power. This tradition belongs to the clan

Fig. 120.
MASK OF NŪ'LMAL.
Height, 12 inches; white, black, red.
IV A, No. 1338, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

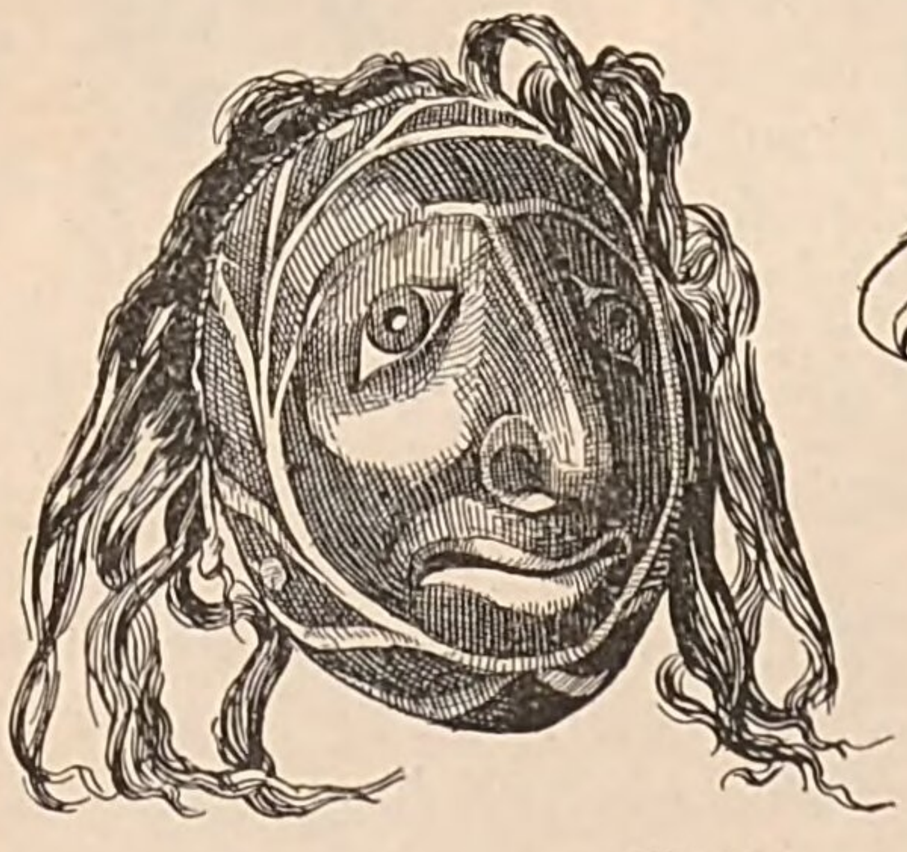
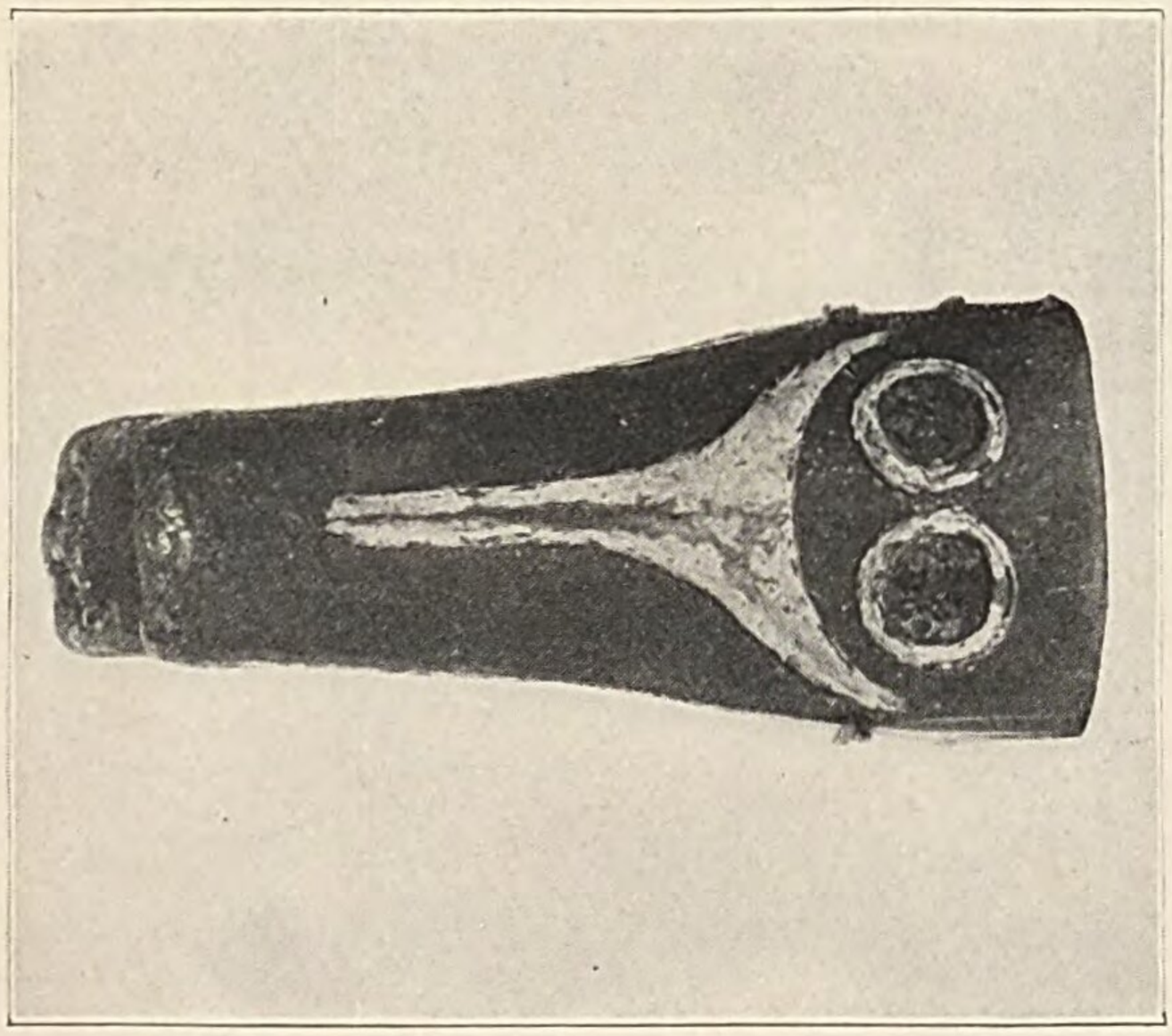


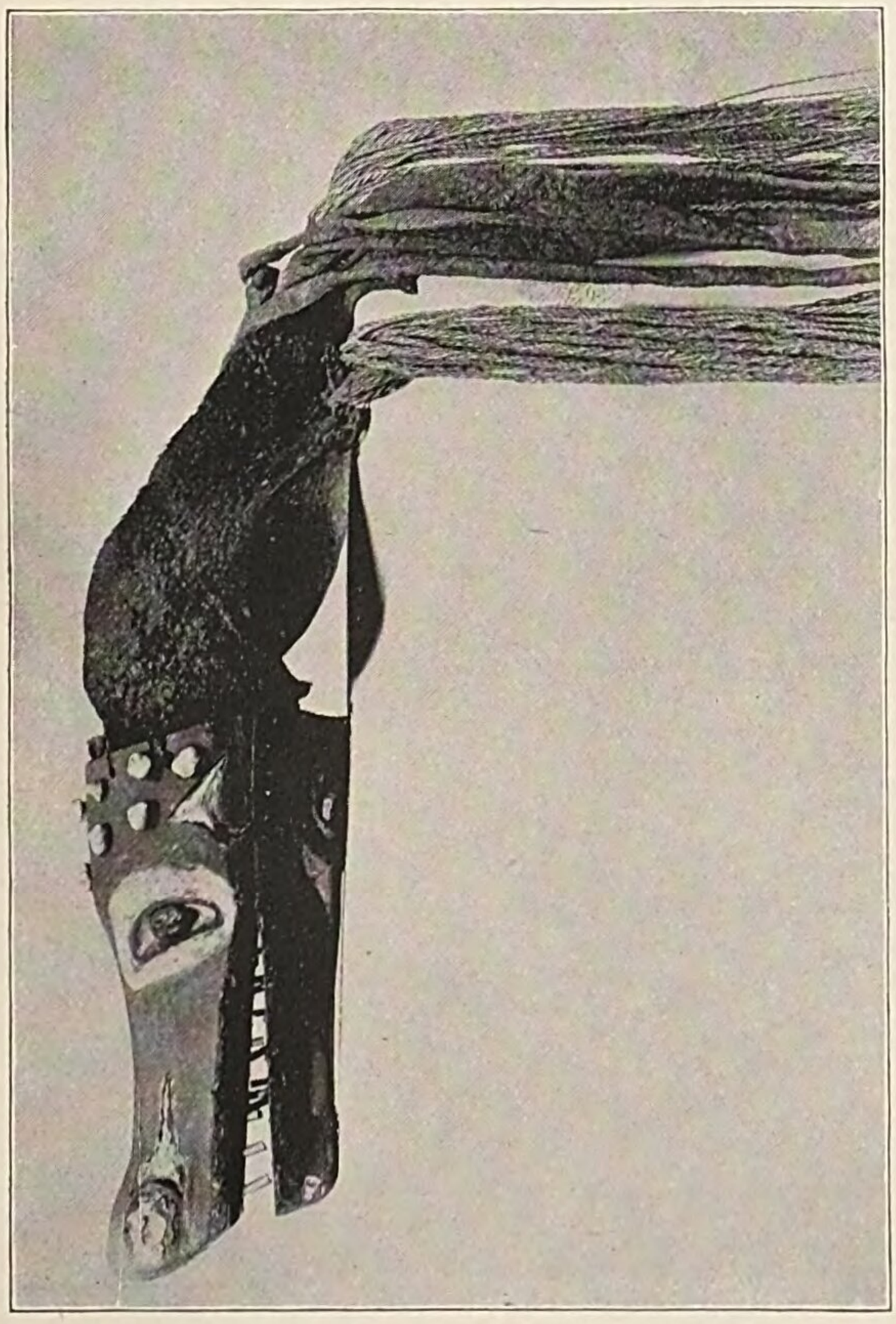
Fig. 121.
MASK OF NŪ'LMAL.
Height, 11¾ inches; black, white, red.
IV A, No. 1292, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

Fig. 122.
MASK OF NŪ'LMAL.
From a sketch made at the World's Columbian Exposition.

La'alaxsent'aiō, and K·ēx· and Nūn are the two names of the LŌ'koala dancer. When he appears as quē'qutsa, he wears the frontlet (x·isī'waē) representing the wolf, nūnqEmL or LŌ'koalaqEmL (fig. 140, p. 493). His



b. View from below.



a. Side view.

WOLF MASK.

British Museum. Collected by Captain Cook.

song is intended to excite the nōō′nLEmaLa, who are considered as the friends of the wolf chiefs whom K·ēx· had killed. They are excited by the mention of the words "middle of the face," i. e., nose, in the following song:

Mink put on his head the middle of the face of Nōlt'a-qālag·ilîs.[1]

Before singing, the dancer goes three times around the fire, covering his head with his blanket. Then he unfolds it. He wears the headdress. His cheeks are each painted with a black circle, the inside of which is red. He puts his hands flat to his nose (both in the medial line, one close to the other), dances, and sings the preceding song. Then the nōō′nLEmaLa all try to attack him while the quē′qutsa protect him.

Fig. 123.

MASK OF NŪ′LMAL.

IV A, No. 524, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

TS'Ō′NOQOA.

Although the Ts'ō′noqoa is not an animal, but a fabulous being, as described before, this seems the most appropriate place to mention her dance and songs. She is a member of the seal society. She is represented as always asleep. When the dancer enters the house, a rope is stretched from the door to her seat, along which she feels her way. She does not dance, but walks once around the fire, attired in the complete skin of a bear, which fits over her body and to which her mask is attached. Figs. 13, 141–144 (pp. 372, 494–496) represent a series of typical Ts'ō′noqoa masks. The last one was obtained from the La′-Lasiqoala. Her song is as follows:[2]

Fig. 124.

HEAD MASK OF NĀ′NAQAUALIL, SET WITH BIRD SKINS.

(Scale $\frac{1}{8}$.)

IV A, No. 566, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

1. I was a little too late to witness the blood of his victims, to see the putrid heap of those whom he had killed, to see the remains of the food of the warrior of the world.
2. He was made great; he was made wild by his father.[3] He will not take pity. He will kill. He comes to make poor the tribes.

Fig. 125.

HEAD MASK OF NĀ′NAQAUALIL, SET WITH BIRD SKINS.

From a sketch made at the World's Columbian Exposition.

[1] This is the name of a nū′LmaL. The name of the person who is to be excited is inserted here. See Appendix, page 712.

[2] Appendix, page 713.

[3] When his father caused him to be initiated.

Following is another Ts'ō'noqoa song of the Kwakiutl:[1]

1. She is the great Ts'ō'noqoa who is trying to carry men on her arms, who is causing nightmare, who is making us faint.
2. Great bringer of nightmares! Great one who makes us faint! Terrible Ts'ō'noqoa

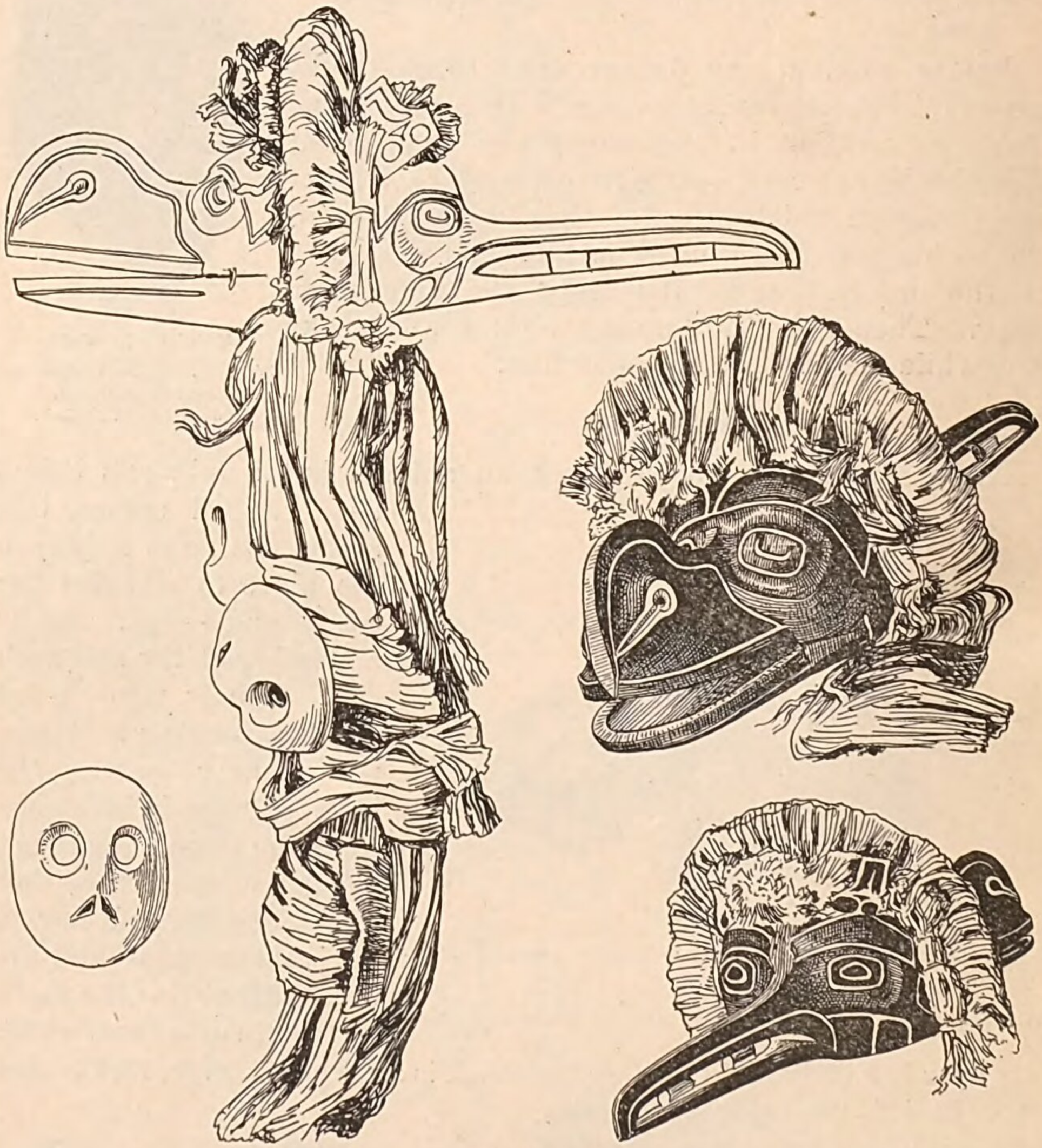


Fig. 126.

HEAD MASK OF NĀ'NAQAUALIL.

Length, 27½ inches; black, white, red.

IV A, No. 1244, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

IA'K·ÎM.

The·Ia'k·îm (badness) is a water monster which obstructs rivers, and endangers lakes and the sea, and swallows and upsets canoes. I did not learn any details in regard to its dance. The Ia'k·îm appears also on ha'mshamtsEs mask, for instance on the mask shown in fig. 102, p. 467. The form in which it is represented is quite variable because all sea monsters are called by this term. Fig. 102 is the wide mouthed mon-

ster ts'ē'gîc which destroyed whole tribes. In other legends monsters are described which are called "sea bears," "monster herrings," and

Fig. 127.

HEAD MASK OF NĀ'NAQAUALIL.

Side view of the specimen shown in the preceding figure.

Length, 32½ inches; breadth, 8¼ inches; height, 7½ inches; black, red, white.

IV A, No. 1245, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

many others. Fig. 145 (p. 496) represents the mask of the Ia'k·îm. Its song, which was obtained from the La'Lasiqoala,[1] is given on p. 482.

[1] Appendix, page 713.

SONG OF THE IA′K·ÎM.

1. The great Ia′k·îm will rise from below.
2. He makes the sea boil, the great Ia′k·îm. We are afraid.
3. He will upheave the seas, the great Ia′k·îm. We shall be afraid.
4. He will throw blankets from out of the sea, the great Ia′k·îm.
5. He will distribute blankets among all tribes, the great Ia′k·îm.
6. We fear him, the great Ia′k·îm.

SONG OF THE SĪ′SIUL DANCE, LA′LASIQOALA.[1]

1. Great is the sī′siuL dance of our chief.
2. They say by his dance he will cut in two a whole tribe.[2]

AŌ′MALAL, OR CHIEFTAINESS DANCE.

I did not see the dance and do not know any details as regards initiation, etc. I received the following description: The Aō′malaL is said to sit on a stage in front of the mā′wiL. She has the chieftainess's ornaments of abalone shells in her ears and attached to her nose. She does not move, but is merely shown behind the curtain while the people sing her song.[1] It is probable that this dance is a recent introduction from the north. In the winter ceremonial of the Tsimsshian the dancer appears in the manner here described on a stage, and after the song the stage is hidden again behind a curtain.

SONG OF AO′MALAL.

1. We are told that our great chief lets his daughter dance as chieftainess.
2. Great is the song of the chieftainess, great is the hā′mats'a song of the supernatural chieftainess.
3. At the place of the great supernatural chieftainess is heard the sound of copper, the ringing of copper.

GHOST DANCE.

I stated in Chapter VI[3] how the ghost dance of the L'ā′sq'ēnôx originated. There are a number of traditions of similar character explaining the origin of the ceremony among various tribes. All these traditions contain descriptions of a visit to the world of the ghosts, which is believed to be located under our world. Then the visitor was given the secrets of the ghost dance and other magical gifts. This dance is a mimical representation of a visit to the lower world. The dancer wears the head ring and neck ring, figs. 146, 147[4] which are set with skulls, indicating that the ghosts have initiated him. Elaborate preparations are made for this dance. During the days preceding it the members of the seal society hold close watch that nobody enters the dancing house in which they remain assembled. Then a ditch is dug behind the fire, and speaking tubes made of kelp are laid under the floor of the house so as to terminate in the fire. The ghost dancer appears, led by a rope by one attendant. He goes around the fire four times, summoning the ghosts. After he has made the fourth

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[1] Appendix, page 713. [2] He will destroy them. [3] Page 408. [4] Page 497.

circuit he slowly disappears in the ditch near the fire. The people try to hold him by the rope, but apparently he sinks out of reach. Then many voices are heard coming from out of the fire—actually the voices of people hidden in the bedrooms who speak through the kelp tubes. It is announced that the ghosts have taken the dancer away, who will return after a certain number of days. When the time of his return is at hand, another dance is held. A carving representing a ghost is seen to rise from out of the ground carrying the dancer.

SONG OF THE GHOST DANCER.[1]

1. I went down to the under world with the chief of the ghosts. Therefore I have supernatural power.
2. The chief of the ghosts made me dance. Therefore I have supernatural power.
3. He put a beautiful ornament on to my forehead. Therefore I have supernatural power.

The ghost dancer of the La'Lasiqoala wears a head ring set with four feathers and a thick veil of cedar bark falling over his face (fig. 148, p. 501).

I have two of his songs:

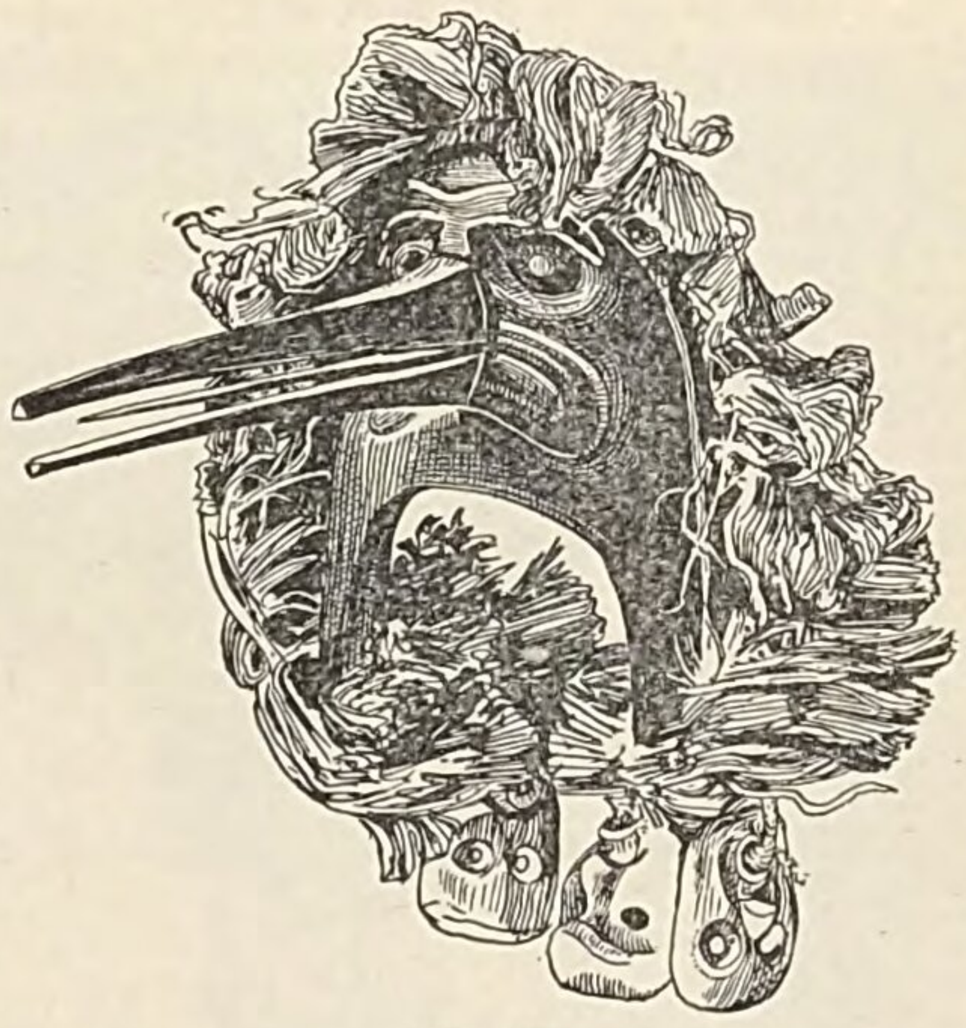


Fig. 128.

HEAD MASK OF NĀ'NAQAUALIL, REPRESENTING THE HŌ'XHOKW

Length, 19 inches; black, white, red.

IV A, No. 1330, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

I.

1. I came to see you. Why are you making an uproar, ghosts? you who take away man's reason. You are coming up from the sea and call our names in order to take our senses, you famous ones who take away man's reason.[1]

II.

1. You sent us everything from out of the under world, ghosts! who take away man's senses.
2. You heard that we were hungry, ghosts! who take away man's senses.
3. We shall receive plenty from you, ghosts! who take away man's senses.[1]

MĀ'TEM.

I have told the legend of the Mā'tEm in the preceding chapter.[2] The dancer, when his song is sung, appears first on the roof of the house, perfectly naked. Five pieces of wood, which are covered with mica and cut in the form of hexagonal prisms in the shape of quartz crytals, are fastened along the medial line of his head. They are attached to a thin wooden frame, which is shaped according to the curvature of the head and hidden in the hair. The frame consists of a medial piece which is attached to a ring and held by two crosspieces. All of these

[1] Appendix, page 714.

[2] Page 411.

are given their proper shape by means of steaming. As the song proceeds, the dancer jumps down from the roof to the top of the bedrooms in the rear of the house, and from there to the floor. He holds his hands close to the back of his thighs and runs with short steps around the fire.

Here is a song of Mā′tEm.

1. I was taken to the foot of the quartz mountain.
2. I was taken to the foot of the mountain from where the quartz came rolling down to me.
3. It flew with me and took me to the end of the world, the cloud, the child of Mā′tEm.

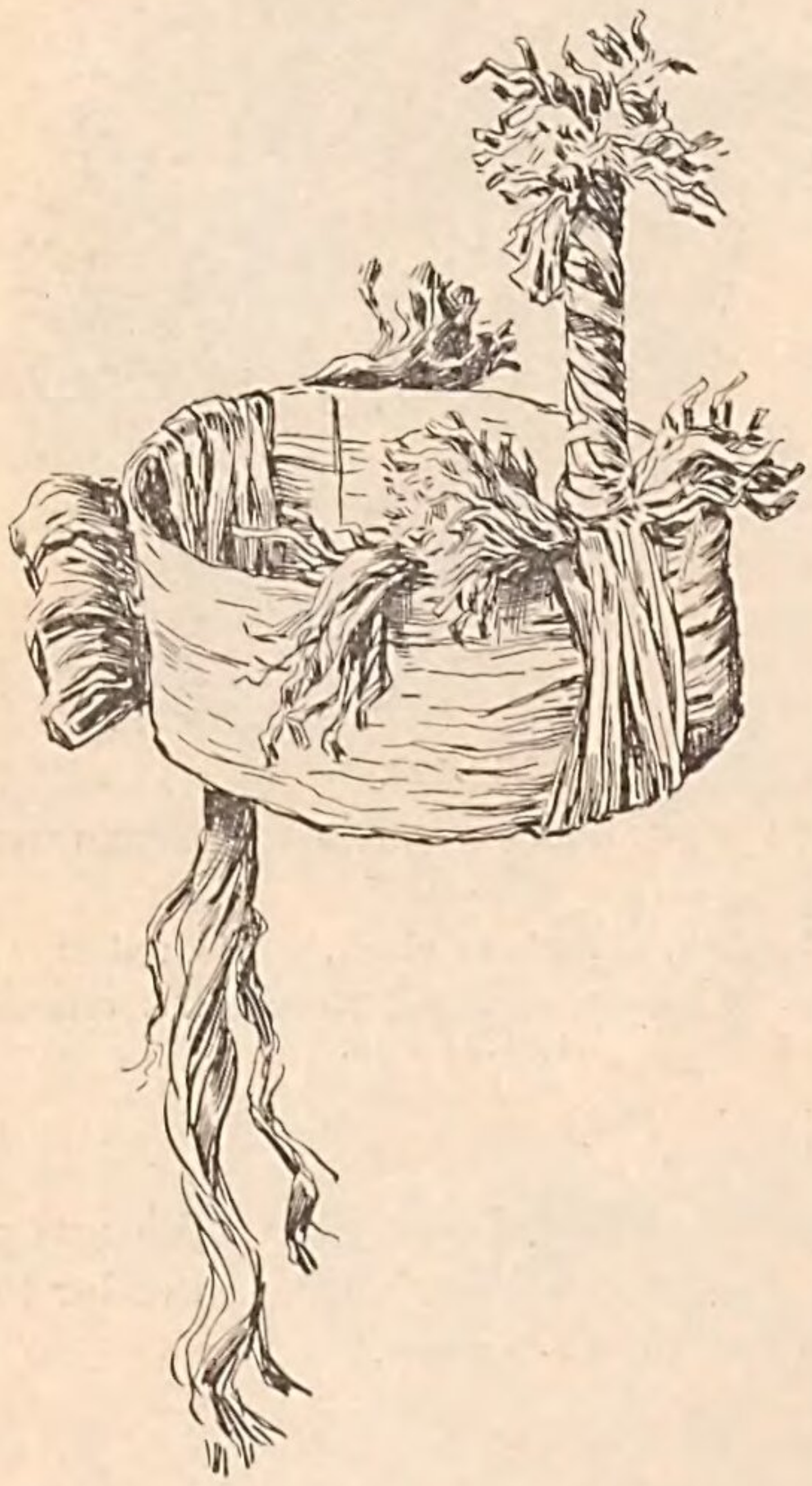


Fig. 129.

FIRST HEAD RING OF NĒNALAATS'ĒQA.
Koskimo.

Cat. No. 175494, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

The following song of the clan Ts'ē′-ts'ēLoālaqamē, the origin of which is derived from a tradition, is said to refer partly to Mā′tEm, although the connection has not become clear to me.

1. I will tell about olden times. Long ago Wīna′lag·ilîs took me to see the thing upon which he was blowing water.
2. Therefore I tell with a loud voice: Long ago Wīna′lag·ilîs took me to see the thing upon which he was blowing water.

NA′XNAK·AQEML AND MĒ′ILA.

Two dances derive their origin from the heavens,—the Na′xnak·aqEmL and Mē′iLa. I have already told the legend of both (p. 413). The Mē′iLa dance and the ornaments of the dancer are shown in Plate 38 and fig. 149 (p. 501). His club (kuē′xayu), the gift which he received in heaven, represents the sī′siuL. His cedar bark ornament is made of red and white cedar bark. The large flat attachments in front represent the Pleiades. He carries in place of a rattle a small clapper (fig. 150, p. 502).

The Na′xnak·aqEmL wears an immense mask, the mouth of which is made so that it can open wide. Therefore it is also called hā′x·ilaqam (the yawning face). The opening mouth means that the day is yawning when the dawn appears. A mask of this kind was among the collections at the World's Columbian Exposition, and has been transferred to the Field Columbian Museum. The song belonging to this mask is as follows:[1]

1. You will arise, you who you are known all through the world.
2. You will arise, you who you are famous all through the world.
3. You will arise; before you sinks down your rival.
4. It is said that I buy food for my feast even from my rival.

[1] Appendix, page 714.

DANCE OF ME'ILA.
From a photograph.

The opening phrase of this song means that the dancer for whom the words of this song were modified had taken the place of her deceased brother, who, therefore, in her had resurrected.

Finally, I will describe the dances instituted by Wīnā'lag·ilîs, namely the mā'maq'a, t'ō'X'uît, hawī'nalaL, and ā''mlala. All of these wear ornaments of hemlock; no red cedar bark. They are all considered war dances.

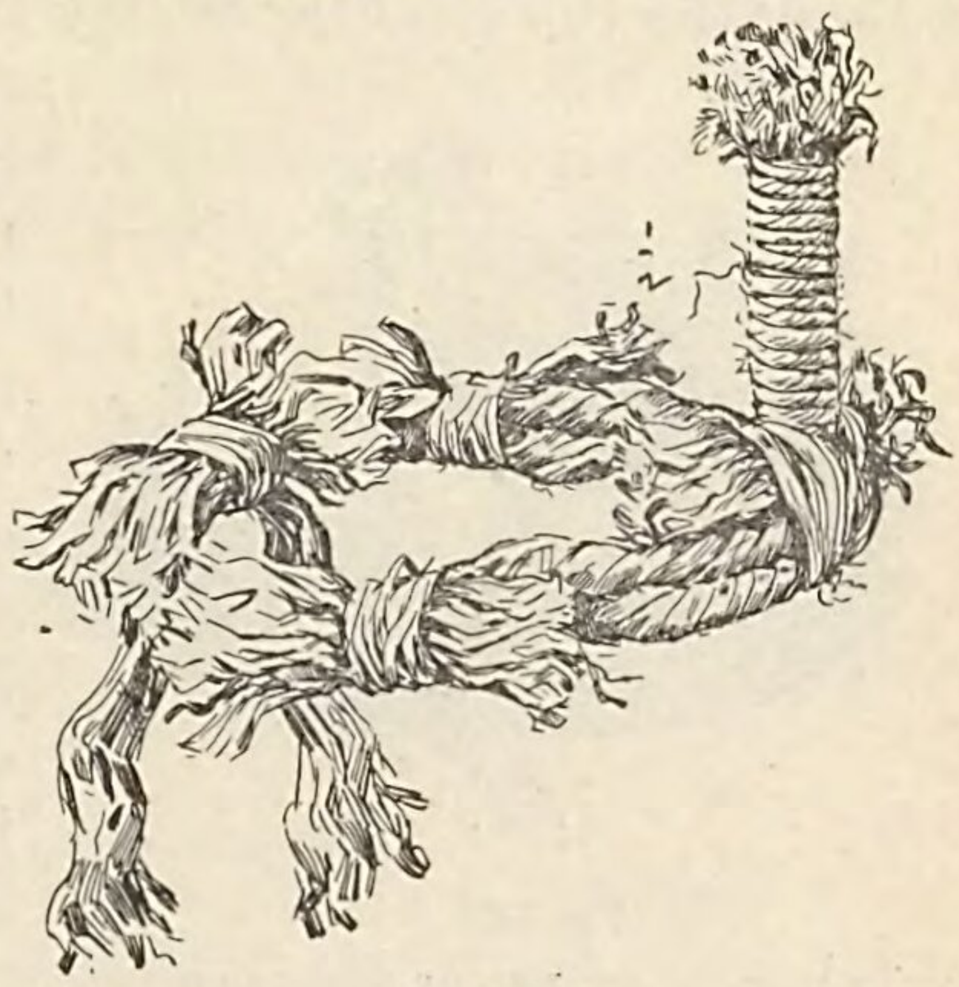


Fig. 130.

SECOND HEAD RING OF NĒNALAATS'ĒQA.

Koskimo.

Cat. No. 175496, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

MĀ'MAQ'A.

The mā'maq'a, or thrower, performs a dance in which he is supposed to throw disease into the people. He enters the house naked except for a head ring, neck ring, waistband, bracelets, and anklets of hemlock. His hands are laid flat to his haunches. Thus he runs with short, quick steps around the fire, looking upward with sudden movements of his head, first to the right, then to the left. When doing so, he is looking for his supernatural power to come to him. All of a sudden he claps his hands together and holds the palms flat one to the other. Thus he moves his hands somewhat like a swimmer, up and then in a long circle forward, downward, and, drawing them close to his body, up again. Now he is holding his supernatural power, "the worm of the mā'maq'a," between his palms. During all this time he is continuing his circuit in short, quick steps, but he no longer looks upward. Gradually he takes his palms apart, and between them is seen the "mā'maq'a's worm." This is either a small carved sī'siuL, or snake, or it is a stick which is covered with bark. The stick consists of several tubes which fit into each other, so that the dancer can lengthen and shorten it. While the worm is thus seen to increase and decrease in size, the mā'maq'a resumes his motions of throwing, moving the closed palms in circles, as described above. Suddenly he seems to throw the implement which he is holding. At once all the people stoop and hide under their blankets. The implement has disappeared. He repeats the performance. The second time when he throws the worm, it is

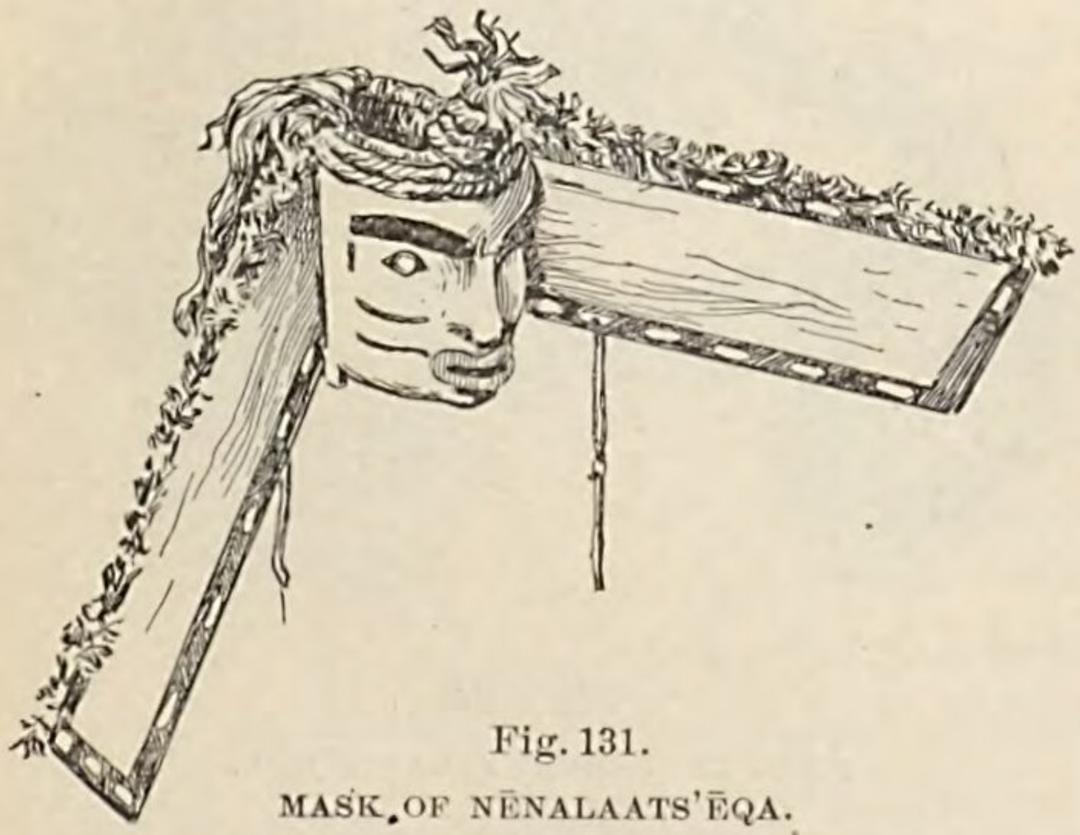


Fig. 131.

MASK OF NĒNALAATS'ĒQA.

Length of face, 10¼ inches.

Cat. No. 175497, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

seen to fly in the air. Actually there is a second one of the same shape as the implement that was seen in the mā′maq'a's hands. This is attached to a long string, which is stretched across the rear of the house where the seal society are sitting. Two men are holding the string, one on each side of the house, and hidden in the bedrooms. By pulling the rope and tightening and slackening it the worm is seen to fly up and down and from the right to the left. While it is flying there the mā′maq'a moves to the right and to the left in front of it, his hands stretched forward, the palms upward, the elbows to the side, always moving with short, quick steps. Finally the flying worm disappears and the mā′maq'a catches it again. Then he resumes his motions of throwing and finally seems to throw it into himself. He almost collapses, and tries to rid himself of the disease-bringing object by vomiting. Blood is seen to flow from his mouth and down his whole body. This is sometimes procured by biting the inside of the cheek or by breaking a small bladder containing blood which the dancer holds in his mouth. After prolonged efforts he vomits the worm. At once he is hale and well and proceeds in his dance. Now he throws the fourth time. The worm flies into some of the people, who at once jump up and rush toward the fire, where they fall down lifeless. Blood is streaming out of their mouths. The mā′maq'a continues to dance around them, blows upon them until finally they are carried away like dead. The mā′maq'a follows them and either he or the shaman restores them to life. During all this ceremony the singers beat the boards rapidly and silently, only stopping when the mā′maq'a does not dance. His song is sung after he has finished his dance. At the close of the dancing season the mā′maq'a indemnifies his victims by the payment of a few blankets.

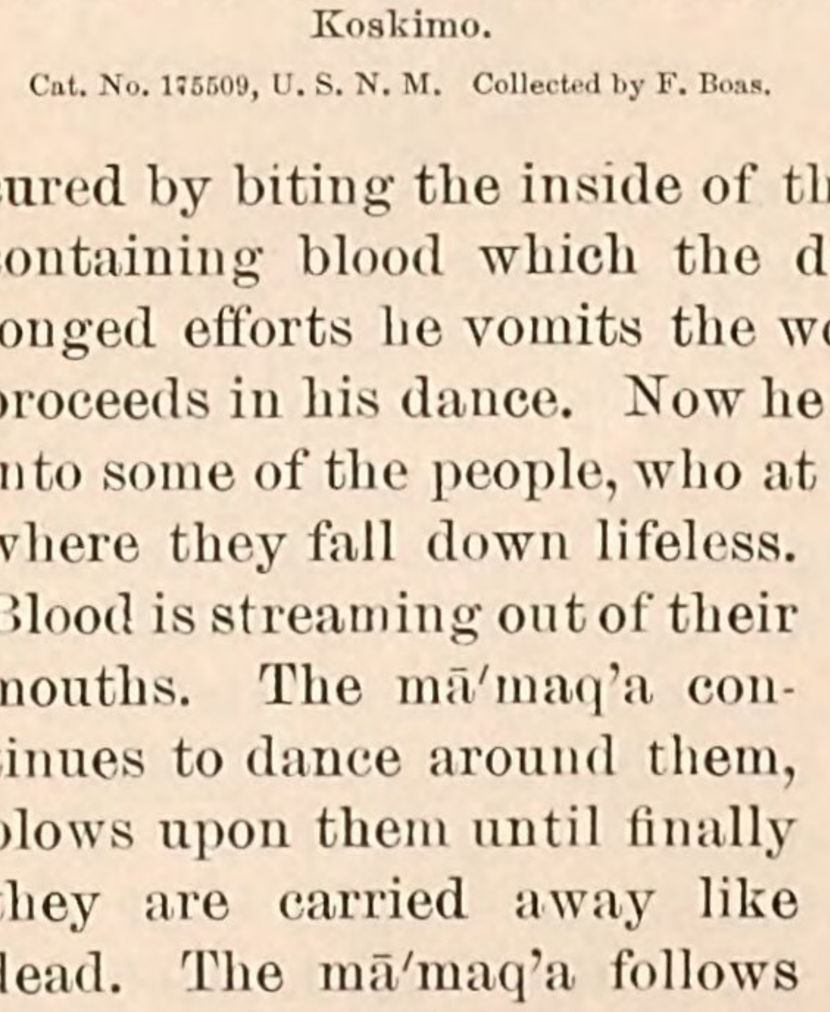


Fig. 132.

HEAD RING OF SPEAKER OF NĒNALAATS'ĒQA.
Koskimo.

Cat. No. 175509, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

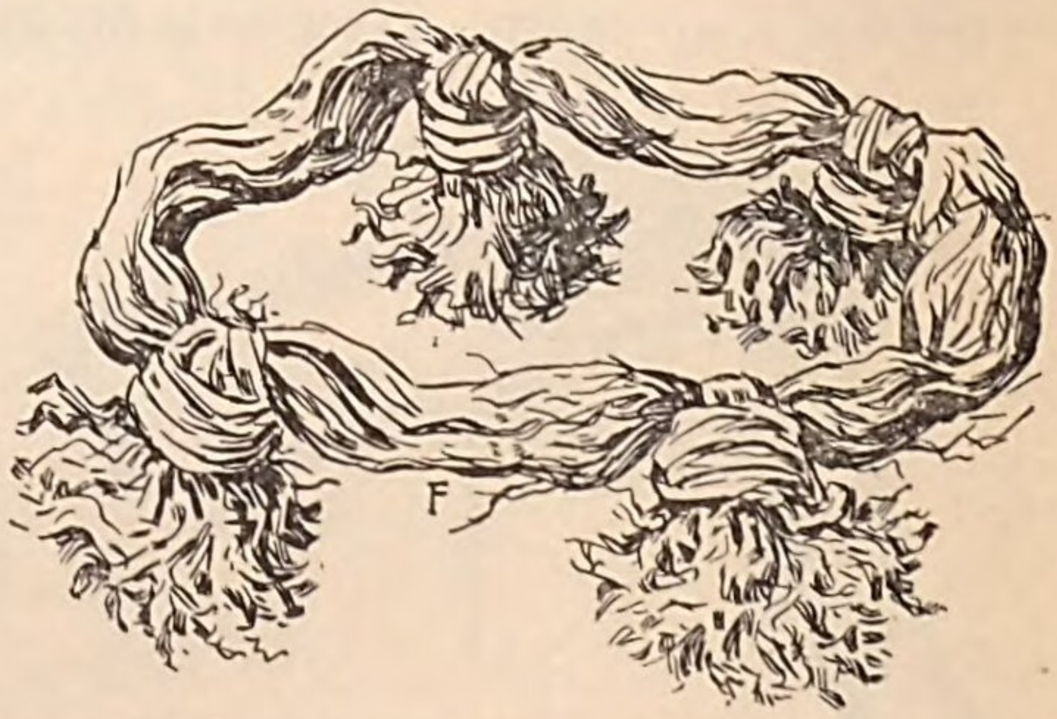


Fig. 133.

NECK RING OF NĒNALAATS'ĒQA.
Koskimo.

Cat. No. 175495, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

Sometimes instead of throwing the disease, he throws a harpoon head. There are also two of these used in the ceremony. One is held and shown by the mā′maq'a. It is a real point of a sealing harpoon. The other has no blade, but is provided with two hooks to hook it to the

skin. The person with whom the mā′maq'a has an understanding, hooks this second harpoon head to his skin and opens at the same time a small bag containing blood, which seems to flow from the wound. Later on the mā′maq'a pulls it out and exchanges it quickly for his own harpoon head.

There are still other performances of the mā′maq'a, one of which consists in throwing a number of ducks into a kettle that is filled with water. I am told that wooden carved ducks are tied to the bottom of the kettle and released by a helper as soon as the mā′maq'a throws.

MĀ′MAQ'A SONG.[1]

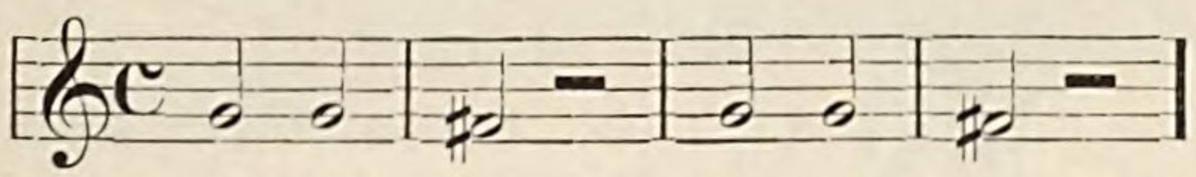
1. Go and look everywhere for his supernatural power, for his supernatural power.

Among the La′Lasiqoala the mā′maq'a wears cedar bark ornaments as shown in figures 151, 152, pp. 502, 503. His dance is the same as that of the Kwakiutl ma′maq'a. Following is one of their mā′maq'a songs:[1]

1. Behold his great supernatural power; iä.
2. Be careful in swinging your sacred implement.
3. Truly it kills the people, so that they have no time to escape.
4. Truly the supernatural power cuts short their lives.

T'Ō′X'UÎT.

The t'ō′X'uît is almost always danced by women. The dancer is decorated in the same way as the mā′maq'a. She enters singing the t'ō′X'uît cry:



She holds her elbows close to her sides, the forearms forward, palms upward. She walks around the fire limping, raising both hands slightly with every second step, as though she was trying to conjure something up from underground. She is followed by four attendants. Her spirit is in most cases the sī′siuL, and him she is conjuring. She moves around the fire four times, and now the ground opens in the rear of the house and out comes a huge sī′siuL. Its horns are moving and its tongues are playing. This carving is either raised by means of strings which pass over the beams of the house or by men who lift it from underneath. A carving of this sort was exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition, and has been transferred to the Field Columbian Museum. As soon as it appears there is a great commotion in the rear of the house so that it can not be seen very distinctly. After it has disappeared again the singers begin its song, which is as follows:[1]

1. Let us show what we gained by war!
2. (Wīnā′lag·ilîs says:) I did not turn my face backward to look at those who were bothering me when I went to make war on you, friend.

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[1] Appendix, page 715.

3. Throw your power that is killing everybody, throw your fire of death, throw what makes them turn their faces downward, throw it against them who went to make war upon you.
4. I surpass them, they are the lowest of the whole world.
5. I pulled them into my canoe to be my slaves, that they may bail out the war canoe.[1]

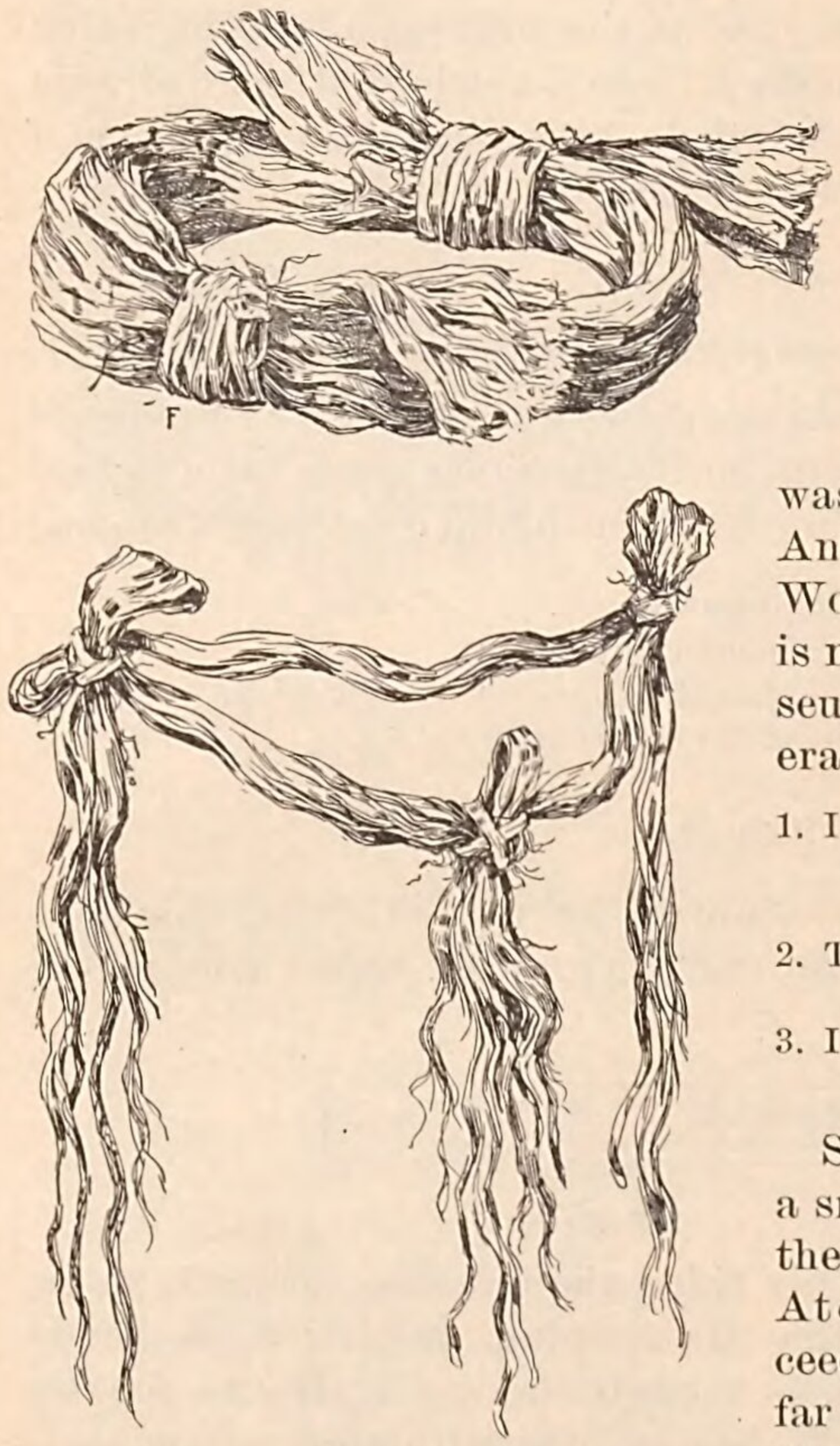


Fig. 134.

HEAD RING AND NECK RING OF NĀ'NAQAUALIL.

The two smaller crosspieces on the neck ring represent the heads of the sī'siuL, from whom the dancer received his magic power; the third and larger one represents a skull, a gift of BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē.

Cat. Nos. 175510 and 175513, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

Another t'ō'X'uît will take a stick, a lance, or a paddle, and, after having conjured up the sī'siuL, split it in two. This is done with a smaller carving, which consists of two parts that can be separated and joined again by means of strings. A sī'siuL of this kind was collected by Mr. Hunt for the Anthropological Department of the World's Columbian Exposition, and is now in the Field Columbian Museum. Its song, which is four generations old, is as follows:[2]

1. I have been on the other side of the world, I, the great supernatural being.
2. There I obtained all the supernatural power.
3. I bring with me all the supernatural power.

Still other t'ō'X'uît will conjure up a small sī'siuL, which flies through the air like that of the mā'maq'a. At other times the t'ō'X'uît will succeed in bringing the sī'siuL up just far enough for its horns to show. She tries to grasp it and it takes her down to the under world. Then her friends try to hold her, but she disappears. Her attendant, who holds on to her, sinks into the ground with his forearms and seems to

[1] This song is a modified form of an older song belonging to the Sī'sînLaē of the Kwakiutl. It was given this form at a time when the Nimkish had invited the Kwakiutl to a feast. It is aimed against the Nimkish. The references to war mean here only the rivalry in distributions of property, and the song intimates that the Kwakiutl are superior to the Nimkish. The dancer is called "friend" because when the song was sung first he had not received his new name yet. In line 3, "makes them turn their faces downward," means that the Nimkish are lying flat on the ground and the Kwakiutl are stepping over their backs. Line 4, "the lowest of the whole world," means again the Nimkish, exaggerating their inferiority.

[2] Appendix, page 716.

be carried all through the house by the woman who is moving underground. He is plowing the floor with his arms. This is done by burying a stout rope about 8 inches below the surface and covering it with loose dirt. The man pulls himself along this rope (see p. 604).

Still other t'ō'X'uît invite the people to kill them. The dancer says "hup, hup," moving the edge of her palm along her throat, meaning, "Cut my neck!" or she moves the tips of the fingers of both hands down her stomach, meaning "Open my belly!" or she moves them along her head, shoulders, or other parts of her body. Finally, she is placed on a seat behind the fire and one of her attendants complies with her request. He will appear to drive a wedge through her head from one temple to the other. The wedge is first shown to the people and then secretly exchanged for another one, which consists of two parts attached to a wooden band that is slipped over her head and covered with hair. Thus it seems that the butt is standing out on one

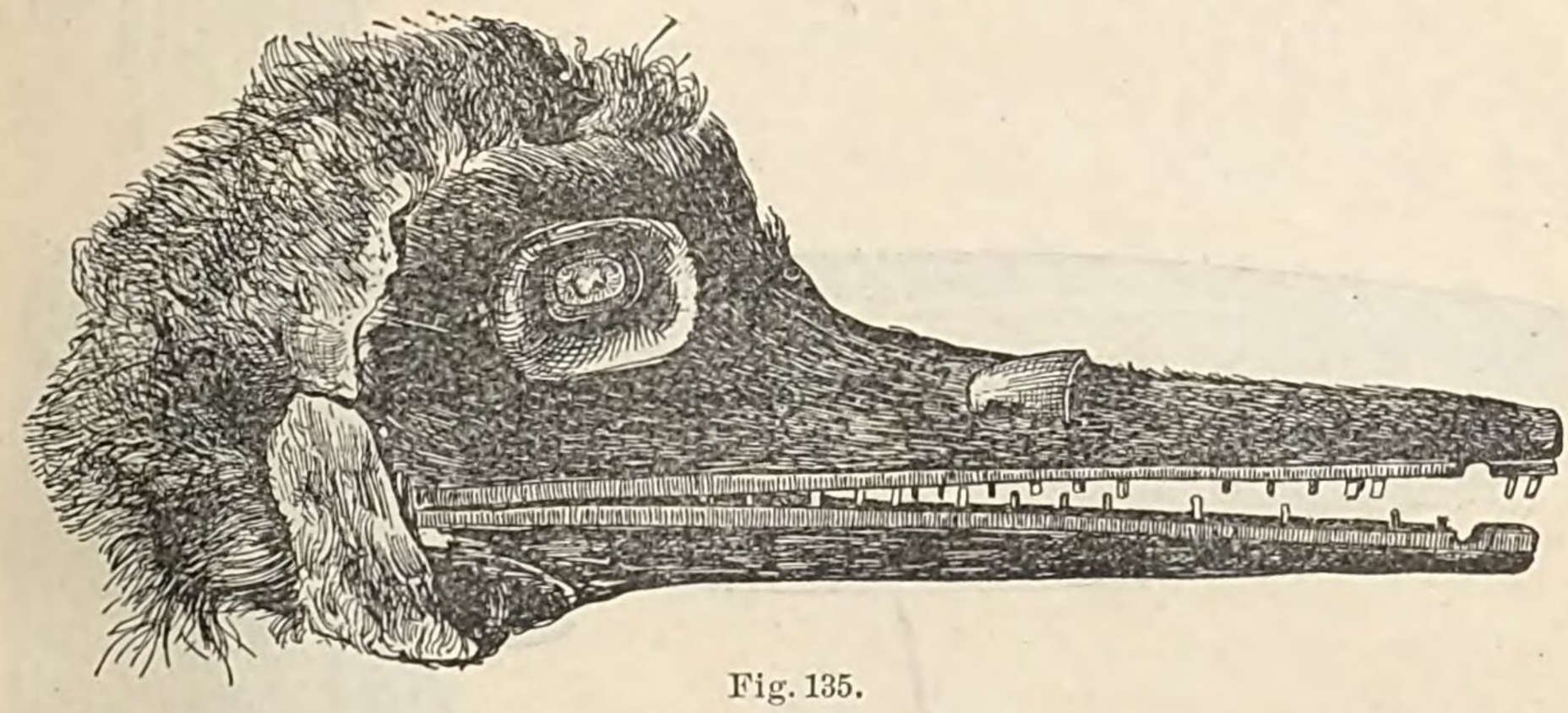


Fig. 135.

MASK OF HĀ''MAA.

Length, 31 inches.

IV A, No. 6879, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by F. Boas.

side, the point having passed through her skull. At the same time bladders containing blood, which are attached to the band, are burst, and the blood is seen to flow down her face. She also bites her cheeks or bursts a small bag containing blood which she holds in her mouth, so that it flows out of her mouth. A pair of seal's eyes are hidden in her hair and let down over her own eyes when the wedge is driven in, so that it looks as though her eyes were coming out of their sockets. Then she rises and walks around the fire to show the wedge sticking in her head. After one circuit she is seated again, the wedge is removed, and she is hale and sound. On other occasions the head or shoulder is struck with a paddle which seems to split it, and on being withdrawn leaves a bloody line, which looks like a wound. In this case the paddle is secretly exchanged for another one which is so notched as to fit her head or shoulder. She walks around the fire showing it, and then it is removed.

Other t'ō'X'uît request their attendants to kill them with a spear.

She is seated in the rear of the house, and the spear which has been shown to the people is secretly exchanged for another one the point of which can be pushed into its shaft. The spear is put under the arm of the t'ō'X'uît, and apparently pushed slowly into her body. As it enters, blood is seen to flow from the wound. The blood is in this case also kept in a small bladder, which is attached to the skin. When it seems

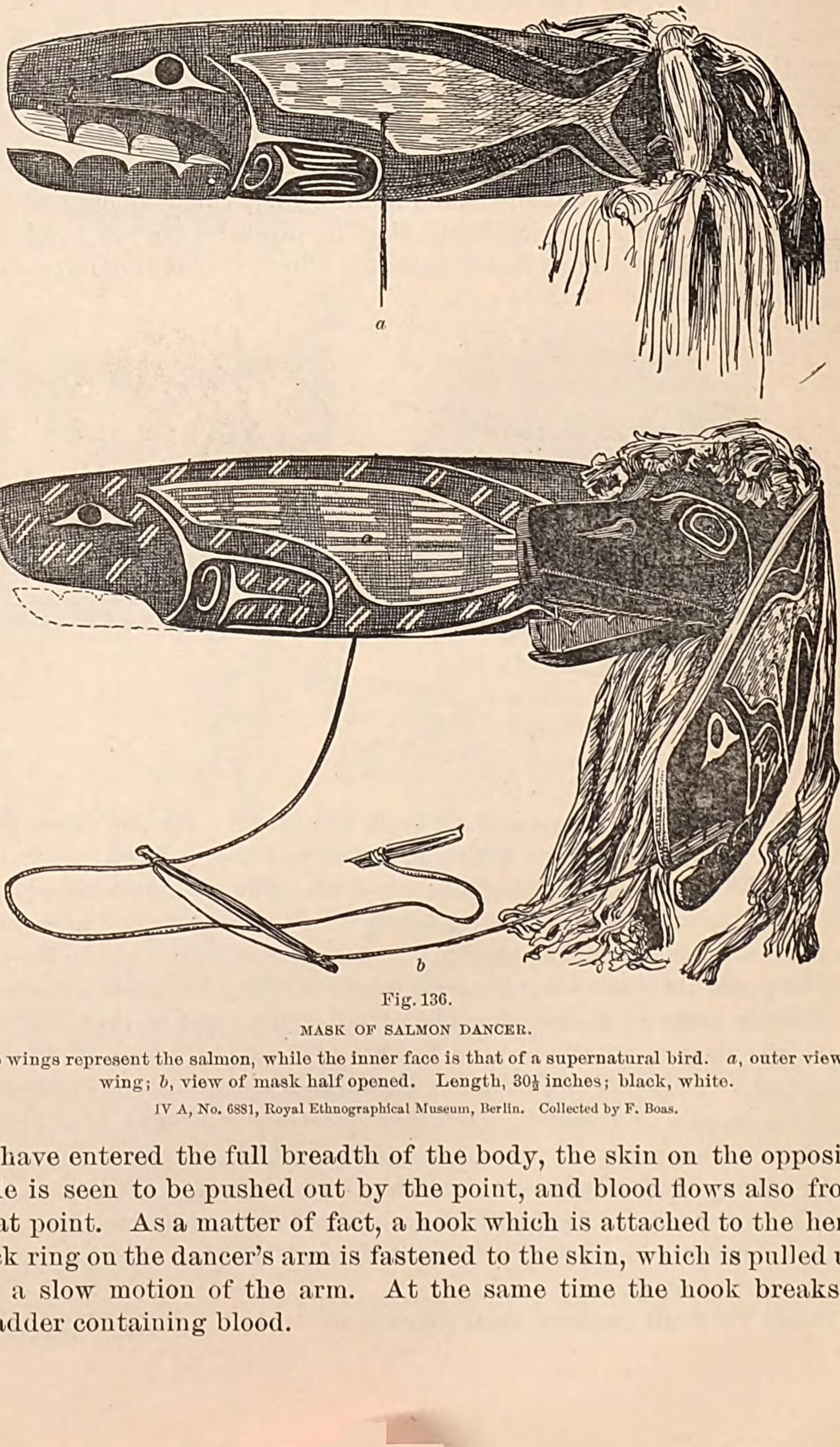


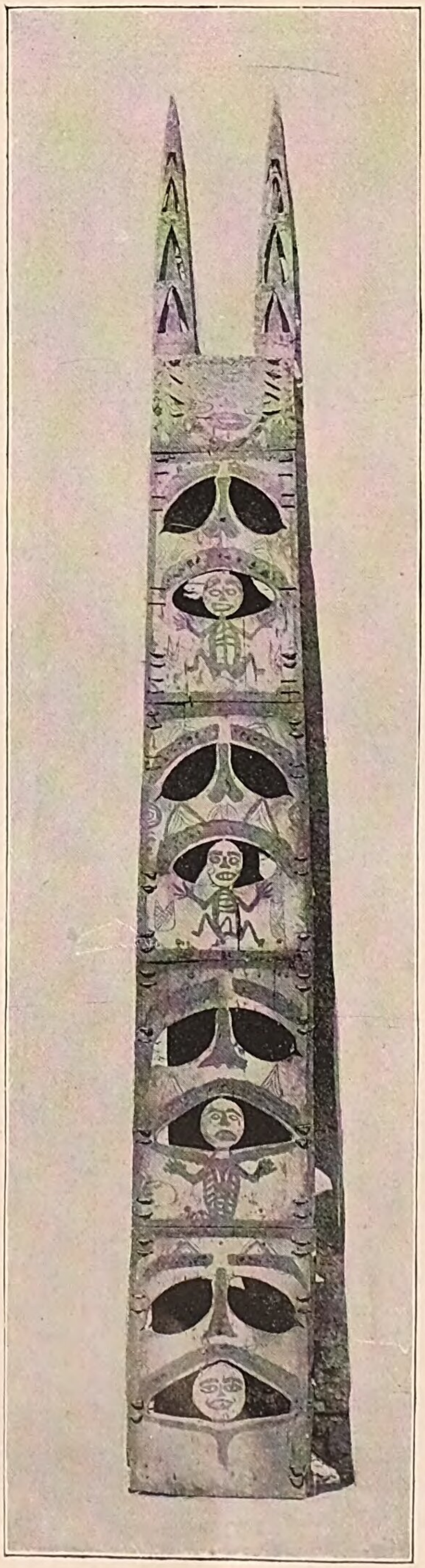
Fig. 136.

MASK OF SALMON DANCER.

The wings represent the salmon, while the inner face is that of a supernatural bird. *a*, outer view of wing; *b*, view of mask half opened. Length, 30½ inches; black, white.

IV A, No. 6881, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by F. Boas.

to have entered the full breadth of the body, the skin on the opposite side is seen to be pushed out by the point, and blood flows also from that point. As a matter of fact, a hook which is attached to the hemlock ring on the dancer's arm is fastened to the skin, which is pulled up by a slow motion of the arm. At the same time the hook breaks a bladder containing blood.



D'E'NTSÎQ.

In some dances the head of the dancer is cut off, and the person who cuts it shows a carved human head bearing the expression of death, which he holds by its hair. These heads are as nearly portraits of the dancer as the art of the carver will permit (figs. 153, 154, pp. 503, 504).

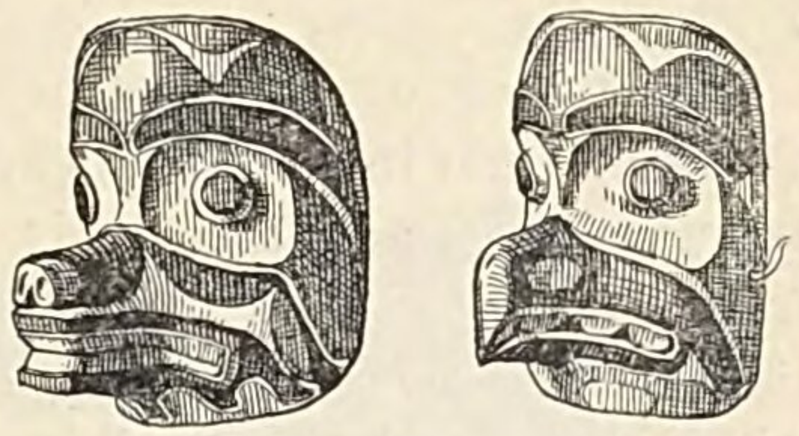


Fig. 137.

MASKS OF WASP DANCER.

Height, 6¼ inches; blue, black, red.

IV A, Nos. 422 and 423, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

Sometimes the t'ō'X'uît is burnt. A box which has a double bottom is prepared for this performance. The dancer lies down flat in the rear of the house and the box is laid down sideways, so that she may be pushed into it from behind. At the place where she is lying down a pit is dug, in which she hides, while being concealed from the view of the people by the box which stands in front of her. After the pit has been covered again, the box is raised, closed, and thrown into the fire. Before the box is brought in, a skeleton has been put between its two bottoms. While the box is burning, the song of the dancer is heard coming from the fire. From the pit in which she hides a speaking tube of kelp is laid under the floor to the fireplace, and through it she sings. When the fire has died down, the charred bones are found in the ashes. They are collected, laid on a new mat, and for four days the people sing over them. The mat is so placed that it lies over the mouth of another speaking tube. The shaman tries to resuscitate her, and after four days a voice is heard coming forth from the bones. Then they are covered with a mat. The woman crawls up from out of a ditch, into which the bones are thrown, while she lies down in their place. She begins to move, and when the mat is removed, she is seen to have returned to life. In many of these dances, after the performer has been killed, the d'E'ntsîq (Plate 39 and fig. 155)[1] arises from under ground. It consists of a series of flat, carved boards connected on their narrow sides by plugs which pass through rings of spruce root or through tubes cut out of cedar. The joints are somewhat loose, so that the whole can be given an undulating motion forward and backward. It has two

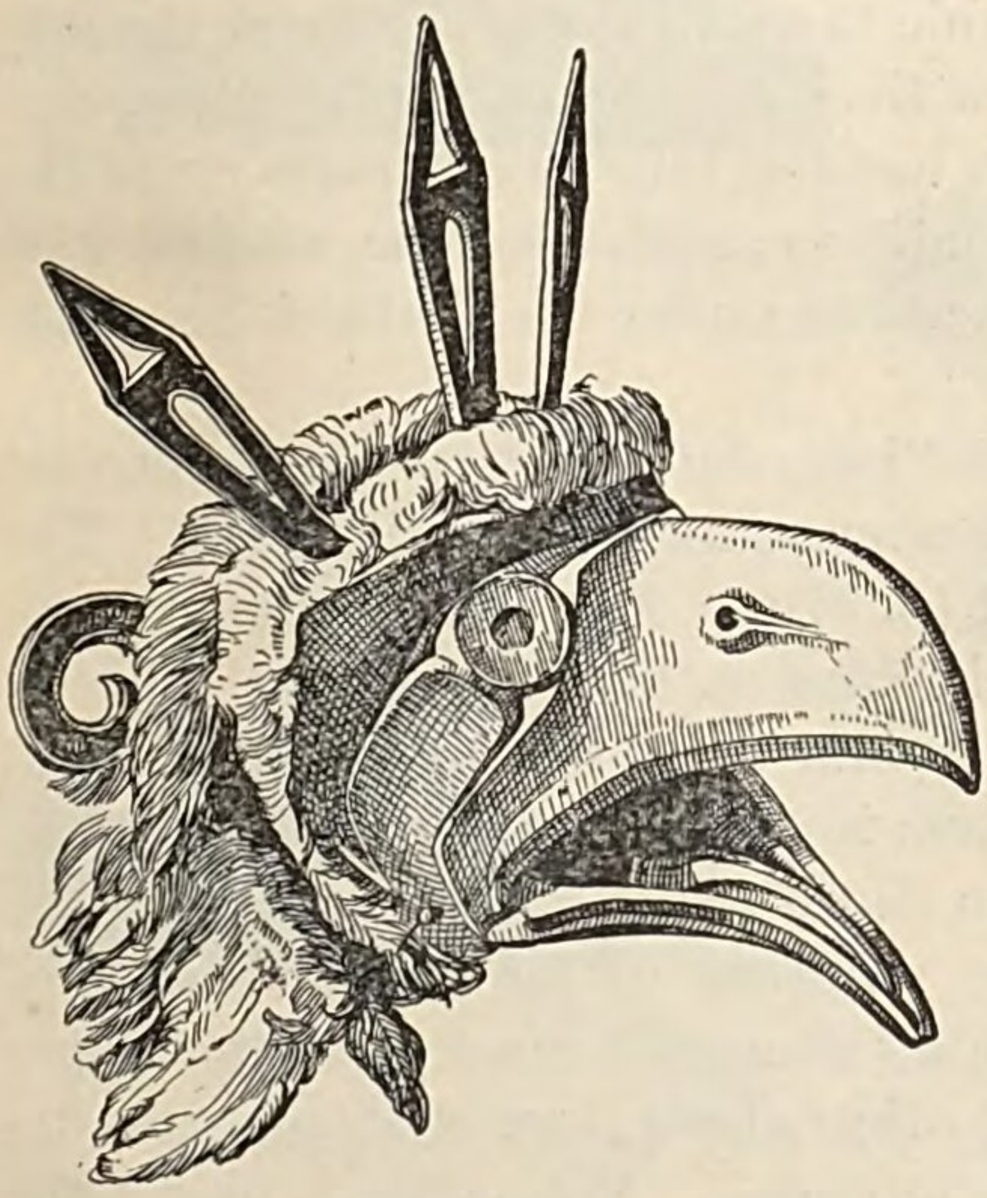


Fig. 138.

MASK OF QŌ'LÔC.

Length, 14 inches.

IV A, No. 6894, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by F. Boas.

[1] Page 506.

or three points on top, and mica is glued on its painting. It is intended to represent the sī′siuL, but I am not able to interpret the carving in detail. The characteristic figure of the sī′siuL certainly does not appear on it.

Other t'ō′X'uît, instead of conjuring the sī′siuL, bring up the nō′nLEmg·ila (making foolish) (figs. 156–158),[1] a small human figure with movable head and arms. It dances about, and then one or two birds are seen to fly down from the roof and alight on its head. In fig. 158 the bird is seen sitting on the figure's head. Fig. 159 represents a bird which is let down by means of strings, at the same time flapping its leather wings. Often the bird takes hold of the figure's head and carries it away, to return it after a while. The face of the nō′nLEmg·ila is always painted in the same manner. It is white, and two black lines, on to which mica is glued, run downward from the eyes. The head is set with tufts of human hair. The figure is also worked from underground. In some dances only the head of the nō′nLEmg·ila is used (fig. 160, p. 510). It is worn by a dancer who wraps a blanket over his head and carries the head in front of his stomach.

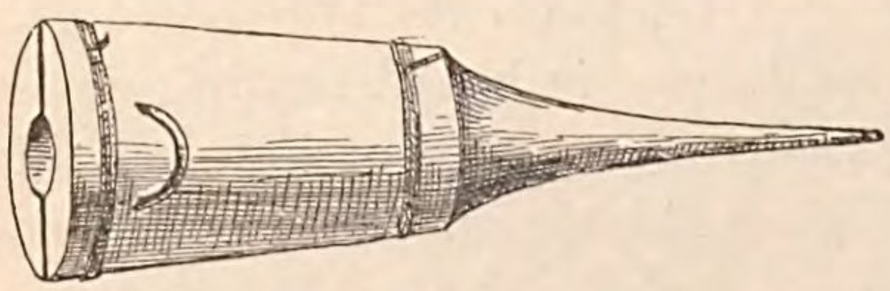


Fig. 139.

WHISTLE OF QŌ′LÔC.

Length, 7½ inches.

IV A, No. 6895, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by F. Boas.

The t'ō′X'uît is supposed to be able to make every object he touches rattle. A stone, a staff, a pipe, etc., is handed him by any member of the audience, and, when he shakes it, it rattles. He wears a small rattle concealed under his hemlock bracelet, which produces this sound.

The La′Lasiqoala call the t'ō′X'uît ō′lala, and have special names for the various performances. They use ornaments of red cedar bark. The ring of the ō′lala is shown in fig. 161 (p. 510). The ō′lala, when returning from the woods, has many bloody lines on his cheek, "the rubbing of Wīnā′lag·ilîs's canoe." Four horizontal lines run over each cheek, nearly reaching the nose. Above them is one just under the eyes crossing the bridge of the nose, and two short vertical lines run down the temples outside the eyes. Another painting of the ō′lala consists of one pair of parallel black lines running from one cheek over the upper part of the bridge of the nose to the other cheek, and of a pair running horizontally across the middle of the forehead. Following is one of the ō′lala's songs:[2]

1. (Ō′lala sings:) The world knows that I have reached the dancing pole of our world.
2. (The people sing:) Hold upright the great post in the middle of the world.
3. You who holds up the world.
4. You keep the sky from falling down like a foundation built of interlocking logs.

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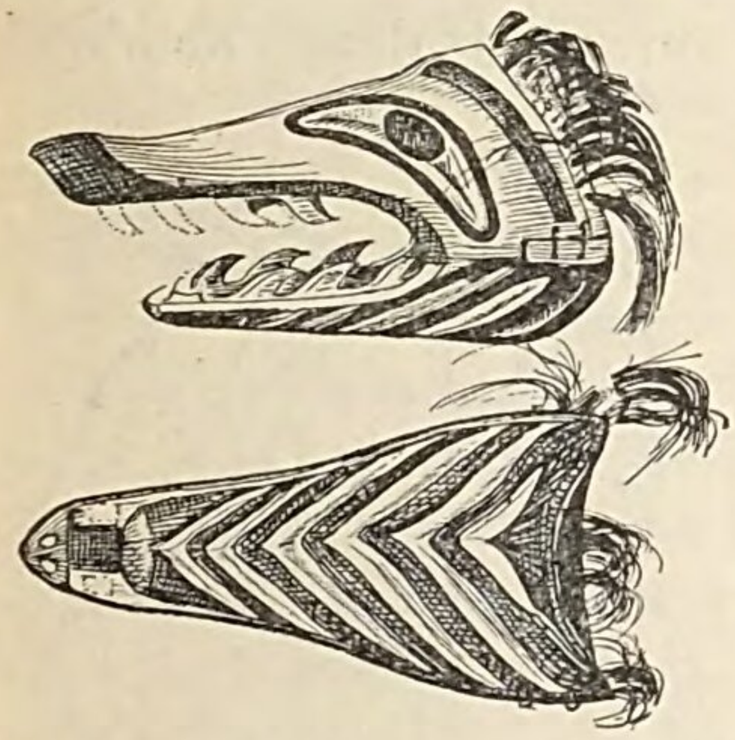
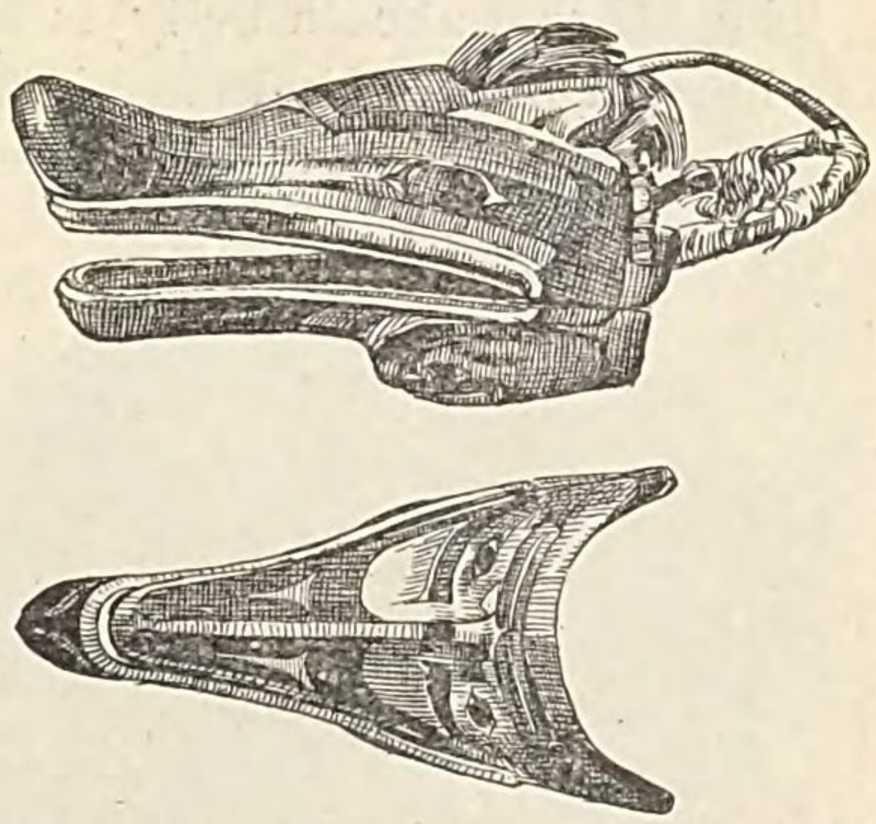
[1] Pages 501–509.

[2] Appendix, page 716.

A modification of the ō′lala is the ts'ē′k'oĭs, who it is believed has many birds in his stomach, the voices of which are heard constantly. He holds small whistles hidden in his mouth, which he exchanges from time to time, and thus produces the various sounds. His ornaments are



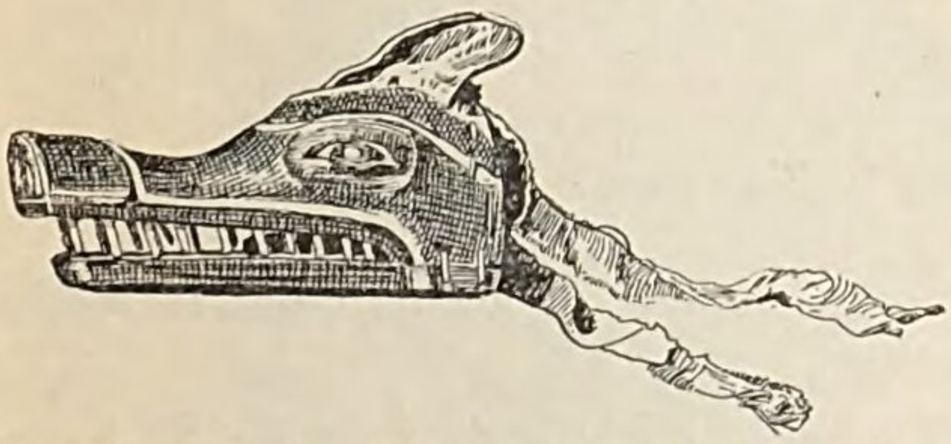
Length, 9½ inches; black and white. V B, No. 27.



Length, 12 inches; black and red. IV A, No. 1258.

Length, 13¾ inches; black and white. V B No. 178.

Length, 15¾ inches; black and red. IV A, No. 1269.



Length, 8½ inches; black and red. IV A, No. 421.

Fig. 140.

WOLF MASKS FOR THE WALAS'AXA′.

Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by Captain Cook and A. Jacobsen.

shown in fig. 162 (p. 511). His painting consists of groups of three parallel short black lines. There are five such groups of vertical lines distributed irregularly over each cheek. Three longer lines occupy the middle of the forehead, running almost vertically from the hair to the nose. Three more lines occupy the chin—one running from the middle

of the under lip downward; the other two, one from each corner of the mouth downward. Following is one of the songs of the ts'ē'k'ois:[1]

1. Keep silent the sacred voices which we hear proceeding from your body.
2. Everybody knows your name. Keep your sacred whistles quiet.
3. Everybody knows your name, great healer!

The sī'lîs (snake in belly) is believed to have a snake in his stomach. He hides a piece of kelp in his mouth, which during his dance he blows

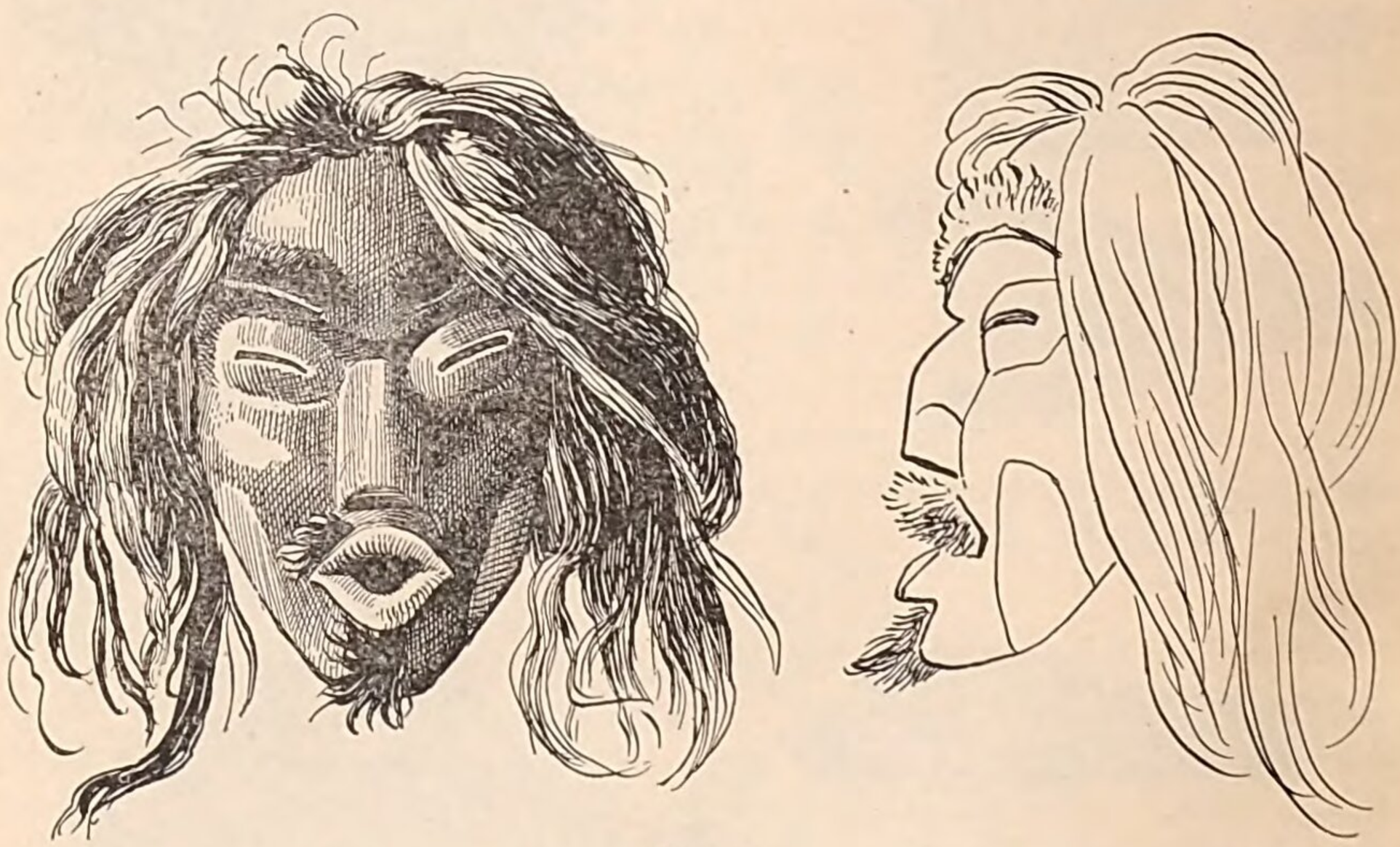


Fig. 141

MASK OF TS'Ō'NOQOA.

Height, 15 inches; black, red.

IV A, No. 555, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

up so that it grows out of his mouth like the tail of a snake. His ornaments are shown in fig. 163 (p. 511). Following is his song:[1]

The people sing: How great is our famous one!
How great is his name!
The dreaded spirit is coming in his canoe!
How great is his name!

Sī'lîs sings: Do not be troubled! Do not be afraid on account of the storm caused by my great protector.
My protector the sī'siuL goes right up to the greatest chiefs.

The people sing: How great is our famous one!

Sī'lîs sings: He said to me: "You will take counsel with Wīnā'lag·ilîs.
He said to me: "You will be friend to Wīnā'lag·ilîs.

The people sing: How great is our famous one.

The Ā̓'mlala is also initiated by Wīnā'lag·ilîs. He is not counted as a member of the t'ō'X'uît, but performs a separate dance. His head ring and neck ring are made of hemlock. He wears a club, the end of which is set with long thorns (fig. 164, p. 512). After several circuits around the fire, he presses these thorns into his head, and blood is seen

[1] Appendix, page 716.

to flow freely. Then he presses them into his neck. His rings are made of hemlock branches, in which a tube of kelp is hidden. The tube is filled with blood. The thorns are pushed into the kelp, out of which the blood runs over the face and down the body.

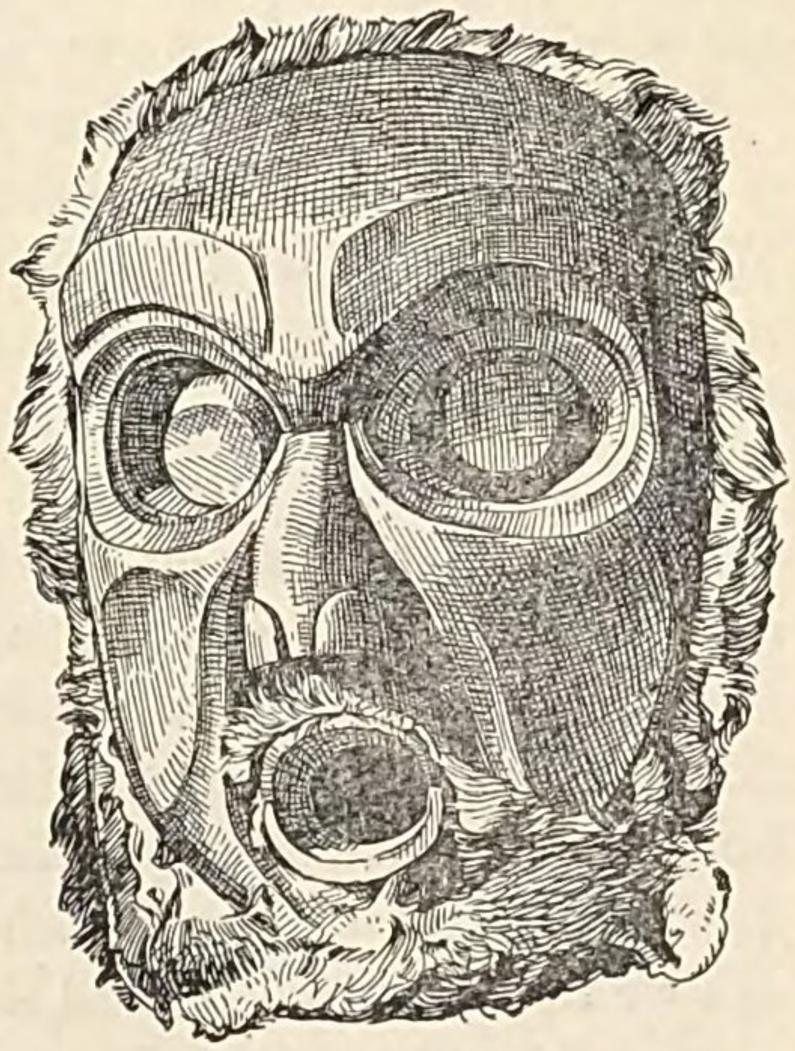


Fig. 142.

MASK OF TS'Ō'NOQOA.

Height, 16½ inches; black, red.

IV A, No. 883, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

The last of the dances, the origin of which is ascribed to Wīnā'lag·ilîs, is the hawī'nalaL, the war dance. The legend of this dance belongs to the clan Maam'-tag·ila. In the beginning of the world there was a man named Wī'naXwīna-g·îm, who was a great warrior. He wanted to go on war expeditions all the time. The people who desired to have peace tied him with strong ropes. He, however, broke them without difficulty. He held a knife in his hands, the handle of which represented the sī'siuL, and ran out of the house, and killed everybody who set his foot on the street. The blood ran in streams down to the water. The people finally took hold of him again, cut holes through his thighs and through his back, and pulled ropes through them. Thus they hung him onto the beam of the house and began to sing songs which they hoped would appease him. While he was swinging from the beam he still held his knife, and as he could not cut anyone else, he cut his own head. His wounds did not hurt him; on the

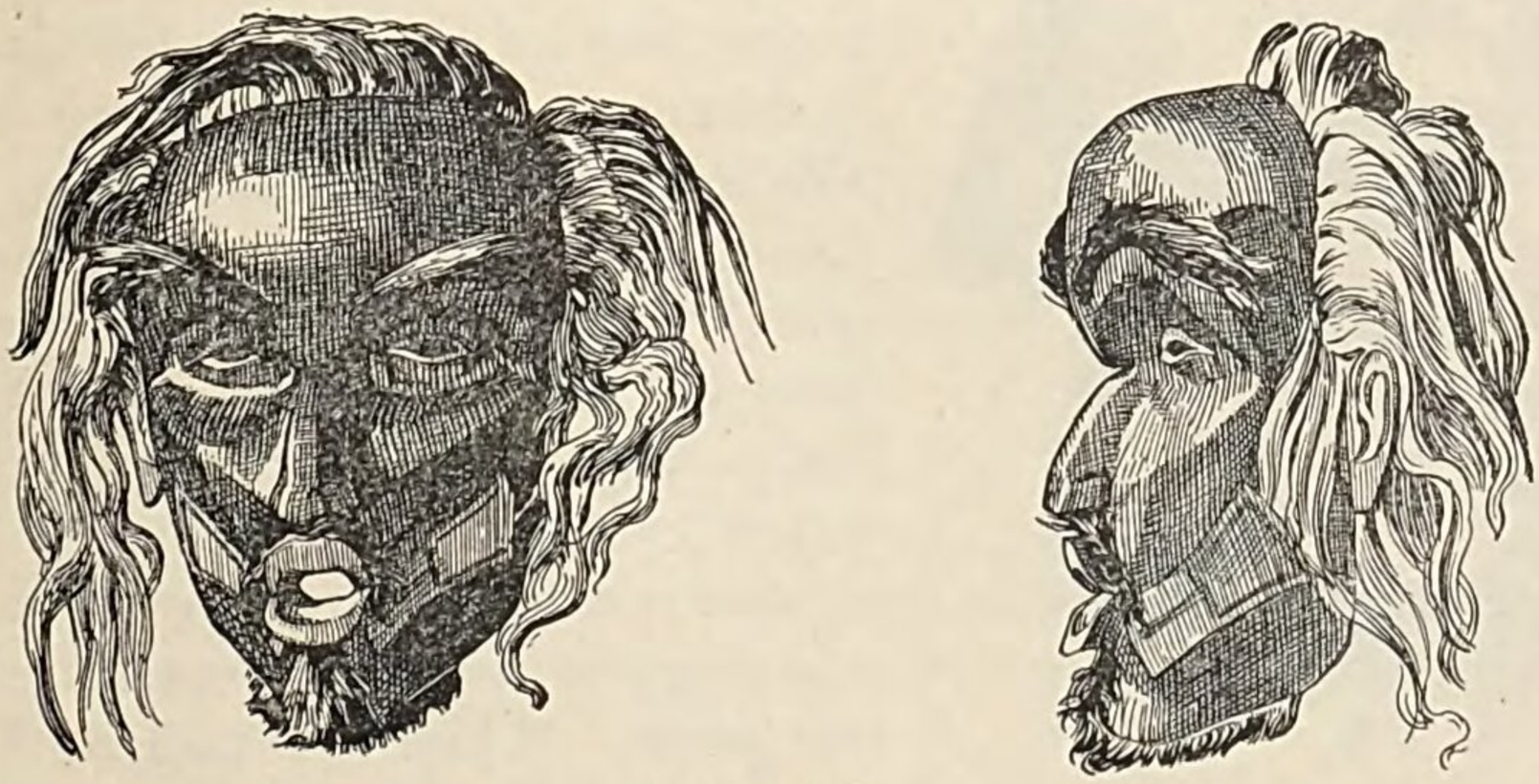


Fig. 143.

MASK OF TS'Ō'NOQOA.

Height, 11½ inches.

On each cheek is a painting representing a copper.

IV A, No. 1286, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

contrary, he enjoyed them. After a while he became quiet. Then they took him down. Later on, whenever he came back from war, he asked the people to pull ropes through his back and to haul him up to the roof.

They tied to his back a sī′siuL carving to which ropes were fastened, stretched a heavy rope from the beach to the roof of his house, and pulled him up. They carried him around the roof and let him down again.

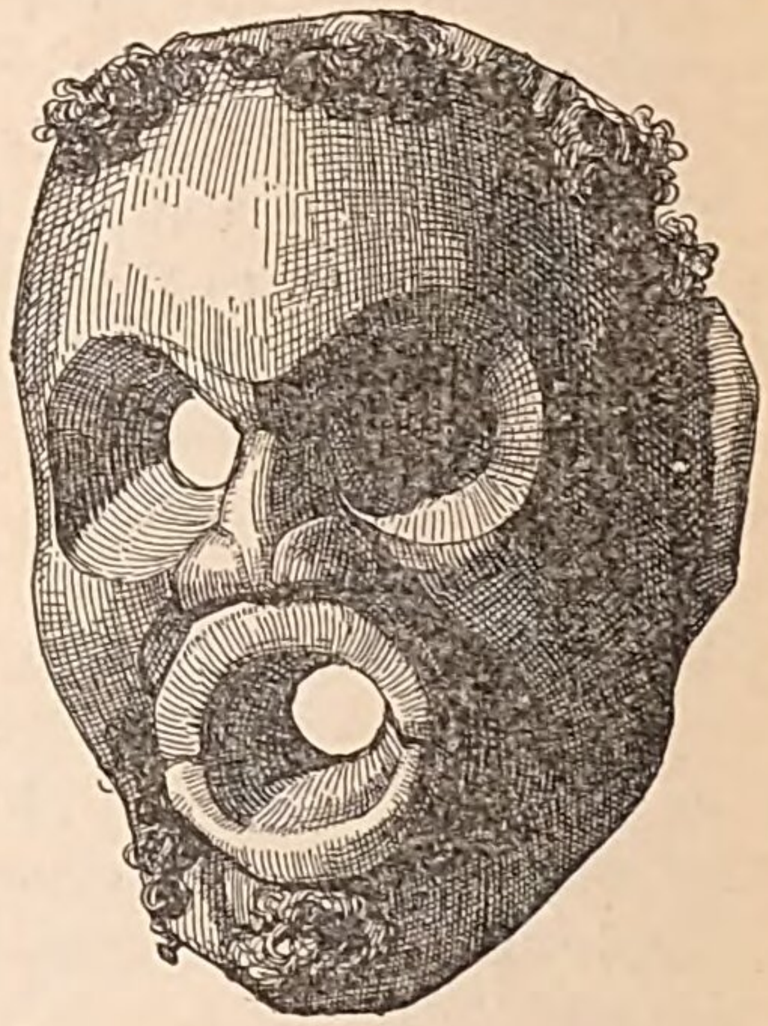


Fig. 144.

MASK OF TS'Ō′NOQOA.

Height, 18 inches; black.

IV A, No. 6896, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by F. Boas.

The performance of the hawī′nalaL is a repetition of the deeds of this man. When he is being initiated, he fasts in the woods until he grows very thin. When he comes back, he wears ornaments of hemlock branches. Small thin slabs of wood carved in the shape of paddles (fig. 165, p. 513) are sewed along his arms and legs, across his chest, and down his sides. Then a rope of red cedar bark is stretched from the roof of the dancing house to the beach. Nobody is allowed to go under it, and no canoe must pass in front of it. If a canoe should transgress this law, it is seized, carried into the house, and slung to the beams, where it remains for four days. When he hawī′nalaL dances in the house, his legs and his back are cut andt ropes pulled through the holes, which are held by two men. The painting on a bedroom (Plates 40, 41) shows this very well. The hawī′nalaL pulls on the strings as hard as possible, so that his flesh is pulled far out. He stretches his arms backward, crying "ai, ai!" which means that he desires his leader to pull on the ropes. Then he looks upward and points up with his first fingers, crying "ai, ai!" which means, "Hang me to the beam!" He carries a belt or neck ring carved in the form of the sī′siuL. Fig. 166, p. 514, shows a neck ring of this kind, which is jointed and hinged with leather so that it can be hung around the neck. A string runs along the opening sides of the joints. When it is pulled, the neck ring straightens and is used by the hawī′-nalaL as a sword or lance to hurt himself. The belt of the hawī′nalaL has sī′siuL heads (fig. 167, p. 514). His knife, which he carries in his hand (q'E′Layu), shows the same design (figs. 168, 169, p. 515). While the hawī′nalaL is making his circuits, moving his hands, and crying as described above, and making high steps, he cuts

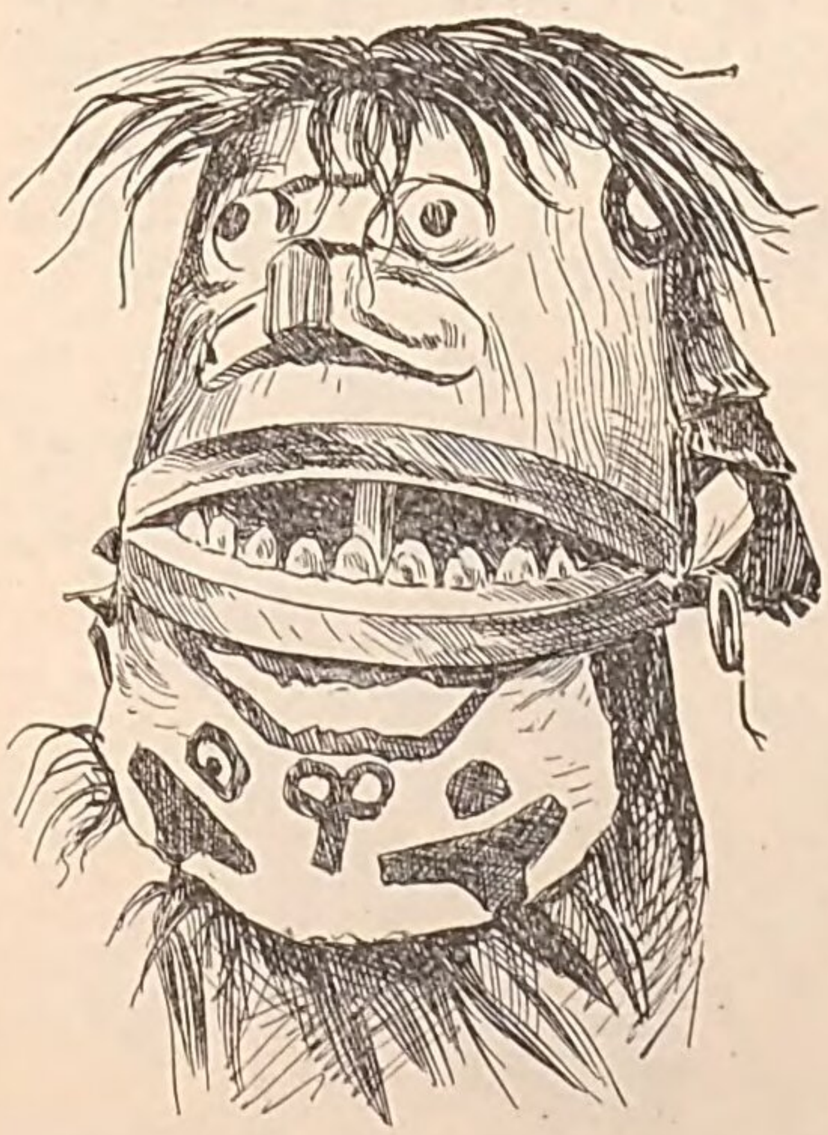


Fig. 145.

MASK OF THE SEA MONSTER IA′K·ÎM.

Museum of the Geological Survey, Ottawa. Collected by F. Boas.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 40.

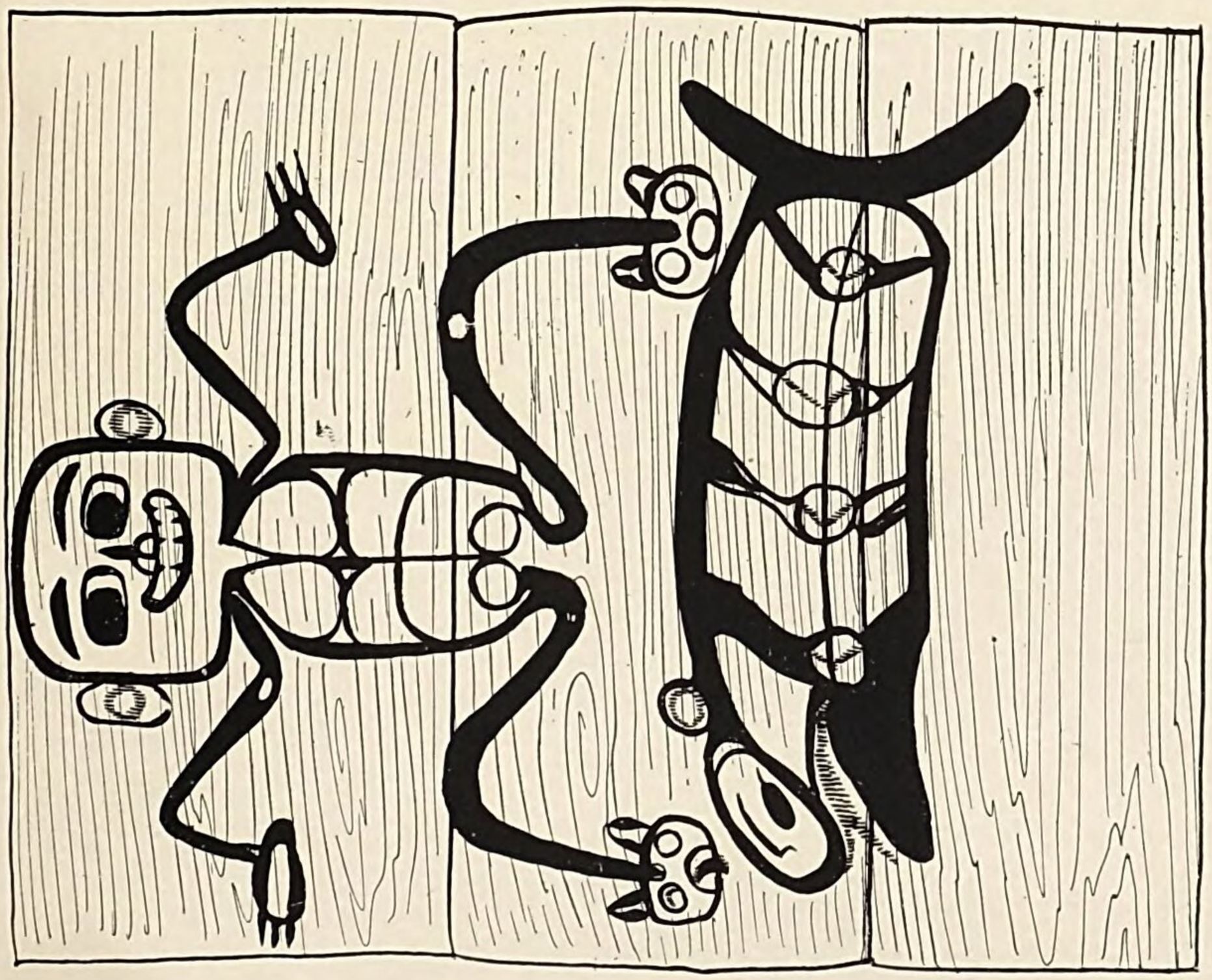
1	2

PAINTINGS ON THE SIDES OF A BEDROOM.

FIG. 1 shows a picture of a wolf swallowing a man, and of the hawī'nalaL with his two assistants. The Hawī'nalaL has a sī'siuL belt, and is stabbing himself with a knife. One of his assistants is holding him by a rope passing through the skin of his legs, and the other by a rope passing through the skin of his back.

FIG. 2 is a picture of a man squatting over a whale.

IV A, No. 1130, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.



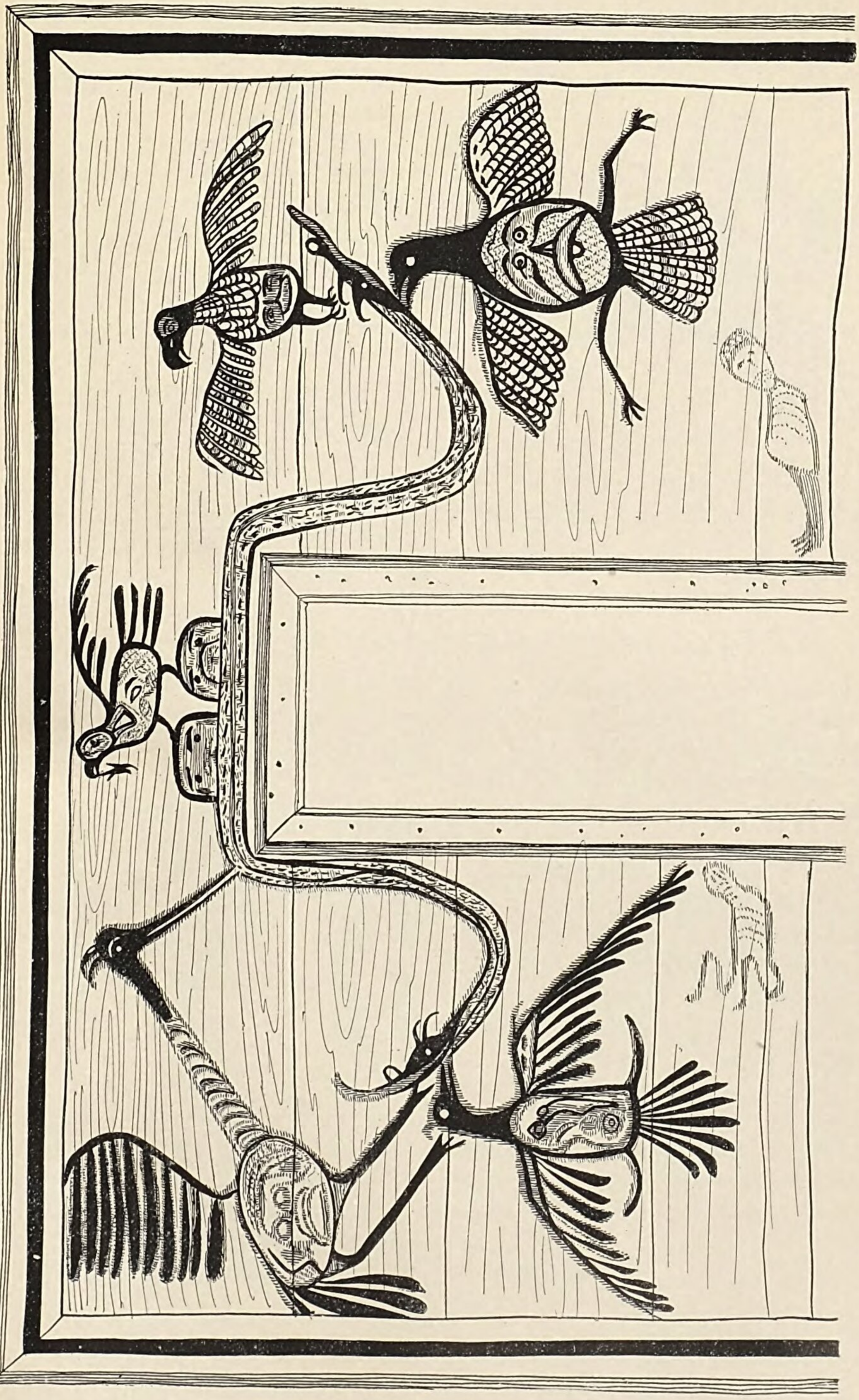
PAINTINGS ON THE SIDES OF A BEDROOM.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE 41.

PAINTING ON THE FRONT OF A BEDROOM.

Over the door is the sī′sīuL being attacked by birds. To the left the crane is represented, and below this the thunder-bird. The upper right-hand figure represents the eagle, and the lower figure on the same side the raven. Two men whom the sī′sīuL has killed are shown near the bottom of the door.

IV A, No. 1130, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.



PAINTING ON THE FRONT OF A BEDROOM.

his head with his knife, and finally with a sudden jerk tears his flesh so that the ropes drop down. Then he disappears in his room in the rear of the house. At other times ropes are passed through his back and thighs and he is pulled up to the beams hanging by the ropes. He carries his knife and cuts his head while being suspended there. As soon as he is being hauled up, the nōō′nLEmaLa take their lances and crowd under the place where he is hanging, holding the points of their lances upward, so that he would drop right on to them if the ropes should give way. The bears stand around waiting to tear him if he should fall, and the hā′mats'as squat near by, because they are to eat him if he should fall upon the lances of the nōō′nLEmaLa.

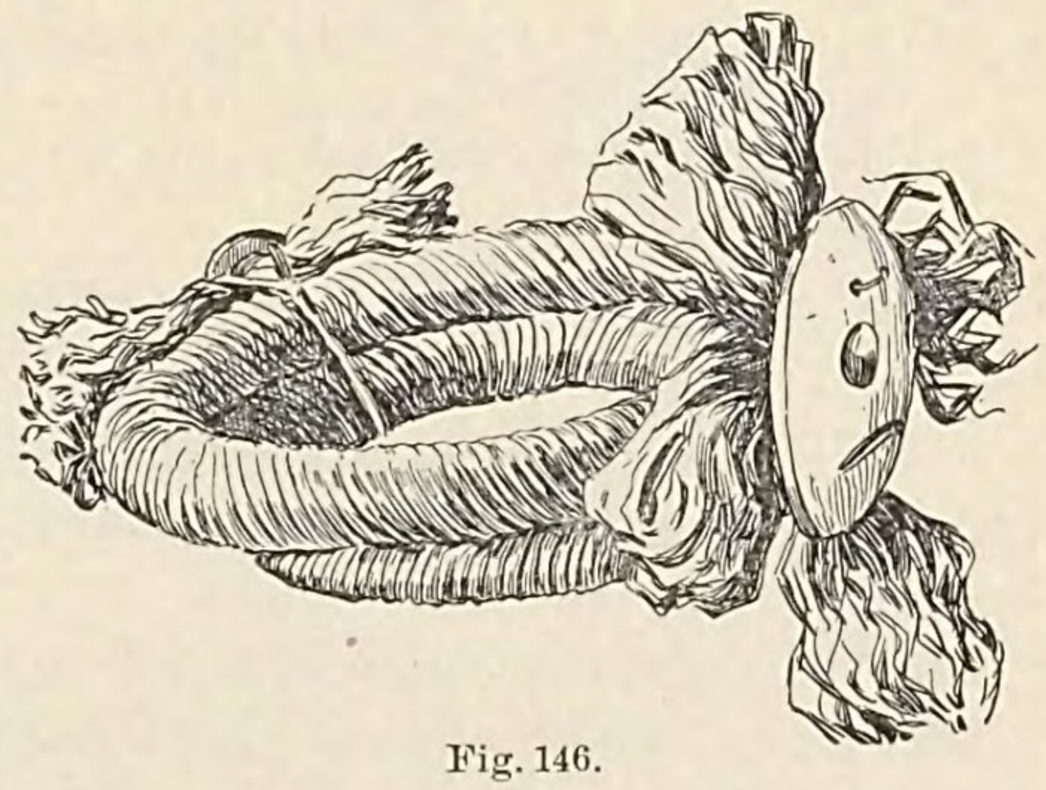


Fig. 146.

HEAD RING OF GHOST DANCER.

Cat. No. 169115, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

Here is a song of the hawī′nalaL:

1. They tried to hang me and to kill me in war.
2. But the water where they tried to kill me only turned into curdled blood.

I also give (figs. 170, 171, p. 516) the mask of the earthquake dancer (Xoā′ēxoē). He wears a rattle consisting of a ring on which perforated shells are strung (fig. 172, p. 516). His dance is believed to shake the ground and to be a certain means of bringing back the hā′mats'a who is being initiated.

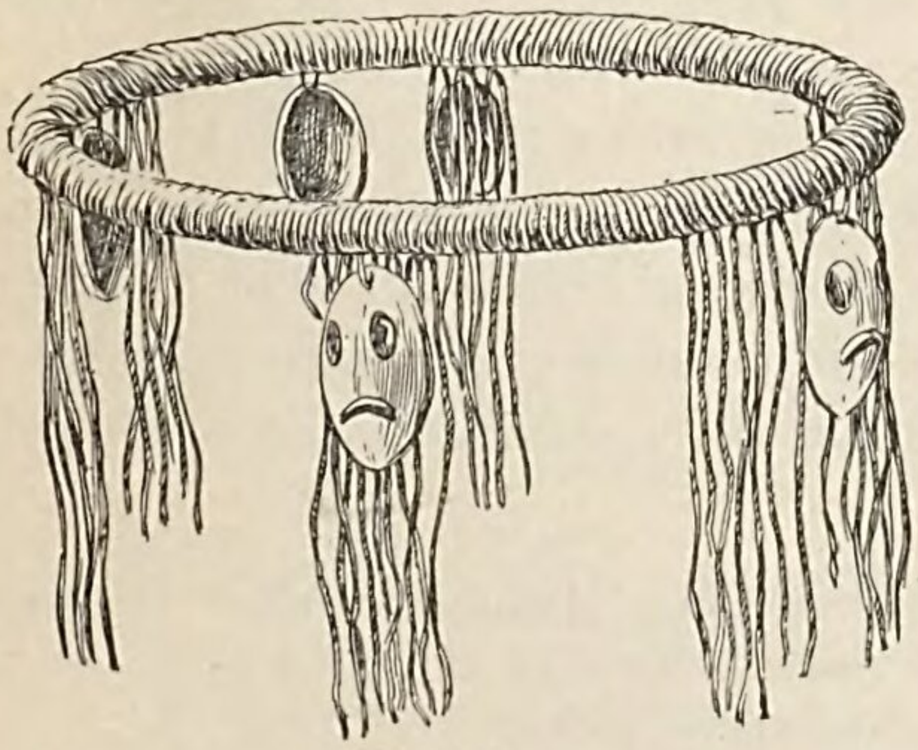


Fig. 147.

NECK RING OF GHOST DANCER.

Cat. No. 169116, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

I will add here a song of a mask in regard to which I have not been able to obtain any definite information. It is called Hai′alik·îmL and belonged originally to the G·ē′xsEm of the Naqô′mg·ilisala, whose ancestor, Hē′lig·ilig·ala, it is said to represent. The dancer is initiated in the house. In his first and third dances he wears ornaments of red cedar bark which have a horn on each side, one behind, and a flat crosspiece in front. In his second and fourth dances he wears a curious mask.

After the mask has disappeared, the people sing:[1]

1. Everybody goes to him to obtain dances.
2. In the beginning the never stopping one spread his wings over your head.[2]

[1] Appendix, page 717.

[2] The never stopping one, Wīnā′lag·ilîs.

It may be that the following song belongs to the same mask:[1]

1. Aia haia! Sing Haialik·alaL, sing winter dance songs, great supernatural spirit!
2. Aia haia! Then the people will ask you to fulfill their desires, great supernatural spirit.
3. Aia haia! Then they will take the cedar bark ornaments out of your hair, great supernatural spirit.
4. Aia haia! Then they will ask you to give them plenty to eat, great supernatural spirit.

The dance Hai'alik·auaē of the various tribes belongs here, but I have not been able to collect any of the songs belonging to it. Figs. 173–177 (pp. 517–520) show the ornaments of the Kwakiutl dancer; figs. 178–180 (pp. 521–523), the ornaments of Hai'alik·auaē of the Nimkish; and fig. 181, p. 5 '4, the L'ā'sq'ēnôx.

The ring of the shaman (fig. 182) is figured on page 525.

The La'Lasiqoala embrace all those who are for the first time initiated as winter dancers in one group, who are called wā'tanEm, the lowest grade of the winter dance societies. Their head ring is shown in fig. 183 (p. 525).

The same type of ring, but somewhat larger, is used by the chief of the killer whale society of the Kwakiutl (fig. 184, p. 526).

Following is a wā'tanEm song:[2]

1. You do not go into Wīnā'lag·ilis' canoe, you who are known everywhere.
2. You do not go into Wīnā'lag·ilis' canoe, you whose name is known everywhere.
3. You, who will be feared by all the supernatural beings.
4. You, great one, who will be feared by all the supernatural beings.

The head ring worn by the quē'qutsa is shown in fig. 185 (p. 527). When a person is to be initiated for the first time, he receives among the Kwakiutl the rings shown in figs. 186, 187 (pp. 527, 528).

It remains to give a list of the dances according to their rank. There are many among them, about which I have no further information than that contained in the following list. I also give the number of songs which belong to each dancer, his whistles, and secret songs, which are sung by the dancer himself. This order has reference, of course, only to the Kwakiutl proper:

1. Awī'lōLlaL, four songs; four whistles; secret song. Hemlock rings. (Dancers who have acquired hā'mats'a, hai'alik·ilaL, t'ō'X'uît.)
2. Hā'mats'a, eight songs; four whistles. Red cedar bark.
3. Ha'mshamtsEs, two songs. Red cedar bark.
4. Nō'ntsîstalaL, four songs; two whistles. Red and white cedar bark. (Obtained from Awī'k·'ēnôx.)
5. Qoē'qoasElaL, four songs; two whistles; secret song. Red and white cedar bark. (Obtained from Awī'k·'ēnôx, beggar dance.)
6. Mē'iLa, two songs; two whistles; Red and white cedar bark. (Obtained from Awī'k·'ēnôx.)
7. Nā'nē s BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē, two songs; two whistles; secret song. Red and white cedar bark. (Bear of BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē.)
8. T'ō'X'uît with frog, one song; two whistles; secret song. Hemlock.

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[1] Appendix, p. 717.

[2] Appendix, p. 718.

9. T'ō'X'uît with bird, one song; two or more whistles. Hemlock.
10. K·î'nqalaLala, two songs. Red cedar bark.
11. Q'ō'minōqa, four songs; two whistles. Red and white cedar bark. Rich woman.
12. Hawī'nalaL, two songs; secret song. Hemlock. War dance.
13. Nā'nē, one song. Red and white cedar bark. Grizzly bear.
14. Hawā'yadalaL, one song. Red and white cedar bark. (A nū'LmaL.)
15. G·ē'qamēqōLEla, one song. Red and white cedar bark. (A nū'LmaL.)
16. NE'nq'ōLEla, one song. Red and white cedar bark. (Bear nū'LmaL.)
17. Nū'LmaL, one song. Red cedar bark.
18. Ku'nXulaL, one song; one deep whistle. Red and white cedar bark. Thunder-bird dance.
19. Hō'Xhôq, one song. Red and white cedar bark.
20. Qoqoā'XulaL, one song. Red and white cedar bark. Raven dance.
21. Hawā'LElaL, two songs; two small whistles. Red and white cedar bark. Otter dance.
22. Xuā'Xuēlik·a, one song; one whistle. Red and white cedar bark. Wolf dance.
23. Awā'sElaL, one song. Red and white cedar bark. Dog dance.
24. Hā''maa, one song. Red and white cedar bark.
25. Ā''mlala, two songs. Hemlock.
26. LŌ'koala, one song. Red cedar bark. Wolf dance.
27. Hamā'xalaL, one song. Red and white cedar bark. Killer whale dance.
28. Qoqoē'k·ilaL, one song; one deep whistle. Red and white cedar bark. Whale dance.
29. Yîyā'g·adElaL, one song. Red and white cedar bark. Sea monster dance.
30. Hayaq'antalaL, one song. Red and white cedar bark. Talker's dance.
31. Hawē'xaqulaL, one song. Red and white cedar bark. Potlatch dance.
32. Aō'malaL, one song. Red cedar bark. Chieftainess's dance.
33. LaLaā'koalaL, one song. Red cedar bark. Board dance.
34. Nā'naqaualiL, two songs. Red cedar bark. Sunrise dance.
35. Ma'mtsālaL, one song; two small whistles. Hemlock. Mink dance.
36. A'mLēta, one song. Red and white cedar bark.
37. Female Mē'iLa, one song. Feathers.
38. Mā'tEm, two songs. Hemlock.
39. Q'ō'malaL, two songs. Hemlock. Rich dance.
40. NūLmēista, two songs. Red and white cedar bark.
41. Hats'ē'XulaL, two songs. Red and white cedar bark.
42. Hamē'yalaL, two songs. Red cedar bark and feathers. Salmon dance.
43. Walas'axā'k^{u}, two songs. Red and white cedar bark. Great from above.
44. LElō'LalaL, two songs; one large whistle. Red and white cedar bark. Ghost dance. Has no whistle in Newettee.
45. Hai'alik·ilaL, two songs. Red cedar bark.
46. Nō'LEm, one song. Red and white cedar bark.
47. Pā'xalalaL, two songs. Red cedar bark. Shaman's dance.
48. Hā'masElaL, one song. Red and white cedar bark. Wasp dance.
49. Qō'lôs, one song; one whistle. Red and white cedar bark. An eagle.
50. Wīnā'lag·ilîs, one song. Red cedar bark.
51. Qautēx·axaa'k^{u}, one song. Red and white cedar bark. Distribution of property from above.
52. Sī'siyuLalaL, two songs. Red cedar bark. Sī'siuL dance.
53. Qa'mXulaL, one song. Down. Down dance.

The classification and order of dances varies considerably among the various groups of tribes. The order given above belongs to the Kwakiutl, Ma'malēleqala, Nimkish, and Lau'itsîs.

The Ts'ā'watEēnôx, Guau'aēnôx, Haxuā'mîs, T'Ena'xtax, and A'waiLEla have the following order so far as I have been able to learn:

1. Mā'maq'a.
2. Hā'mats'a.
3. Hai'aq'antElaL (speaker dance).
4. Hawē'xaqulaL, who induces chiefs to destroy property, coppers, etc.
5. Walas'axā'aL.
6. Hauā'iadalaL (a fool dance).

Among the Koskimo, G·ō'p'ēnôx, L'ā'sq'ēnôx, and Gua'ts'ēnôx the t'ō'X'uît is first in rank. Next is the mā'maq'a, and then follows the hā'mats'a.

The La'Lasiqoala, Naqô'mg·ilisala, Nā'qoaqtôq, and Goasi'la do not include all the dances enumerated above in the winter ceremonial (ts'ē'ts'aēqa). A large number, particularly the fool dancers, the hawī'nalaL, and all the animals, are included in a ceremonial called nō'nLEm, which is neither bā'xus (secular or profane) nor sacred. Songs belonging to both seasons are used in this ceremonial. I shall discuss this ceremonial more fully later on (Chapter XII, p. 621). The number of members of the ts'ē'ts'aeqa is consequently small. They are arranged in the following order, beginning with the highest:

1. Mā'maq'a.
2. Hā'mats'a.
3. Ha'mtsEtsōē. This is a hā'mats'a who is not taken away by BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē, but only dreams of him. Consequently his initiation is performed in the house. He has neither the hā'mats'a cry (hāp) nor the ha'mshamtsEs cry (hwîp). His song has words only. His badges are like those of the hā'mats'a.
4. Ts'ē'koîs.
5. Ts'ē'koa'tâ.
6. H·ai'alik·auaē.
7. Ō'lala (corresponding to the t'ō'X'uît).
8. Lolō'LalaL.
9. YiaiatalaL, or Q'ō'minōqisaL.
10. Pa'xalalaL, shaman dance.
11. Wā'tanEm. These are the novices who have just entered the ts'ē'ts'aēqa. After the hā'mats'a has been initiated four times he is wā'tanEm—that means, pulled out of the dancing house. He becomes a quē'qutsa. During this transitional period he is wāLawē, i. e., wā'tanEm in a transitional stage. When a bā'xus offends the q'ā'q'anas, which include the above dancers, he is made wā'tanEm. He dances in four houses and becomes a novice. The following year he will be initiated in one of the higher societies.

IX. The Winter Ceremonial of the Kwakiutl.

I can now proceed to describe the ceremonial at which all these dancers perform their ceremonies. Generally it is connected with the refund of the purchase money for a wife, the qautē'x·a, as described on page 421.

I will describe first the great ceremonial which is the same for all the laxsâ, but most elaborate for the initiation of a hā'mats'a. The whole

THE MASTER OF CEREMONIES, NŪ'XNĒMIS, AND HIS SPEAKER, HŌ'LELITĒ.

The figure to the right represents the master of ceremonies.

From a photograph.

ceremonial is in charge of a master of ceremonies, whose name is Nū′xnēmîs and LE′mwala, while his profane name is Ō′mx·'it; the winter name of his speaker is Hō′LElitē. A number of further officers will be described in the course of this chapter. All these officers and the names of the officers derive their origin from a myth telling how the animals held their first winter ceremonial. I shall relate the myth later on (page 538). Plate 42 represents the present master of ceremonies and his speaker.

Fig. 148.

HEAD RING OF GHOST DANCER.

La′Lasiqoala.

IV A, No.6874, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by F. Boas.

At the time of marriage the bride's father has promised to transfer his membership in one of the secret societies to one of his son-in-law's children. When a son of the latter has reached the age of 10 or 12 years, or even earlier, he is initiated in one of the lower secret societies, through which he must pass before he can become a member of the hā′mats'a society. As soon as he is entitled to become a member of this society, his father invites the three principal chiefs of the tribe to his house and informs them that he desires his father-in-law to make his son a member of the secret society. The celebration of this event is exceedingly expensive, and for this reason the three chiefs investigate the debts and the property of the man and of his father-in-law, in order to make sure that they can meet the expenses incidental to the ceremonies. If they find the amount of property sufficient, they give permission for the celebration of the festival. In this case they order the father to invite all the chiefs of the tribe to meet on the fourth day. When they assemble, the three head chiefs inform the young chiefs of the plan, and the latter give their consent.

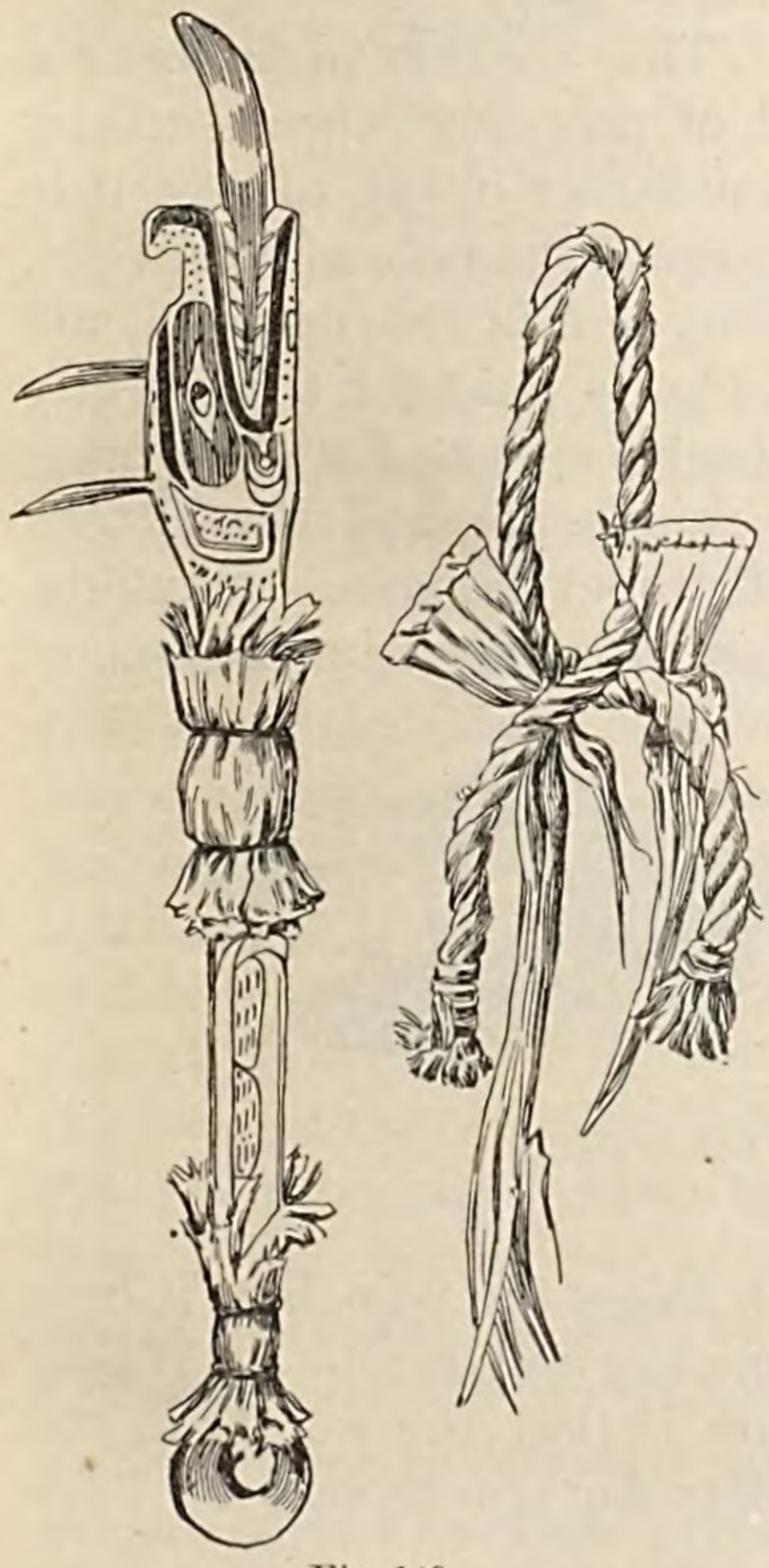

Fig. 149.

CLUB AND NECK RING OF MĒ′ILA.

From a sketch made at the World's Columbian Exposition.

At this meeting, the man who gives the dance notifies his father-in-law that he desires to have the blankets which he paid for his wife returned, and that he wants to have the box containing his father-in-law's dance.

Then the chiefs order the man to invite the whole tribe to a meeting which is to be held four days later. The three head chiefs inform the tribe, in a speech made in a low voice, of their intention to hold a winter dance, and the young chiefs request all to prepare themselves for this festival. In particular, they are asked to clean themselves, and to refrain from intercourse with women, as the spirit Wīnā'lag·ilîs, who has his home in the north, but dwells among the Indians during the dancing season, dislikes people who are unclean, or such as have had intercourse with women. The young man who is going to give the winter ceremonial is called the yē'-wix·ila.

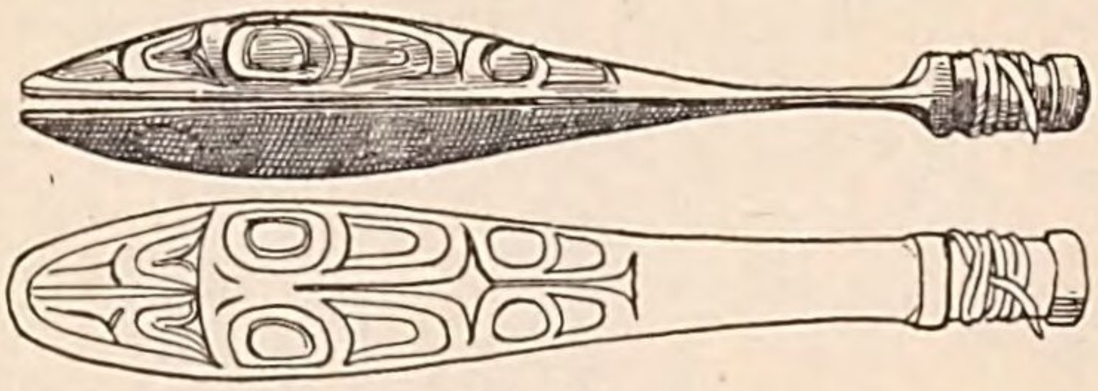

Fig. 150.

CLAPPER OF MĒ'ILA.

Length, 9½ inches

IV A, No. 1005, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

At this meeting, the father-in-law calls one of his speakers, who must step into the middle of the house, holding a pole, which is from 6 to 8 feet long. It is called the winter-dance pole.

The speaker delivers a speech, in which he sets forth the amount of property represented by the pole, and announces the intention of the father-in-law to give it to the young man. He asks the latter to step up to the pole and touch it, as a sign of acceptance. The whole assembly join in this demand, and the young man, accompanied by a chief—who is paid for this service later on—steps up to the pole. The chief who speaks for the young man asks the father-in-law what the pole represents, and the latter's speaker sets forth once more the amount of property, such as blankets, copper bracelets, food, and grease, which is to be used in the dance.

Fig. 151.

HEAD RINGS OF MĀ'MAQ'A OF THE LA'LASIQOALA.

IV A, No. 6864, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by F. Boas.

Then the chief representing the young man takes the pole, lays it over his shoulder, and runs around the fire, stooping and crying, "Whoo! whoo! whoo!" The meaning of this action is that the weight of the property represented by the pole is too heavy for him to carry. Then he sings the following song:[1]

The Spirit of the Winter Dance came down,
The Spirit of the Winter Dance came down and stays here with me.

Then the master of the ceremonies rises and orders everyone to bathe early in the morning for four days before the crows begin to cry,

[1] Appendix, page 718.

and thus to prepare to meet Wīnā'lag·ilîs. At this time the winter-dance whistles are heard for the first time. These whistles represent the voices of the spirits of the winter dance. When first heard, they appear to be far away from the house in a northerly direction. The second time they come nearer the house, and thus they are heard four times, nearer and nearer. This indicates that the spirit approaches the village from the north. Finally, the whistles of the spirit of the cannibal society are heard near the house. Then the sound is heard on the roof and moves around it four times. At this time the son of the man who gives the festival suddenly disappears (x·is'ē't), and a few minutes later he is heard to cry in the woods "hāp, hāp, hāp," the sound which is ascribed to the cannibal spirit BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē. The master of ceremonies asks the people if they know the meaning of all this, and another chief replies that BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē has taken the young man to his house to initiate him in the cannibal ceremonies. To this the master of ceremonies replies that after four days the people are to assemble again, to receive the ornaments of cedar bark. He asks them to sing their summer songs during this time, to use their summer names, and to make merry, because as soon as the four days are over they will be forbidden to use their summer names and to sing their summer songs. On the following morning when the crows begin to cry, everybody, young and old, takes a bath in the sea. They rub their bodies with hemlock branches, in order to clean themselves preparatory to the advent of the spirit Wīnā'lag·ilîs. On the evening of the third day the master of ceremonies distributes plain head ornaments and neck rings of cedar bark among twelve messengers, who must blacken their faces and go to the houses of the people in order to invite them to the meeting to be held the following day. They receive in payment a button blanket from the master of ceremonies, which is not returned. Their offices are not hereditary. Persons who have good voices are selected to act as messengers. They carry in their hands staffs about 8 feet long.

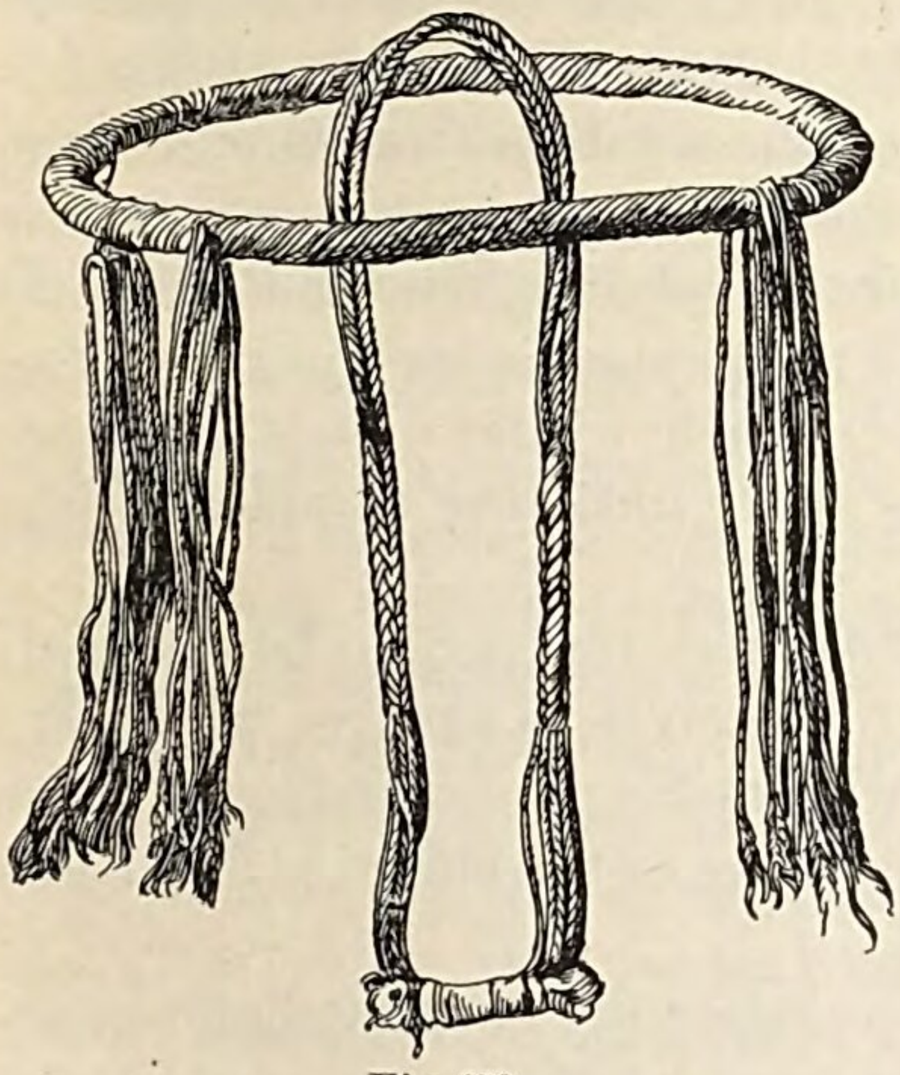

Fig. 152.

NECK RING OF MĀ'MAQ'A.

La'Lasiqoala.

IV A, No. 6865, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by F. Boas.

Fig. 153.

CARVED HEAD USED IN THE T'Ō'-XUÎT DANCE.

Height, 9 inches.

IV A, No. 1348, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

When they come to a house, they open the door and invite the people, the women first, one of the inmates of the house prompting the speaker. When they call the names, they stand in the door and strike the threshold with their staffs.[1] After the women, the hā′mats'a is called, and then the other men, the quē′quts'a last. Then the speaker of these twelve men says,[2] "Is that all?" The people reply,[3] "That is all." Then they call a certain relative of the master of ceremonies who has the name Ts'ix·ä′xtōlsE'lās.[4] All the property given away by the master of ceremonies is given in honor of this relative, who consequently is of high rank. He or she receives this name anew every year. After the messengers have called the people by their winter names, they are not allowed to use their summer names again until the ceremonies are ended.

Fig. 154.

CARVED HEAD USED IN THE T'Ō′XUÎT DANCE.

Height, 11 inches.

IV A, No. 1349, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

By this time the people begin to arrange themselves in groups, which are divided according to sex and age. These take the place of the clans, as described before.

On the following morning before daylight, the same twelve men visit all the houses and call to everybody: "Don't sleep! Go and bathe in the sea. We are walking around again to call you."[5] The people rise and at once plunge into the sea, in order to clean themselves for the qap'ēk[u] or assembly, which is the formal beginning of the winter ceremonial.

Then they go to the house of the master of ceremonies, which is called the assembly house.[6] The house has been prepared for this purpose. A heavy cedar plank has been laid along the rear wall of the house, and another one along each side. These are used for beating time. The door is surrounded by a ring of hemlock branches which is covered with eagle down, so that everyone who steps into the house must pass through it. When passing through it, the people turn to the left, step through it with the right foot first, and then turn again.

The members of the seal society[7] do not enter the house, but assemble in another house. During this day the people sing and make merry until after dark. Then the master of ceremonies rises and calls four officers to go and invite the seal society. These offices are hereditary, and the men who perform the ceremonies have certain names which

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[1] They say, Iaqoisēxai′ (follows the name).

[2] Lamaē wī′la?

[3] Laam wī′la.

[4] qa Ts'ix·ä′xtōlsE'lasai′.

[5] Wä qoā′La'sxä qa s g·īg·iLtā′lax·'itaōs. La'mEnōX qā′'tsistaä′i.
Wä, don't sleep, go to roll in the water. We walk around back for you.

[6] Qāp'aya′tsē.

[7] Mē′emqoat.

belong to the offices: X·ī′x·iqala, of the Guē′tela tribe; Q'ē′q'aqaualas, of the Walas Kwakiutl tribe; Lôxsâ′, of the Hā′ialik·auaē clan, and Ā′LŌ'lsEla, of the Q'ō′moyuē tribe. The last is their leader. They are called pä′paxamē (head paxalas). One of these men must be a "paxala" (shaman). When starting each takes a round rattle. They blacken their faces, put on their head rings and neck rings of red cedar bark, and cover their heads with eagle down. Then their speaker, Ā′LŌ'lsEla, says, "We are going to fetch our friends."[1] Then they go around the fire four times, singing as follows:[2]

O friend, O friend, O supernatural friend (meaning Wīnā′lag·ilîs).

Then they go to the house in which the seal society is waiting for them. Meanwhile, the master of ceremonies calls up four other officers to invite the highest members of the seal society, the hā′mats'as. These offices are also hereditary. The names of the officers are: K·ā′qauLēE, of the Kuē′xa tribe; Mē′goatExstāla, of the same tribe; K·ēx·, of the Maa′mtag·ila clan; and Nā′wulqalag·ilîs, of the Kuē′xa tribe. The first three names are quē′qutsa names, the last is a ha′mshamts'ES name. He is the leader of these four messengers. They are also called pä′paxamē (head paxala), and there must be one "paxala" (shaman) among them.

The master of ceremonies gives them tallow. The ha′mshamts'ES puts some of it into his mouth, chews it, and then rubs it all over his face, while the others simply rub it on their faces without chewing. Each is also given a cedar bark ring, charcoal, feathers, and a round rattle. They all wear quē′qutsa rings. After they have received the ornaments, they say, "We will go and fetch our great friends."[3] They walk four times around the fire, singing:[4]

You said, Wīnā′lag·ilîs, that I should capsize in rough weather. Your friend stayed here long in my canoe near the beach. You said that I should capsize in rough weather, but your friend capsized sleeping while it was rough weather.[5]

Then they walk around the fire, go on their errand, and after about fifteen minutes the eight men who were sent to fetch the seal society and the hā′mat'sas return, and Ā′LŌ'lsEla sings:[6]

BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē told me about the great supernatural means of killing people with my teeth.

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[1] La'mEnōX lāL, pē′paxalai′, axLExans nē′nEmōkua.
We go, shamans, we fetch our friends.

[2] Appendix, page 718.

[3] La'menōX lāL, pē′paxalai′, axLExans nēnEmō′xtsē.
We go, shamans, we fetch our great friends.

[4] Appendix, page 719.

[5] This song refers to a man named Ēix·'ag·idā′lag·ilîs who met Wīnā′lag·ilîs. The latter asked him: "Are you a shaman?" He replied in the affirmative, and continued: "Can you cross here without upsetting your canoe?" "Yes," retorted Wīnā′lag·ilîs. "Then let me see," said the former. "If you suceeed, I will cross next." When Wīnā′lag·ilîs tried to cross, he capsized. Then Ēix·'ag·idā′lag·ilîs sang the above song. A translation is very difficult, and the sense is by no means certain.

[6] Appendix, page 720.

The four men who went to fetch the seal society enter first. Those who went to fetch the hā′mats'as follow them. Before they enter, the people who are assembled in the house clear their throats, as they are not allowed to cough or to laugh after the seal society have entered. When the messengers enter, Ā′Lo'lsEla says, "Our friends are coming."[1]

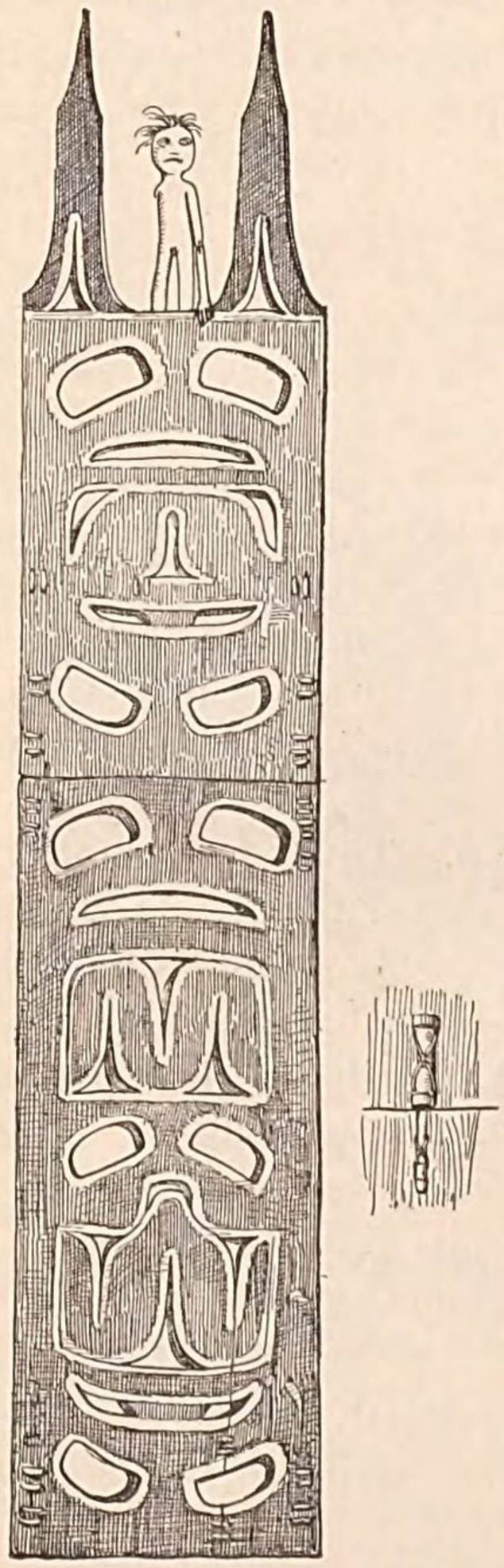

Fig. 155.

D'E′NTSÎQ.

Height, 7 feet; black, white.

IV A, No. 1129, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

Now Nāwulqā′lag·ilîs says, "Take care, our great friends are coming."[2]

Then the four men who called the seals sit down in the left-hand front corner of the house, the others in the right-hand front corner. Now everybody looks at the door where the fool dancers (nōō′nLEmaLa) enter first. They strike the door with their swords or lances, open it, and stand in the doorway. Their faces are blackened, they wear torn and soiled clothing. Their heads are strewed with eagle down. If anyone laughs or coughs, the fool dancer steps up to him and threatens him with his sword or lance. Then the fool dancers turn one by one, go to the right around the fire, and sit down on their seats. Their places are at both ends of those of the seal society, as they are the guards of the society. Then all the other members of the society enter, each group by themselves, and each dressed in their proper ornaments of red cedar bark. They stand in the doorway for a short time, and then go to their places, turning to the right and going around the fire. The hā′mats'as are the last to enter. They are preceded by the grizzly bear dancers, whose faces are blackened. They wear blankets, and bear claws on their hands. If there happens to be an odd number of these, one of their number goes to the rear of the house. The others remain at the door and look around among the assembly. Then they divide into two parts, forming two rows, one on each side of the door. Now the hā′mats'as enter and pass between the two rows of bear dancers, which close behind. The hā′mats'as step up to the fire and, standing side by side, face the rear of the house. There they stand for about ten minutes, during which time nobody is allowed to move. Then the master of ceremonies rises and makes a speech in a very low voice, in which he warns the people to be careful and not to offend the hā′mats'as. The latter turn to the right and walk slowly to the rear

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[1] G·ā′x'am g·îns nēnEmō′kuiX, pēpaxalai′.

[2] Wē, q'ā′qamēLax, pēpaxalai′ g·ā′x'am g·în nēnEmōktsēk·.

of the house, holding their blankets in a fold over their arms, which are held at some distance from their chest. If any one coughs after the hā′mats'as have entered, the bear steps up to him and threatens him. The offender must give a feast to the seal society; sometimes also to the quē′qutsa. The hā′mats'as sit down in the middle of the rear of the house. Next to them on both sides sit the bear dancers; next to these the other groups of the seal society. Then the master of ceremonies asks the four messengers who went to invite the members of the lower grades of the seal society to fetch tallow and white cedar bark. The four men rise together and Ā′LŌ'lsEla says: "We go to lift our grandfather from the floor."[1]

All the ceremonial objects which are acquired by inheritance are called "grandfather." They are kept in four boxes in the right-hand front corner of the house. When the men lift them, the ts'ā′eqa spirits enter them, making them hungry. This is expressed in their song, which they sing while walking around the fire and carrying the boxes containing the tallow and cedar bark:[2]

This is what makes us confused.

They carry these boxes four times around the fire and then stop in front of the hā′mats'as, to whom they give some tallow and cedar bark. They continue to distribute it, two men going to the right and two going to the left until they meet at the door.

Then the master of ceremonies calls the same messenger who went to fetch the hā′mats'as: "Come, friends, and lift from the floor your grandfather."[3]

They rise, walk around the fire four times, and, standing close to the door, the speaker says, "We are going, friends, to lift our grandfather,"[4] which means in this case the drum. Then they turn to the right and walk out of the house. After about ten minutes, they are heard to return singing, and enter holding each one corner of the drum. They sing:[5]

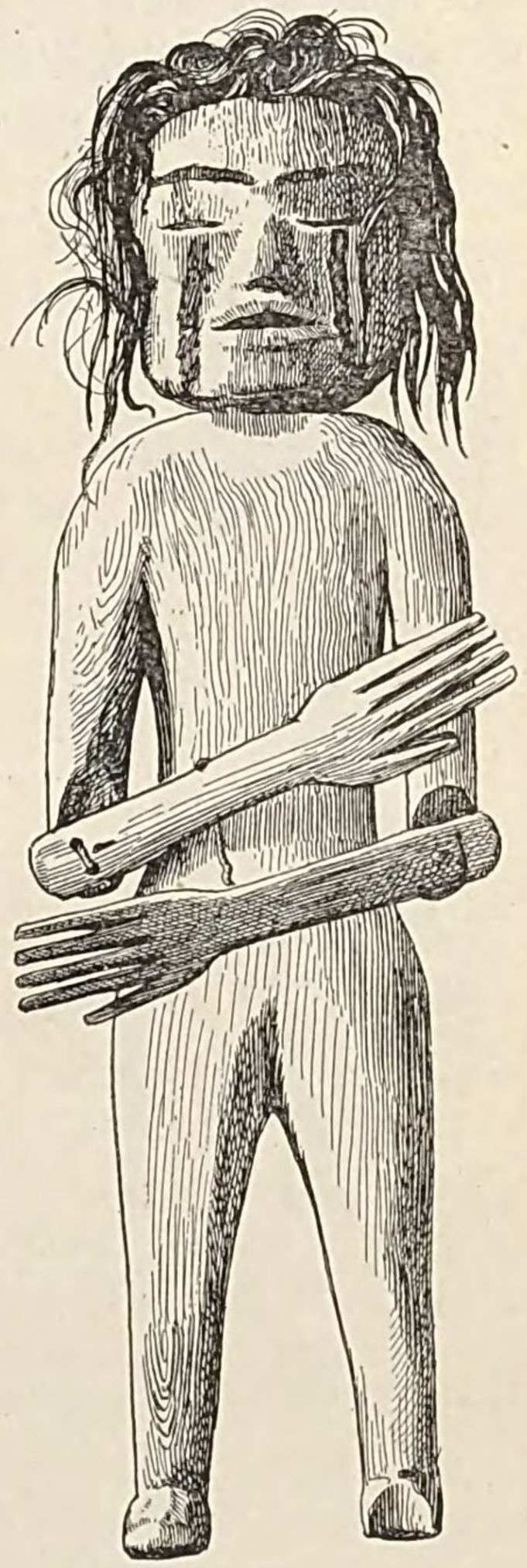

Fig. 156.

FIGURE REPRESENTING THE NŌ′NLEMG·ILA.
Height, 34½ inches.
IV A, No. 1031, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē said he would make me go through his own house.

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[1] LāmEnōX lāL dāg·iliLāL g·anōX qa′qEmpk·a.

[2] Appendix, page 720.

[3] Qē′lag·a nēnEmō′kᵘ ēitalē′Lax qa s lāos lā′xis qā′qempdaôxoôs.
Come, friends, again off floor for go your to your grandfather.

[4] La'menōx lāL nēnEmō′kᵘ qa g·ā′xlag·īsEns qā′qemp.

[5] Appendix, page 721.

They remain standing near the doorway, then turn to the right and go four times around the fire, and put down the drum. As soon as they do so, the small (ts'ē'tsaēqa) winter dance whistles are heard to blow. The men say, "That is a good sign for us, friends."[1]

The master of ceremonies next calls the four men who called the seal society, saying, "Come, friends, go and fetch our batons."[2] They do not reply, but begin to sing their secret song, going around the fire four times and swinging their rattles:[3]

I am the only one who owns the winter dance.

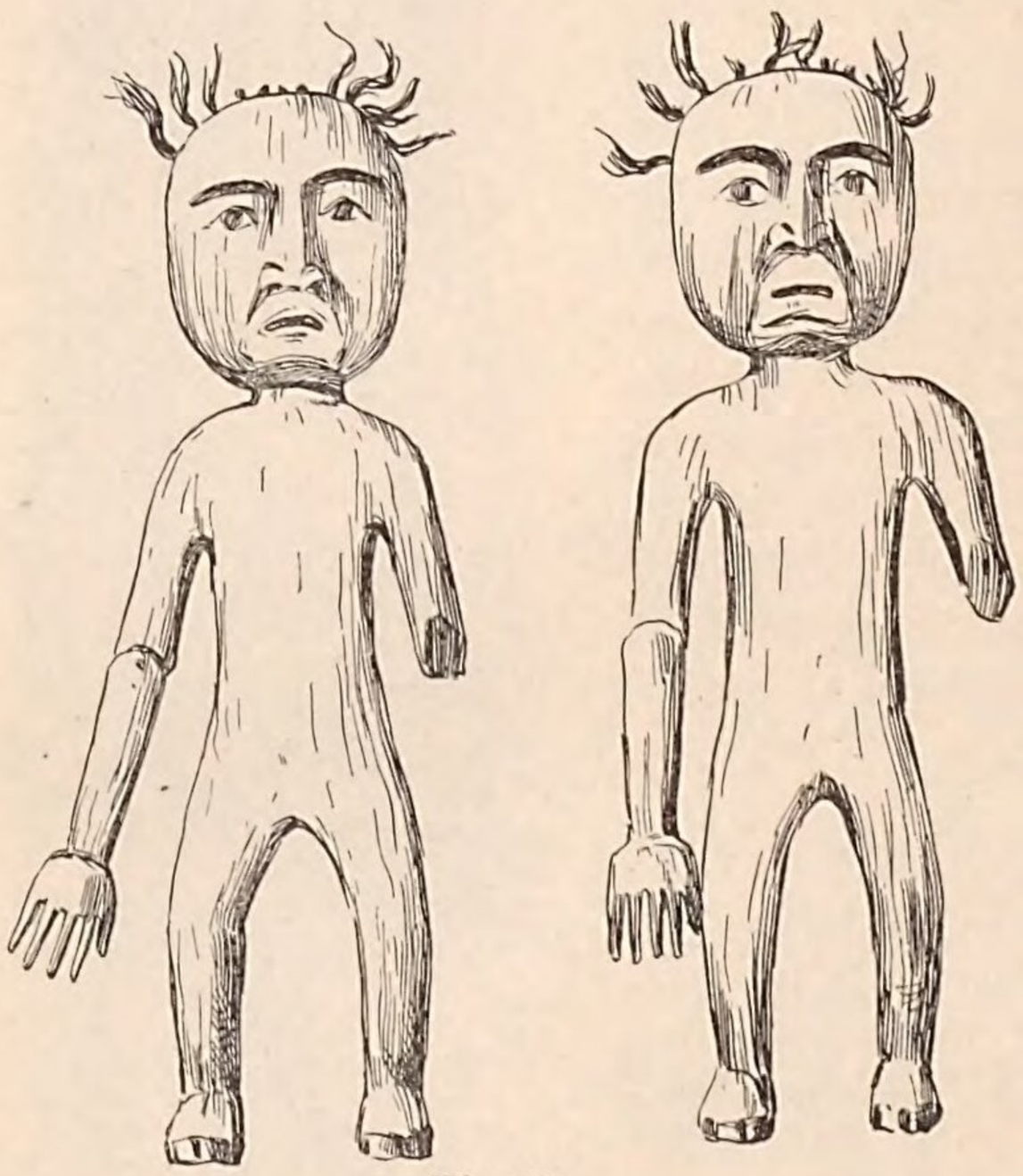

Fig. 157.

FIGURES REPRESENTING A PAIR OF NŌ'NLEMG'ILA.

Cat. No. 129512, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

They walk out of the house and continue to sing until they come back, carrying the batons on their left arms. They go around the fire and put the batons down in front of the people, beginning with the hā'-mats'as, and continuing on both sides until they reach those who sit nearest the door.

Then the master of ceremonies calls upon the four men who fetched the hā'-mats'as, saying, "Come, friends, take up our red cedar bark here."[4] They rise, and their speaker replies in a low voice, "Now I am going to take up this red cedar bark, your great real friend."[5] They all sing together:[6]

BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē made me a winter dancer.
BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē made me pure.
I do not destroy life, I am the life maker.[7]

Then they walk out singing, and come back singing the same song and carrying the red cedar bark under their left arms. They bring it in a long bunch, about 12 feet in length and more than a foot thick. One man carries it in front, two in the middle, one at the end. They carry their rattles in their right hands. On entering, they turn round

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[1] HaiLaxāliILxōLEns nēnEmō'k^{u}.

[2] Qē'laXdaôX la'g·a nēnEmō'k^{u} qans t'a'miayuLa.

[3] Appendix, page 721.

[4] Qē'lag·a nēnEmō'k^{u} dā'g·iliLax xg·îns L'ā'qaquk·.

[5] Ēismaē'iLEn dā'g·iliLax g·as L'ā'qaq g·aōs nēnEmōxtsēk·as.

[6] Appendix, page 722.

[7] This song is also used by the pa'xalas in their incantations.

together so that the cedar bark makes a full turn, go round the fire to the right, and turn again in the rear of the fire. Thus they go around the fire four times. They stop in the right-hand front corner of the house.

The master of ceremonies now proceeds to prepare the floor of the house for the ceremonies, or "to put the nauālak into the floor." He gives slow jerks downward with his round rattle, saying with each movement, "ōp," and stooping down to the floor. This is the song of Hai'alik·auaē, the first shaman. Thus he goes around the fire once, and then he sings his secret song:[1]

1. My mind is not strong enough (to lift it).
2. My mind is afraid of it.[2]
3. I have seen the winter ceremonial.

After he has finished his song, Nā'wulqalag·ilis stretches his hand backward, and somebody puts, unnoticed, a knife into it. This he gives to the master of ceremonies, who steps up to the four men who hold the cedar bark. Three times he pretends to cut it, and after each cut makes one turn to the left. The fourth time he really cuts through it, and at the same time the sound of whistles is heard proceeding from the cedar bark. After it is cut, the master of ceremonies distributes it, giving the hā'mats'as first their part, then to the other members of the seal society, and finally to the quē'qutsa.

Fig. 158.

FIGURE, WITH MOVABLE ARMS AND A BIRD SITTING ON ITS HEAD, REPRESENTING THE NŌ'NLEMG'ILA.

From a sketch made at the World's Columbian Exposition.

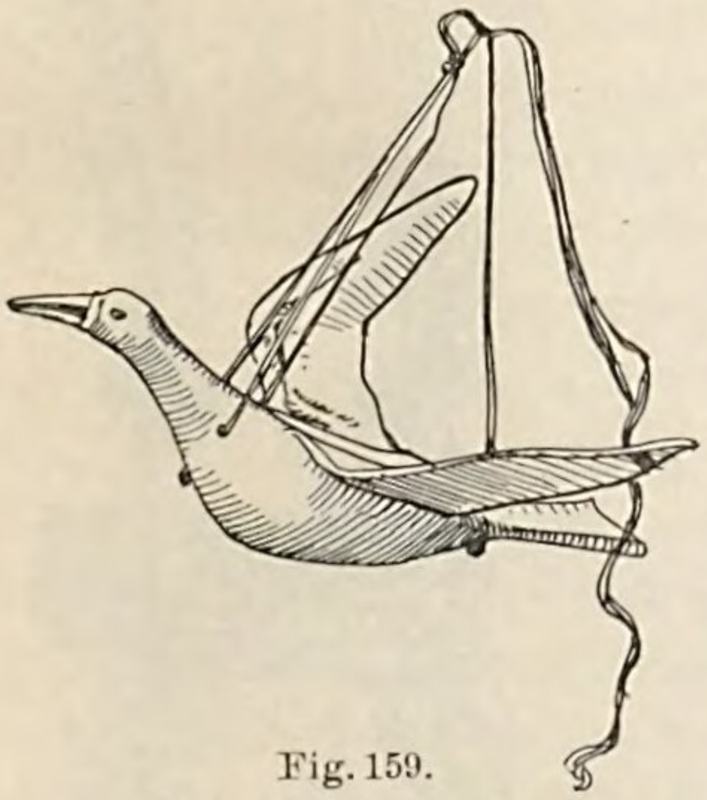

Fig. 159.

BIRD OF NŌ'NLEMG'ILA.

Length, 13½ inches.

IV A, No. 1129[1], Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

He then calls to the men who brought the members of the seal society, "Bring us our down, friends."[3] They then bring the dishes, each man carrying one dish. Then he sends them in the same way to bring the tallow. After he has received all the dishes, he calls up the four men again and sends them to all the people who are assembled in the house, in order to ask if there is anyone who desires to join in the celebration of the winter dance—that is to say, if there is another man ready to act as yē'wix·ila during the same ceremonial. He asks, "Who is the one to whom the seal society will go?"[4]

The notice in the beginning of the festival is given in order to enable

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[1] Appendix, page 723.

[2] Meaning the cedar bark ornaments, in which the power of the winter ceremonial is vested.

[3] G·ā'xlax·îns qa'mxuaLaEns nēnEmō'k^{u}.

[4] A'nguēla ä'ita lawultsānEmLa'sa lē laēnēnōk^{u}.

the people to get ready for a yē′wix·ila. The celebration is not considered perfect unless a number of men—among the Kwakiutl one of each tribe—act as yē′wix·ila in the same ceremonial. When a man expresses his readiness to join, the people go to his house after the qap'ē′kᵘ. Then one of the relatives of the second yē′wix·ila is taken to Wīnā′lag·ilìs by the hā′mats'a, as will be described later on. There are as many feasts that day as there are new yē′wix·ila.

Fig. 160.

HEAD OF NŌ′NLEMG·ILA.

Height, 10½ inches.

IV A, No. 6892, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by F. Boas.

To return to the qap'ē′kᵘ. The master of ceremonies takes one of the dishes with feathers and, singing his secret song,—

1. My mind is not strong enough,
2. My mind is afraid of it,
3. I have seen the winter ceremonial,[1]—

goes around the fire four times, followed by the four men, who carry the dishes with down. In the rear and in the front of the fire they all turn once. Then the master of ceremonies returns the dish to the four men and orders them to distribute the feathers: "Go and feather our great friends."[2]

The men begin again with the hā′mats'a and feather the heads of the people, beginning in the middle and proceeding toward both ends. Then they distribute tallow and batons in the same way.

Now the master of ceremonies puts on his head ring, which consists of a flat strip of cedar bark, to which a long trail of the same material is attached. Again he sings his secret song and goes around the fire four times swinging the rattle, which he holds approximately at the height of his head. During this song the people bend their heads down and move on their seats in order to gain a convenient position. They hold their batons ready for use. After the master of ceremonies has gone around the fire four times, he stops in front of the hā′mats'as and says "wai, wai," at the same time thrusting his rattle forward. At this signal the people look up and begin to beat the boards for about ten minutes, during which time the master of ceremonies shakes his rattle.

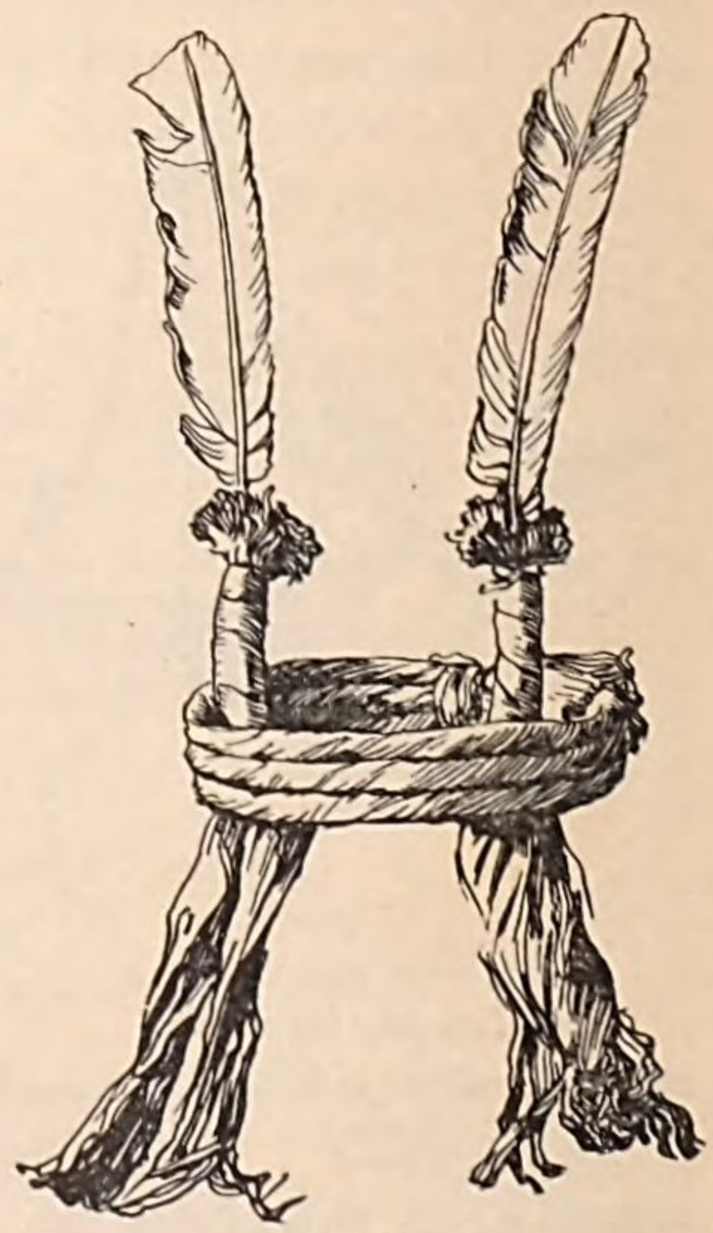


Fig. 161.

HEAD DRESS OF Ō′LALA.

La′Lasiqoala.

IV A, No. 6871, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by F. Boas.

[1] See page 509.

[2] Hā′g·a qa′mx'uit xans nēnEmō′Xtsē.

Then he swings the rattle in a wide circle, thus giving a signal for the people to stop. During the following minutes not a sound is heard except from the shamans, who utter from time to time the sound "h, h," deep from the throat. This means that they are watching to see if the people make a mistake or transgress any of the rules. After about ten minutes the master of ceremonies gives a new signal for the people to beat the boards. After ten minutes more they stop again. Then everyone

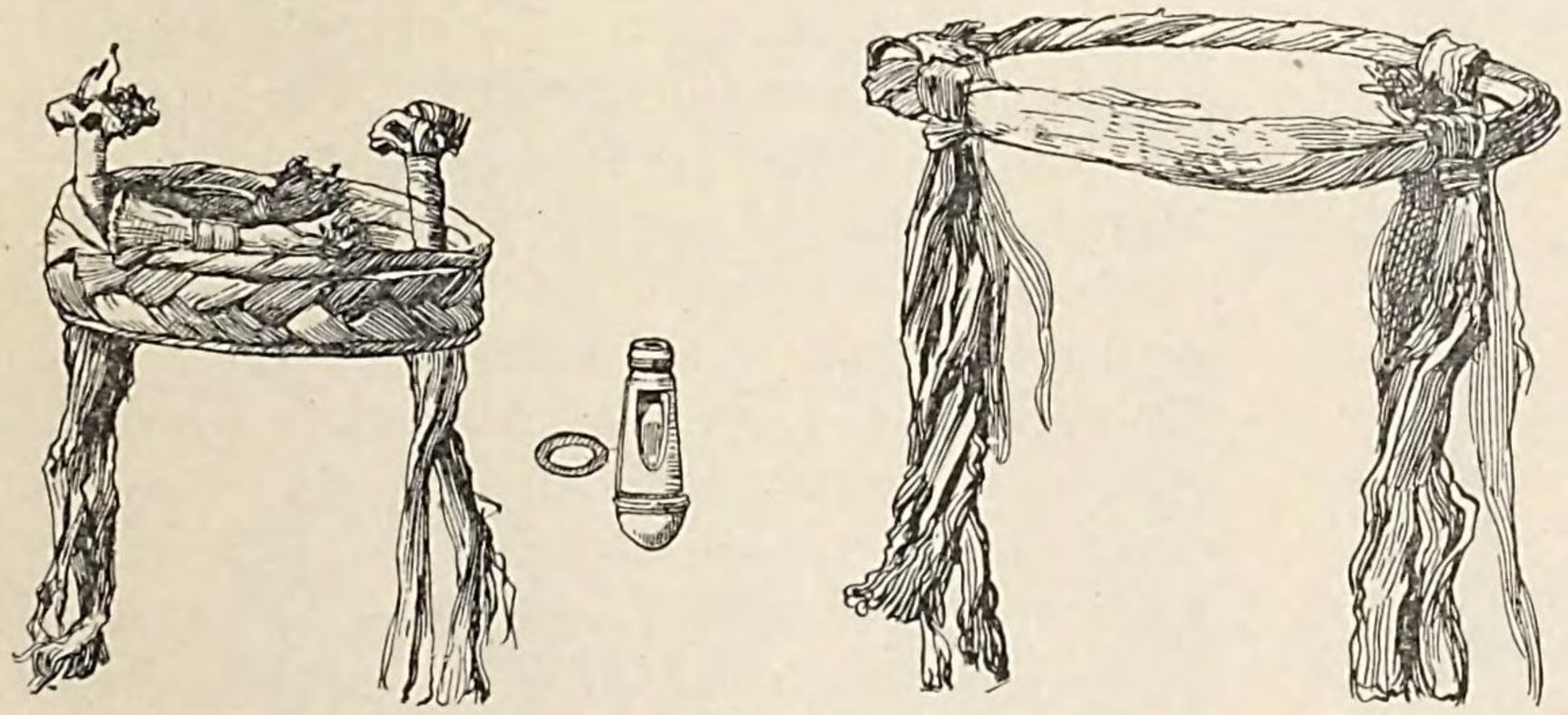


Fig. 162.

HEAD RING, NECK RING, AND WHISTLE OF TS'Ē'K'OÎS.

IV A, Nos. 6860 and 6861, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by F. Boas.

begins to sing his own secret song, all at the same time, which is a sign that the spirit of the winter dance has entered the house. Then all the quē'qutsa divide according to their societies.

After this the master of ceremonies gives another signal and all the men begin to beat the boards again as hard as possible and at the same time the bear dancers utter their cries. The fool dancers are heard to cry "wai! hai! hai!" throwing stones and swinging their swords and lances at the same time. The master of ceremonies gives a new signal, and all the people stop at once beating the boards. Then the bear dancers and fool dancers look down, and all the quē'qutsa sing again each their own secret song. When the master of ceremonies gives the fourth signal for beating the boards, the whistles of the hā'mats'as are heard in the house. Then all the hā'mats'as, bears, and fool dancers rise and drive the people before them. While they are doing so they take hold of a child of the second yē'wix·ila; the child drops his cedar bark ornaments and blankets and disappears in the woods. Then the members of the seal society go out of the house followed by the people. Now the second yē'wix·ila cleans his house and invites all the people to enter. He puts down boards in front of the people and distributes

Fig. 163.

HEAD RING OF SĪ'LÎS.

Front and rear views.

IV A, No. 6873, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by F. Boas.

batons among them. At the same time trumpet whistles are heard to blow in his bedroom. When the people have assembled in his house, the master of ceremonies says, "Let us try, friends, to drive away the supernatural being. He has carried away enough of our number."[1]

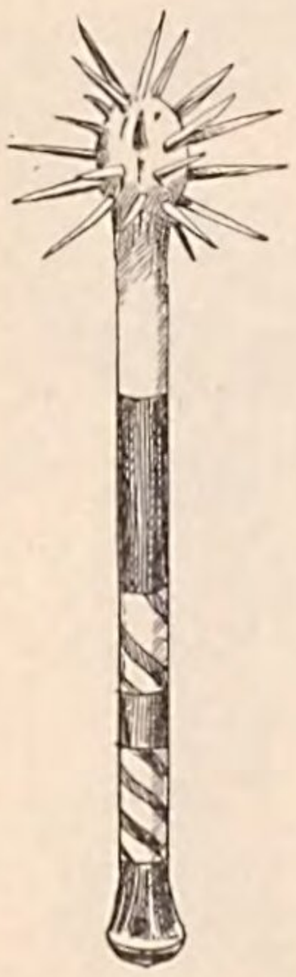


Fig. 164.

WEAPON OF Ā'MLALA.

From a sketch made at the World's Columbian Exposition.

The people reply, "Come, friend, no one is stronger in supernatural power than you are."[2] Then all the other men say one after the other, "Let us go on the floor and beat time."[3] Then they all (men, women, and children) get ready to sing the old song which is supposed to drive the spirits away. They cry "ye heee hu hu hu ye heee!" This is the song of the wolf. After this song the master of ceremonies says, "That is wrong."[4] Now they utter the bear's cry: "Hamama ma ma, hamamai." Again he says, "That is wrong." The people next utter Hai'alik·auaē's sound, "wô ip kf' wô-ip kf wô-ip" (kf blown upward). They continue this for about five minutes. The whistles continue to blow, and the master of ceremonies says again, "That is wrong! That is wrong! Let us sing another song." Now they sing "wōi, wōi, wōi," which is also Hai'alik·auaē's song. After this song the whistles stop, and at the order of the master of ceremonies they sing the first song of the winter dance:[5]

Wō, wō, ai, a, ai, really tormenting, ai, ai really tormenting.

Just before the end, the master of ceremonies joins the chorus, crying "ō hu," and all the people shout "wā!" hitting the boards together, which is believed to be a means of driving away the spirits. This song is sung four times. Then the speaker of the second yē'wix·ila says: "Friends, be happy. I received the name ——— from the supernatural being."[6]

Then all the people reply: "You received your great name from the supernatural being."[7] After this the speaker continues, saying that the people ought to be glad to hear the old songs and to have seen the

---

[1] Wē'g·a x·îns gwa'nx·'ita, nē'nEmōk^{u}, la'mEns hē'L'ōLas yisōx nā'walakuēx,
Let us try, friends, we he has enough this naualak.
La mē'sEns wēg·iLtsEns qā'qEmp.
We will try our grandfather.

[2] Wē'g·a, adē', wē'g·a qāstē' nau'alakoaqâlasōs.

[3] Wē'g·a hai'g·iliL la a'ma.

[4] La'mē Lē'qoa.

[5] Appendix, page 723.

[6] Wa nēnEmō'k^{u}! â'lag·a ama x·ī aik·ē's nē'nôqēx·daôx. Nō'gua am ———
Wa, friends! Only be happy your hearts. I am ———
g·ā'g·ax'as nau'alak^{u}.
coming from naualak^{u}.

[7] Sōtsäēl g·ā'g·ax'as nau'alak^{u}. La'mē q'ā'palōL.
You great coming from naualak. It hit you.

red cedar bark, and says, "Let us tame our friends, else we can not eat in peace.[1] Then the people sing the song which is supposed to tame the nū'LmaL and the bears.[2]

1. Great is the fury of these great supernatural ones.
2. He will carry men on his arms and torment them.
3. He will devour them skin and bones, crushing flesh and bone with his teeth.

After the song the yē'wix·ila makes another speech, and promises to give a feast early the next morning, saying: "Friends, how beautiful have I been made by the supernatural being. I shall give dried salmon for all of us and for our women."[3] And all reply "wâ, wâ." Early the next morning he calls the people into his house. They take their seats, and are first given a meal of dried salmon and grease

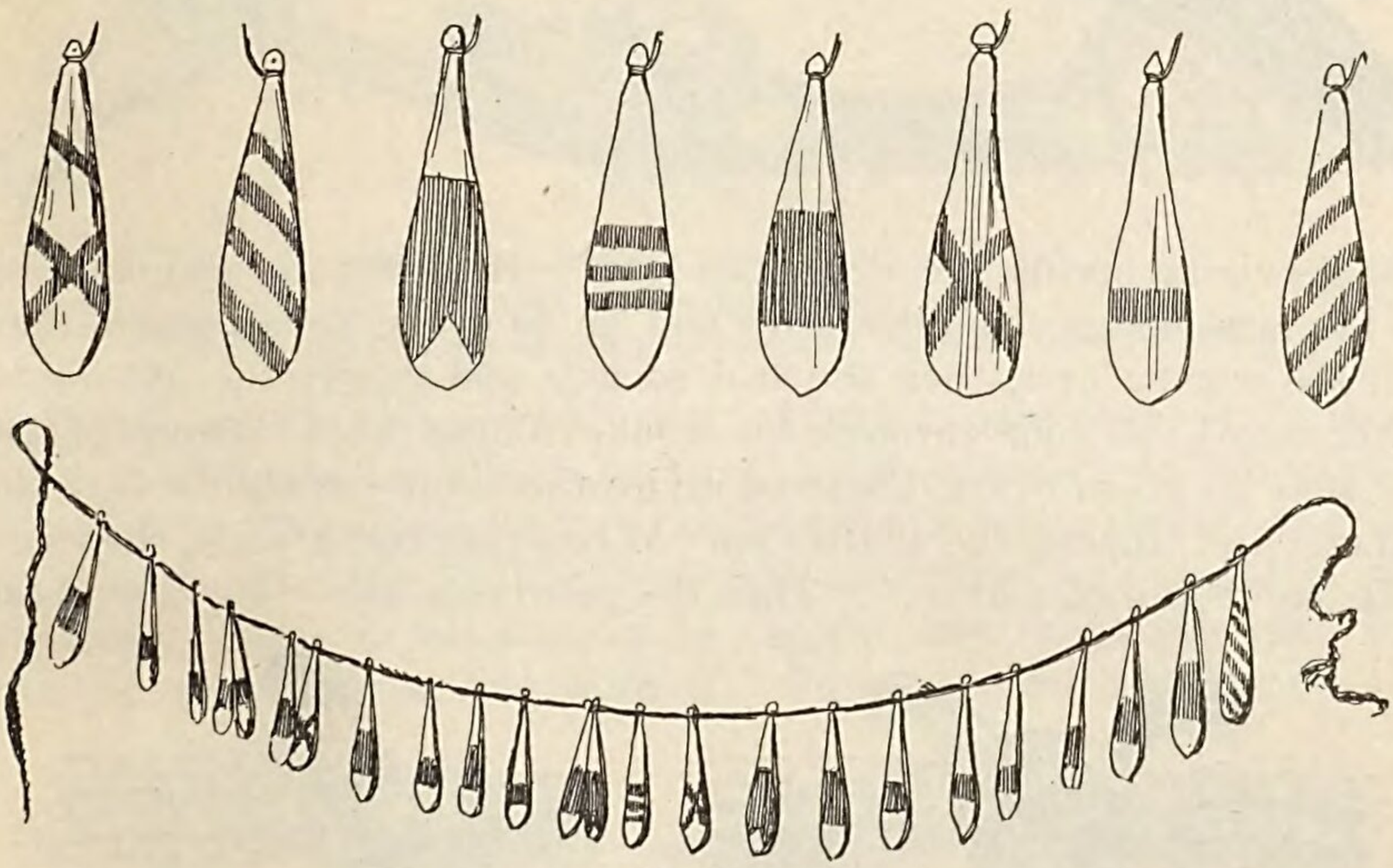


Fig. 165.

SMALL SLABS OF WOOD WHICH ARE SEWED TO THE BODY OF THE HAWĪ'NALAL.

Length, 4 feet; each slab, 4 inches.

IV A, No. 869, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

(ts'ā'g·isa = to lay foundation in belly). They sing four songs for the first course,—hā'mats'a songs if the child of the yē'wix·ila is to become a hā'mats'a. After that they are given dried berries (hē'iLg·anEm = making good on top of salmon). Four more songs are sung for this course. Then the second yē'wix·ila says: "Friends, this is the way

---

[1] Wēg·a x·îns yō'L'it lax g·îns nēnEmō'kua, ā'LEns k·'ēs lax nā'qamEnsElā lax
Go on! We tame then our friends, else we not swallow straight
ha'mā'p lax.
this food.

[2] Appendix, page 706. See also page 471.

[3] Wa, nēnEmō'kᵘ! L'Etō'wēst'a g·ā'x'asas nau'alakua. T'ē'Lalasa
Wa, friends! how nice I am he came to me naualak. Dry salmon soaked in water
qasäi nēnEmōkuä'i; nāXuaLaamLEnsä'i La'wuns aLē'k·ilaxä.
for friends; all of us and our those in back (women).

we always do; please, friends, pay the small debts which are due me and refund the amount I gave for my wife. That is all."[1]

In this feast he gives a new name to his relative who had been taken away by the hā'mats'a. On the same day the people, who are divided according to the societies enumerated above, go to every house, and keep on feasting and singing until morning.

During this time the hā'mats'as are in a state of excitement, and occasionally bite some of the people. On the following morning the

Fig. 166.

NECK RING OF HAWĪ'NALAL.

Cat. No. 129989, U. S. N. M.

first yē'wix·ila invites the people to a feast. He sends the maa'mx'ēnox as his messengers, who dress up and go to every house, where they call the women first, then the seal society, and finally the quē'qutsa. After they have gone through the whole village, the d'ō'd'opa (p. 419) are sent to go to every house to invite the people again.[2] Next the LaLaLg·ū (?) repeat the invitation. When they come back, they say, "No one took notice of us."[3] Then the yē'wix·ila says "I will send the

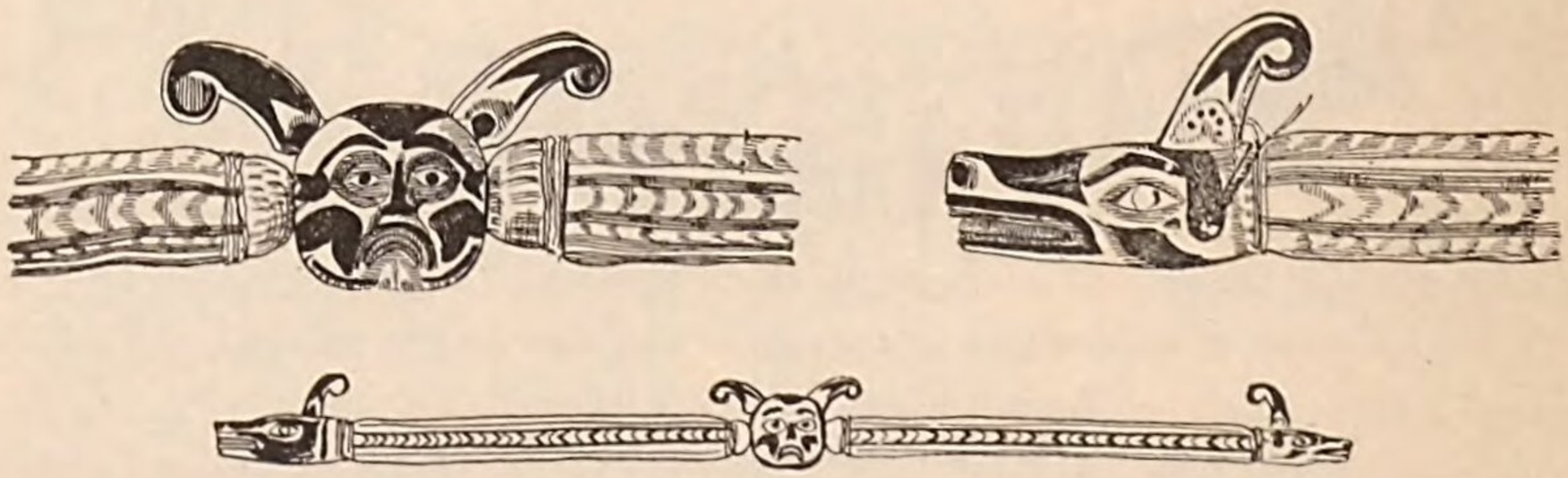


Fig. 167.

BELT OF SĪ'SIUL.

Length, 5 feet.

Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin.

Koskimo."[4] They dress and tie their blankets high up so that they do not quite reach to their knees, leaving the right arm and shoulder free, the blanket being thrown over the left shoulder. They blacken their

---

[1] Wa nēnEmō'kᵘ haēq'ā'maāxs Ƨoē'k·' alāsē. Lāxdaôx Ems nēnEmō'kᵘ
Friends, that is the way we always do, speaking You friends
waax'aiLasEn g·ā'g·imêōL Lawun ts'ā'ts'ōmayôen qa En qEnE'm; häimēqä'i.
please pay my small debts and my what I gave for wife small my wife; that is all.

[2] Calling in the door of each house: Ētsēstaai'.

[3] K·'ē'tsEmEnōX q'ā'tsEya.
No one us take notice.

[4] Lā'lax·a Qō'qôskīmuX.

faces, take their staffs (quē′sp'ēq) and call in a loud voice, striking the walls of the houses with their staffs, "The Koskimo want to eat."[1] They walk through the village, driving the people before them with their staffs, until they reach the house of the yē′wix·ila.

As soon as all the quē′qutsa·have assembled there, the master of ceremonies rises and asks if they are all in the house.[2] He sends one man out to see, saying "Go and see."[3] The messengers return and

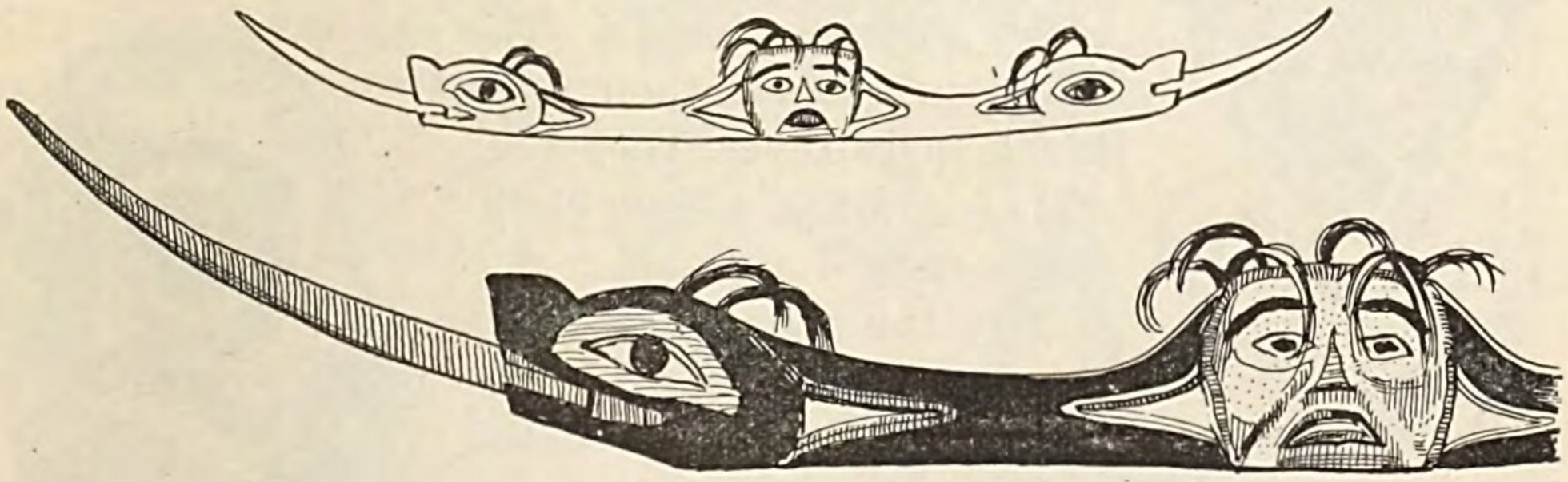


Fig. 168.

KNIFE OF HAWĪ′NALAL, REPRESENTING THE SĪ′SIUL.

Length, 5 feet, 3 inches; white, red.

IV A, No. 874, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

some will say, "They are not all here," referring to the absence of the seal society, while others will say, "Don't let them come, else we shall be troubled."[4] The people reply, "Lock the door against them,"[5] and they send the chief of the Koskimo, the Qoē′samē (chief quē′qutsa), to shut the door. After he has done so he returns, and the people say, "Are you not afraid of the hā′mats'as?" He says, "No, why should I be

Fig. 169.

KNIFE OF HAWĪ′NALAL, REPRESENTING THE SĪ′SIUL.

Length, 24½ inches.

IV A, No. 558, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

afraid of them?"[6] But as soon as he has said this, all the hā′mats'as are heard on the roof of the house, and the people cry, "Let us go out."[7]

---

[1]Sā L'E′nk·a g·ā′nem Lasg·a Qō′qôskimoxuik·.
Ah, satiated will be these Koskimo here.

[2]Laxdaôxmaans wēlaēL?
Are we in house?

[3]Hā′g·a dō′ X'uit.

[4]Qoā′L tsâ sīg·ā′xa, ā′LEns q'ē′q'aēqalala.

[5]Lānek·ō xLēlag·aqē′.

[6]Aisas k·î′LEla sa mē′emqoat? K·ē′sEn; or: mā′tsEnlēiLa g·iLElaL'Es?
Are you not afraid of seals? Not I, or, Why should I afraid of them?

[7]Wai′g·a x·îns hauqau'Elsa.
Let us go out.

They rush to the door, but as soon as it opens the bears and fool dancers come in and prevent them from leaving the house. The people ask each other where these people came from,[1] or, "You ugly thing, where did you come from?"[2] and try to hit their noses with sticks. The bears wear head rings of red and white cedar bark. Their faces are painted black, showing an enormous mouth set with teeth and stretching from ear to ear. They have bear's claws on their hands. The fool dancers have their faces blackened all over. They wear red cedar bark. Their clothing is ragged and torn.

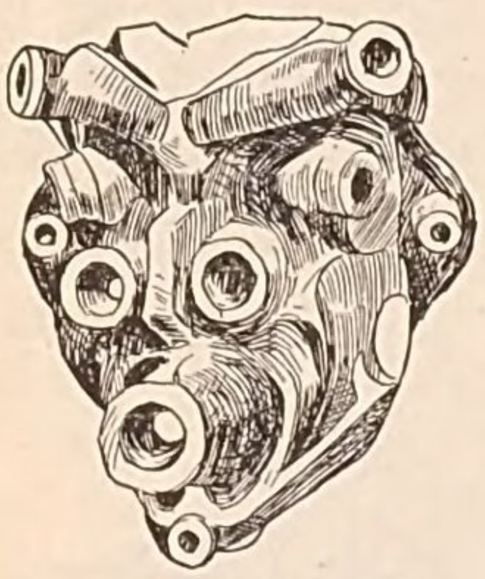


Fig. 170.

MASK OF XOĀ'ĒXOĒ.

From a sketch made at the World's Columbian Exposition.

Now the people say, "Let us drive them out!"[3] As soon as they try to do so, the hā'mats'as jump down from the roof and drive the people before them. The bears and fool dancers get excited at the same time, and finally drive the people out of the house and down to the beach. The hā'mats'as, bears, and fool dancers pursue them. At last they drive them into the sea and keep them standing in the water until they promise them the best food they have in their house. Then the seal society return to the lō'bEk ᵘ or the house of the first yē'wix·ila, while the quē'qutsa enter the house of the second yē'wix·ila.

Fig. 171.

MASK OF XOĀ'ĒXOĒ.

Height, 12½ inches.

IV A, No. 420, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

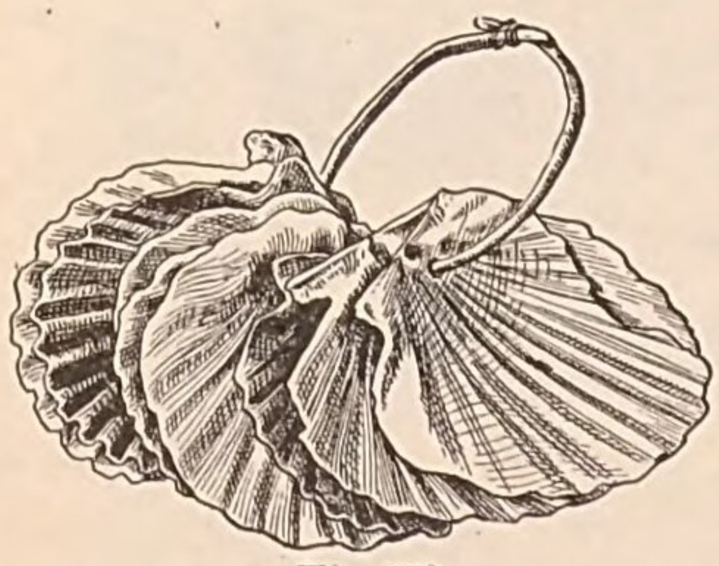


Fig. 172.

RATTLE OF XOĀ'ĒXOĒ.

IV A, No. 1838, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

Here the men take their seats according to the societies to which they belong. When they are giving a feast here, they send four dishes of each course to the hā'mats'a. This is called making the hā'mats'a eat first.[4] The food is carried to the hā'mats'a by four messengers, who are what is called qoē'tsē'sta; that means people who were seals, and try to become quē'qutsa. They alone are allowed to enter the lō'bEk ᵘ.

The people are not allowed to eat until these messengers come back and report that the hā'mats'as have eaten. If anybody desires to give a feast, he announces this by calling upon one of his children to dance a winter dance, and says, "Come, my

---

[1] MainōXtsōX?

[2] Wī'tsEs tsōL tsâs.

[3] Waig·a x·îns k·ā'yuwulsôq.
Let us drive them out.

[4] G·îlq'asāmas laxa hā'mats'a.

children; come to the fire, that you may help the people swallow their food by your dancing."[1]

If in any of these speeches a man should use a bā'xus (profane) name of a person, all the people cry out at once, and he must sit down. He may even be punished by the fool dancers.

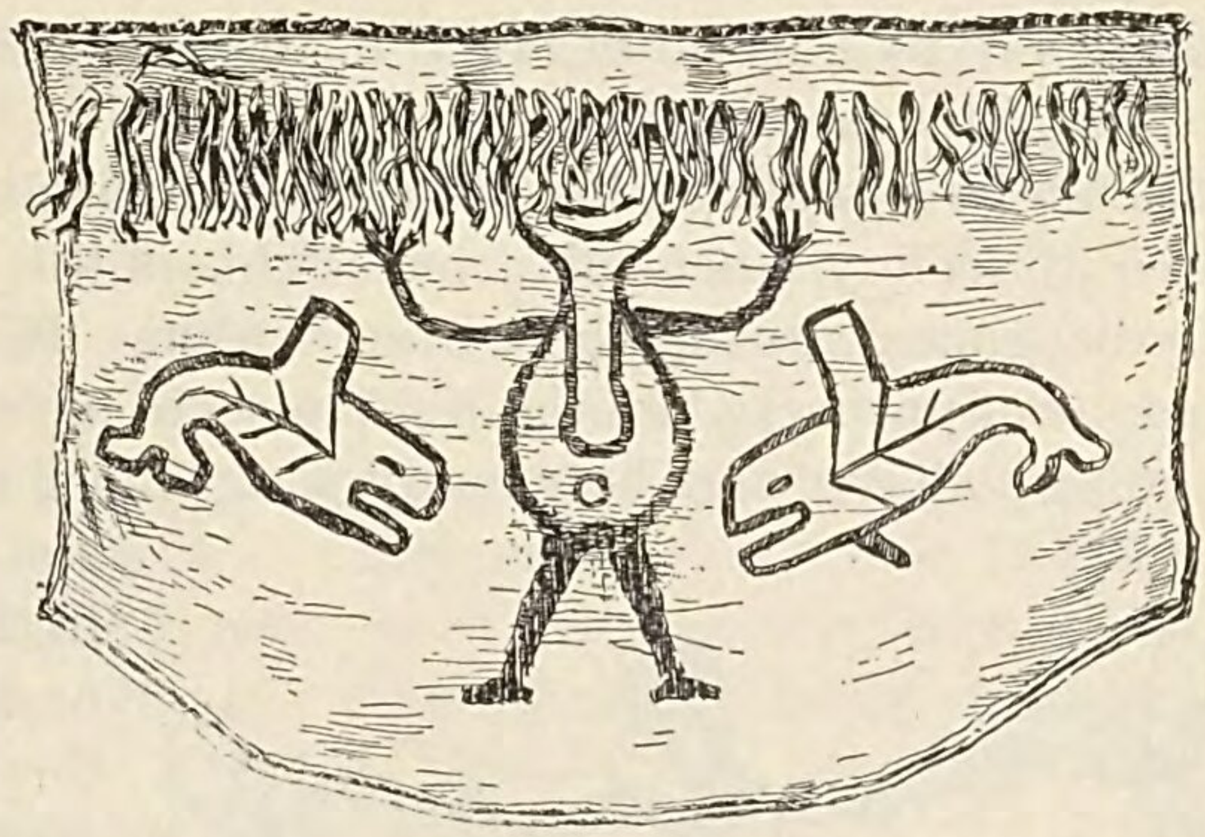


Fig. 173.

CEDAR BARK BLANKET OF HAI'ALIK·AUAĒ, SHOWING HAI'ALIK·AUAĒ AND TWO KILLER WHALES, PAINTED IN RED.

Cat. No. 175487, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

The promised feast is given in the evening. The host sends the maa'mx'ēnôx to call the people to come to his house on the following morning. They rise early and go in a body from house to house calling everybody until all the people are assembled in the house of the second yē'wix·ila. The host sends the same four messengers with four dishes of each course to the seal society or ts'ā'ts'aqamtsEn (i. e., the ts'ē'ts'aeqa people), and the people ask him to send them quickly that all may get their food.[2] The host sends four of the Koskimo with the food.

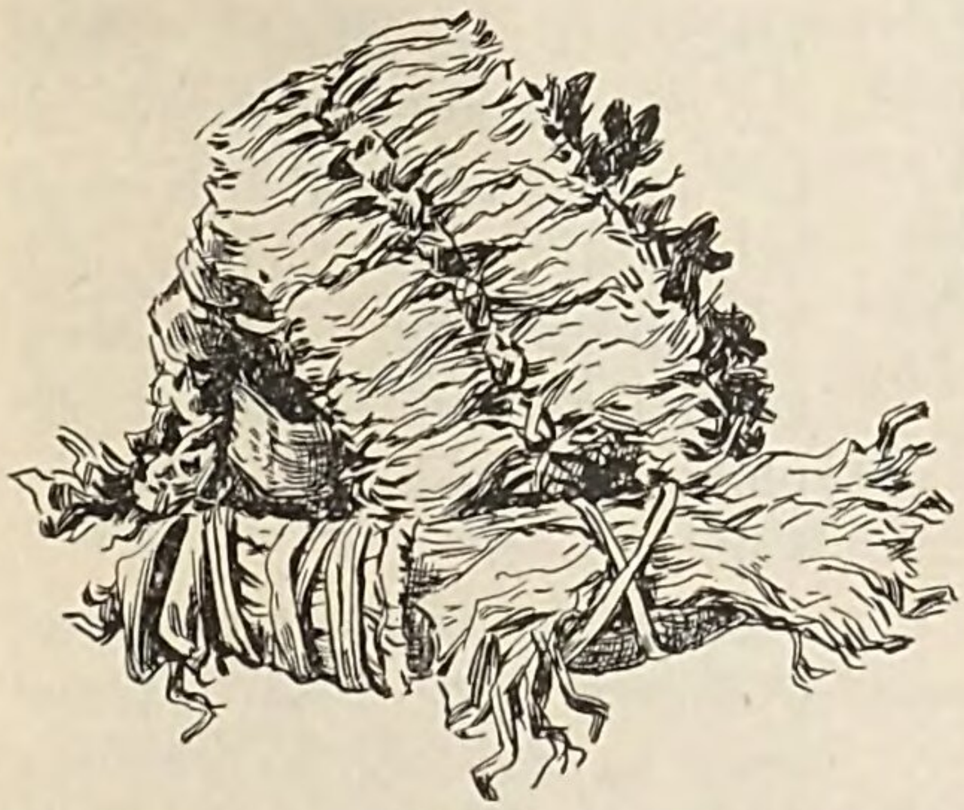


Fig. 174.

FIRST HEAD RING OF HAI'ALIK·AUAĒ.

The crosspieces on top of the ring are worn at the sides of the head, and represent the heads of the sī'siuL.

Cat. No. 175488, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

The hā'mats'as will keep these messengers waiting for hours to tease the people. Then four more Koskimo are sent to see what the first four are doing, and finally they all come back and report that the seal society kept them, pretending that they had stolen part of the food which they were sent to bring them. The people inquire if their master (g·ī'g·i), meaning the hā'mats'a, has eaten the food which was sent to him. When they hear that he has eaten, they begin to eat also. After the first course they sing four more songs, and send four dishes of the second course to the ts'ā'ts'aqamtsEn. They are not allowed to begin their

---

[1] Qē'lag·a xōnō'k,[u] qē'lag·a (Goā'yuqulag·ilîs) L'āstāliLax qa s yî'xoa mEns'-
Come, child; come (Goā'yuqulag·ilîs), come to fire outside for to dance, swal-
ita-us sāx g·îns nēnEmō'kua.
lowing for our friends.

[2] Yix·ā'k·asla tsōx qaxg·anux pō'sq'ēk·.
Quick, for we hungry here.

meal until they have learned that the hā′mats'as have eaten. For the whole dancing season this rule must be adhered to.

During all this time the father-in-law of the first yē′wix·ila has been gathering all his property, principally food, blankets, boxes, dishes, spoons, kettles, bracelets, coppers, and box lids, in order to refund (qautē′x·a) to his son-in-law the amount promised at the marriage of his daughter (see p. 421).

When he assembles his clan to announce his plans, the members of the seal society must not come. This is the only time when the clans are recognized during the winter season. He informs the people what amount of property he is going to give to his son-in-law, what names he is going to have, and how many songs he has had made for him. The son-in-law assembles his clan in the dancing house (lōbEk^{u}), and lets them paint their faces with charcoal. Meanwhile the canoe of g·ī′sExstâla is built, as described on p. 422. All the speakers' staffs which are carried at the festival are ornamented with red cedar bark. The dances that are sung all belong to the winter dance, only hā′mats'a songs are not used. When the daughter of the father-in-law dances, she is also dressed in cedar bark ornaments. The description of the ceremonial will be found at the place referred to above (p. 421).

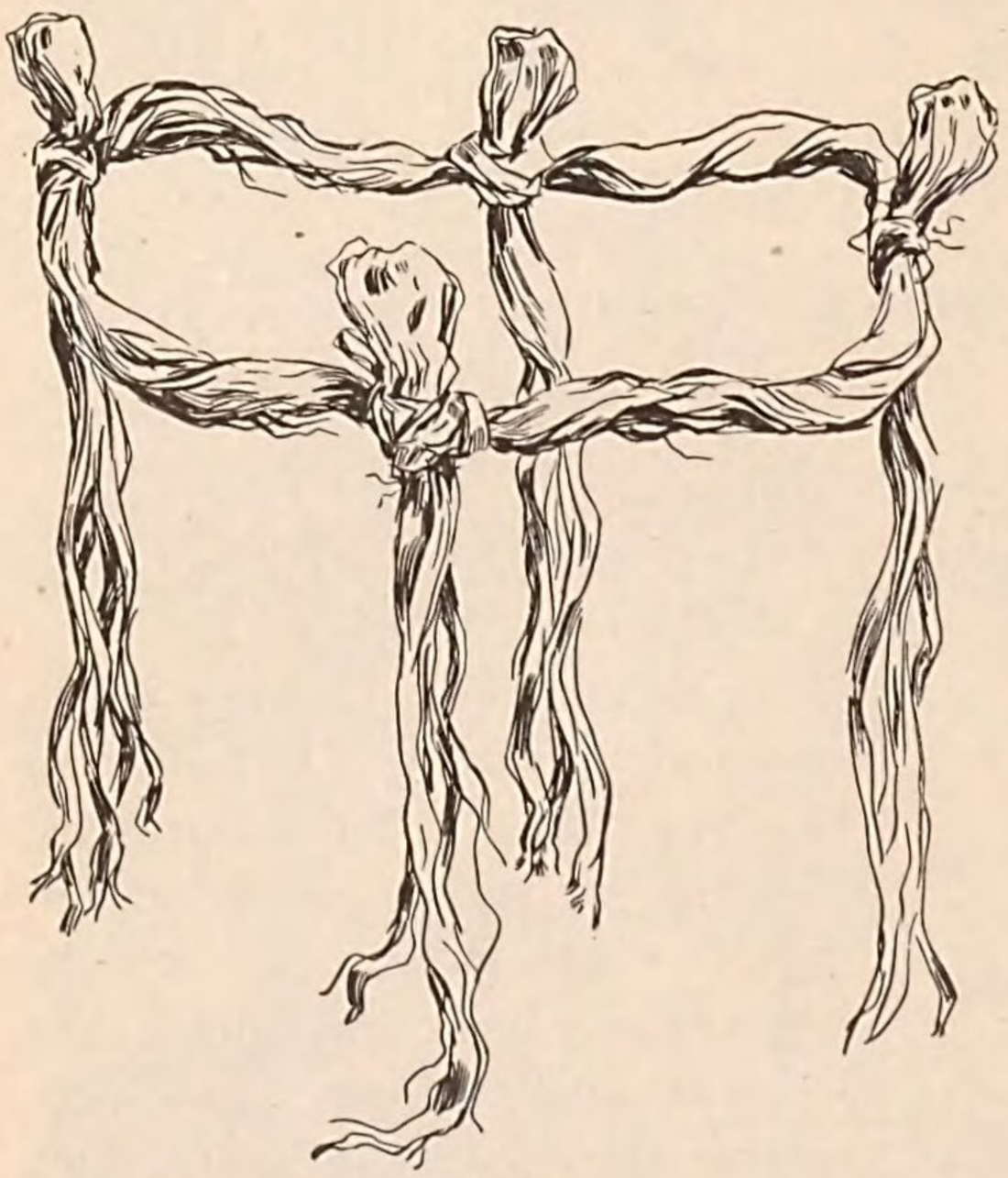


Fig. 175.

FIRST NECK RING OF HAI′ALIK·AUAĒ.

The four crosspieces indicate the powers of the shaman.

Cat. No. 175489, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

After the whole amount of property has been turned over to the son-in-law, the father-in-law calls the master of ceremonies and, pointing to the box containing the winter dance implements—masks, whistles, and ornaments of red cedar bark—he says, "Come, I am afraid of this box here; you are the only one who is not afraid of it, because you went through the whole ceremonies of the winter dances.[1] To this the master of ceremonies, who carries a small cane, replies, "Let me go there. Yes, your word is good, friends.

---

[1] Qē′lag·a LE′m'wala, g·iLE′lEn Lās g·ada g·ildasêk· qaxs nEmō′Xmaā′qōs nā′la-
Come LE′m'wala, I am afraid of this box for you alone you not
qak· qa xs lāxsâēx lā′xoa L'ā′qaquix·.
afraid of it for you went through it in the red cedar bark here.

It is good that you say I am the highest among you."[1] With this he lifts the box, hides it under his blanket, and begins to sing his secret song, as follows:[2]

O friend, O friend, O supernatural friend.

Then he calls the son-in-law, saying, "Stand up; it may be that this box is intended for you."[3] The young man rises and replies, "Hold it awhile until I dress up."[4] Then he goes to the house, and after a few minutes returns without blanket, having his face blackened. He presents himself to the master of ceremonies: "Here I am, friend;"[5] who asks him once more to be ready: "Go on, get ready, son-in-law."[6] Then he gives him the winter names which belong to the contents of the boxes. He receives both the mē′emqoat name and also the quē′qutsa name. He asks him to step near.[7] The young man turns to the left and walks slowly down to the beach where the master of ceremonies is standing. The latter takes his neck ring off and, holding it, sings his secret song:

1. My mind is not strong enough (to lift it).
2. My mind is afraid of it.
3. I have seen the winter ceremonial.[8]

Then he turns around and gives the young men the neck ring to which the arm rings and leg rings are tied. He turns again and takes off his head ring. The young man's wife, who stands next to the master of ceremonies, gives her dancing apron to the latter, who turns once and puts it onto her husband. Last of all, he gives him the box. Then the master of ceremonies says "hōp ōp" four times. (This is the sound of Hai′alik·auaē). The master of ceremonies continues:[9]

"Wait a while, son-in-law, you have no name for your k·î′nqalaLala, but I have seen what carried away our son. Her name is ———." With this he secretly puts a whistle into the hand of the son-in-law. The latter turns to the right and calls "h! h!" (deep from the throat).

---

[1] Ō lāL lax·in lāq, qä′Las aix·mēs wālDEmūs nēnEmō′k^{u}, wā′wiqumaā′xEn
O let me go there it is true good your word friends good that you pretend to place me highest

bEguā′nEmē′naē, Lā′ lax·in lāq.
a man like me. I will go there.

[2] Appendix, page 718.

[3] Lā′xoala nEgu′mp, qō sō′Lax lā′laā laxs g·āda g·î′lt'as.
Stand up son-in-law may be for you going to this box.

[4] DāLa la g·aq, qan lē q'oā′lax·'it.
Hold it awhile, for me to go dress up.

[5] G·ā′xmen, qāst.

[6] Wē′g·a qoa′lsax nEgu′mp.

[7] Qē′lag·a nEgu′mp.

[8] See page 509.

[9] Lā′xoaLa′lag·aama's nEgō′mp, k·'eō′tsōEm k·în′qalaLElōs qa xg·in
Stand there a while son-in-law, you have no (name) for your kyinqalaLEla for I have

la'mēx· dō′x'oaLElā'x ax'ē′idē xEns xonō′kua. (Hē′ilig·îxstē′g·ilis LāLis lāx
seen what carried our child away. (Right maker of

Baxbakuālanuxsī′waē.)
Baxbakuālanuxsī′waē.)

He turns around to the left, stooping down, and walks in zigzag way up to the house. When he approaches the house, he cries "hāp! hāp!" and all the people of his clan gather the property which has been given him and follow him. As soon as he cries "hāp hāp," his son (the g·ī′yakila), who is in the woods, is heard to reply with the same sound. Now, four men of the yē′wix·ila's family go down to the square, carrying an ax, and split the box cover forming one corner of the square. This is called "sinking the canoe" (tsō′kunsa), and means that the son-in-law must distribute among the tribe everything he has received from his father-in-law.

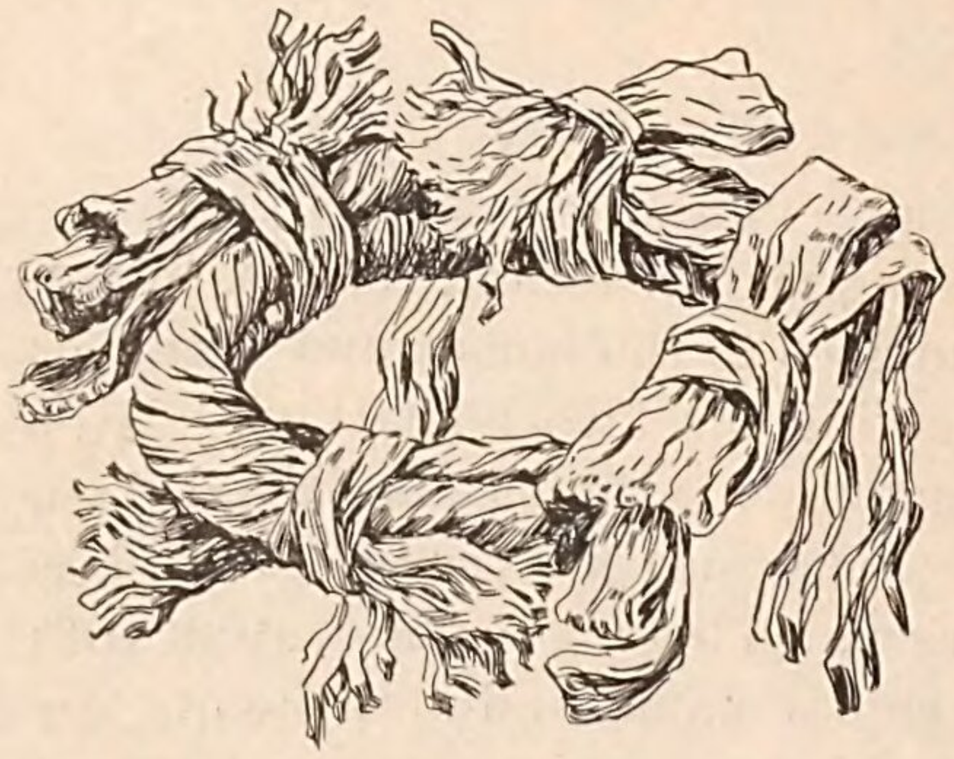


Fig. 176.

SECOND HEAD RING OF HAI′ALIK·AUAĒ.

Worn at the beginning of the fourth day after the return of the novice. The crosspieces indicate the powers of the shaman.

Cat. No. 175490, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

When the people reach the house, the son-in-law gives them some food and gives notice that in four days he intends to try to bring his son back from the woods.[1] The next three days are spent in feasting and dancing. In the evening of the third day the young man calls all the people to go into the woods in order to make eight new songs for the hā′mats'a and two for the k·ī′nqalaLala, the servant of the hā′mats'a. The singing master and his assistants go into the woods early in the morning, while the maa′mx'ēnôx go in the evening. The old chiefs go last, and sit by themselves. They give orders to the quē′qutsa, telling them what they have to do during the festival when the hā′mats'a is expected to come back.

While learning the songs the people sit promiscuously, not arranged according to the societies to which they belong. Those who have good voices sit near the singing master. They always select a certain clearing in the thicket for this purpose (Plate 43). No women are allowed there. The hā′mats'a and the k·ī′nqalaLala who are in the woods listen

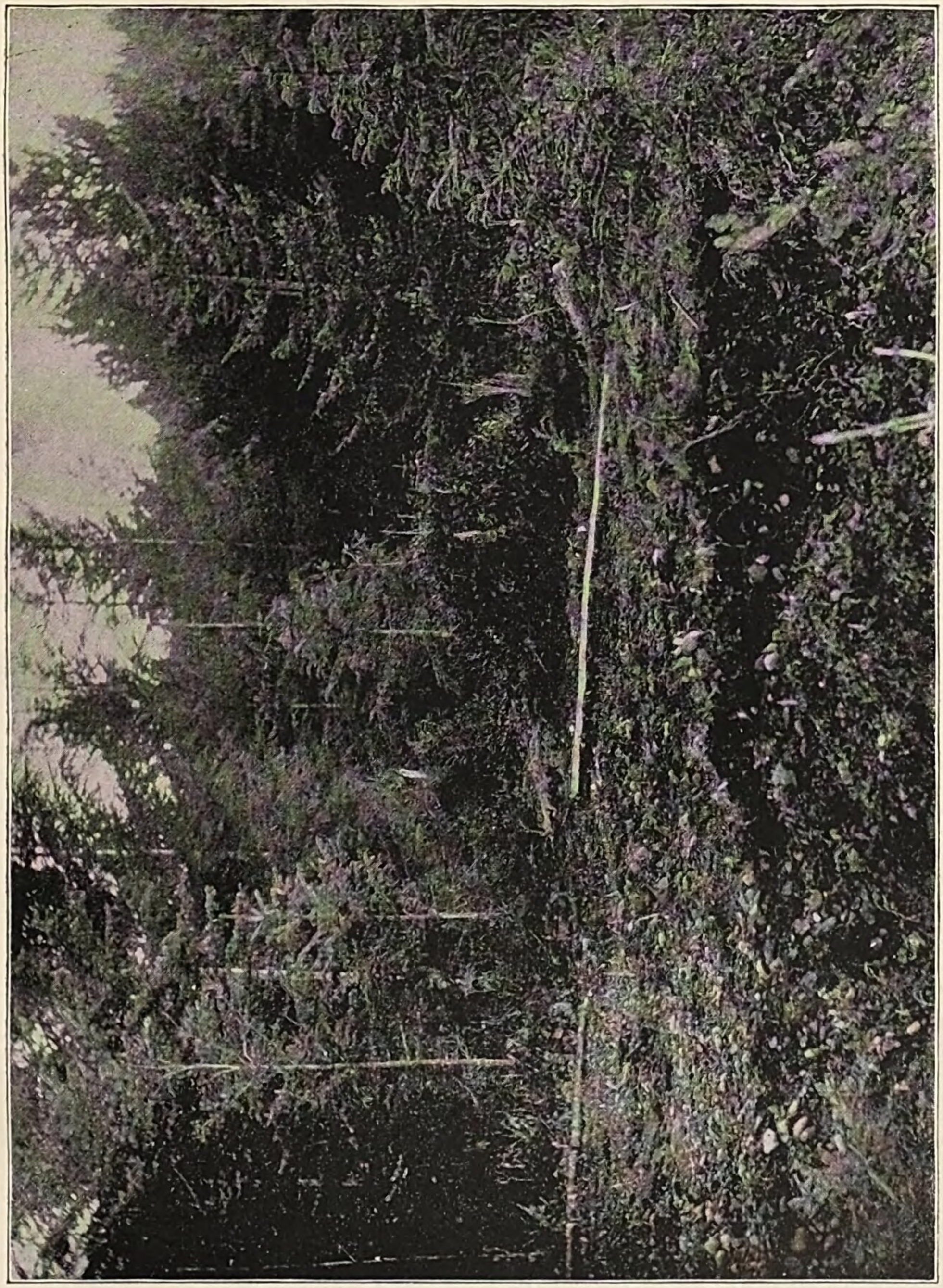
Fig. 177.

THIRD HEAD RING OF HAI′ALIK·AUAĒ.

The crosspieces indicate the powers of the shaman.

Cat. No. 175491, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

[1] La mEns gu′nx·'itEL k·ik·ī′lnalaL.
We will try to bring him back.



PLACE WHERE THE SECRET MEETINGS OF THE WINTER CEREMONIAL ARE HELD.
From a photograph.

unseen to the songs, as they must dance to them when they first appear in the house. The people sit arranged in a square. At some distance from each corner a fool dancer is placed, to watch that no uninitiated person comes near. If, nevertheless, one of these should see what is going on he is captured by the fool dancer, taken into the square, and he is initiated.

After all have learned the new songs, they scatter and go home singly in order not to attract the attention of the other people. Each family takes supper alone, then they get ready for the dance. When it gets dark, the yē′wix·ila sends four messengers to invite the people to the dance. He gives each of these a button blanket, a head ring and a neck ring of red cedar bark, and eagle down to strew on their heads. They walk out of the house to one end of the village and go into the door of the last house, in order to invite the people. Each of them has a set speech. The first says, "Let us try shamans!" The second, "We shall try in vain to bring back what makes us remember our friends!" The third, "Bathe, G·'êpLalai! Bathe, Yaqoîsai′!" calling the names of dancers. The fourth, "Rise, friends!" also naming the dancers.[1]

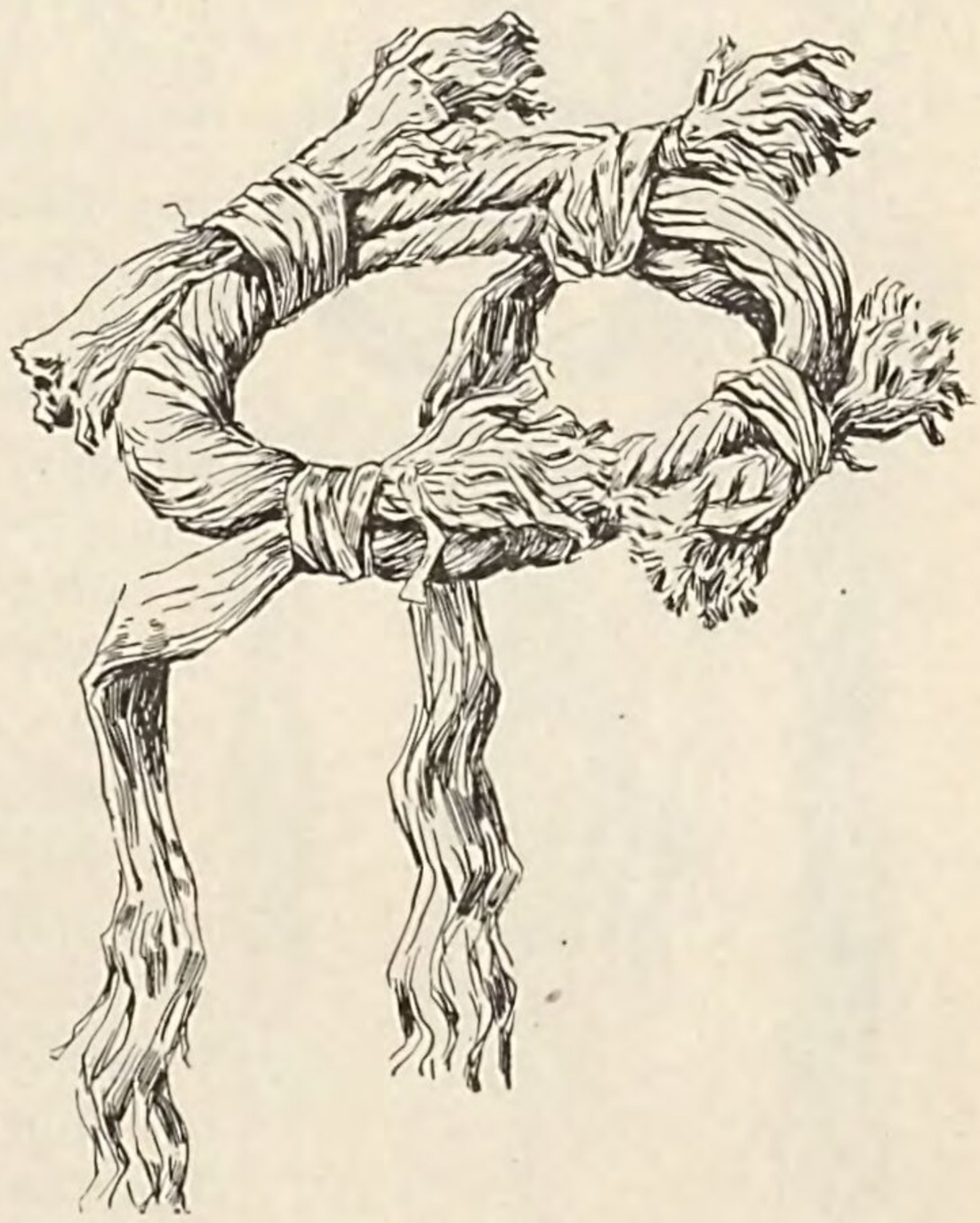


Fig. 178.

FIRST HEAD RING OF HAI′ALIK·AUAĒ.

Nimkish.

The two lateral crosspieces represent the heads of the sī′siuL, and the front crosspiece the death bringer.

Cat. No. 175511, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

In inviting the people, they begin with the women and mention the name of everybody living in the particular house, continuing with the names of the hā′mats'a and calling finally the names of the quē′qutsa. After the messengers have gone through the whole village, they return to the house of the yē′wix·ila saying: "We have been outside to the end of the village."[2]

---

[1] The first man says: La mEns hēinax'alēLai′ pēpaxalai′.
We will try shamans.

The second says: La mEns wuL'alēLai′ nēnEmōkoai′ k·ik·î′lnala xEns q'ālaLElaai′.
We will try for nothing friends to bring back our what makes us remember.

The third says: La ams xōsēt'ēLai′ Gy·êpLalai. Laams xōsēt'ēLai′ Yaqoisai′.
Ready you bathe (woman's name). Ready bathe (Hā′mats'a name).

The fourth says: Laams LāX'oēLai′ qāstai′ NāXdanai′.
Ready you rise friend One man eater.

[2] LamEnōX lā′pElsa.

Then the yē′wix·ila asks four other people to act as his messengers. Again he gives each a button blanket, a head ring and neck ring of red cedar bark, and eagle down for the head. They go to all the houses and invite the people to come at once. They go to each house and say, "Walk back."[1]

As soon as the people begin to enter the house, the yē′wix·ila beats time on a board, in quick measures, concluding with a sharp rap and the call, "hai, hai."

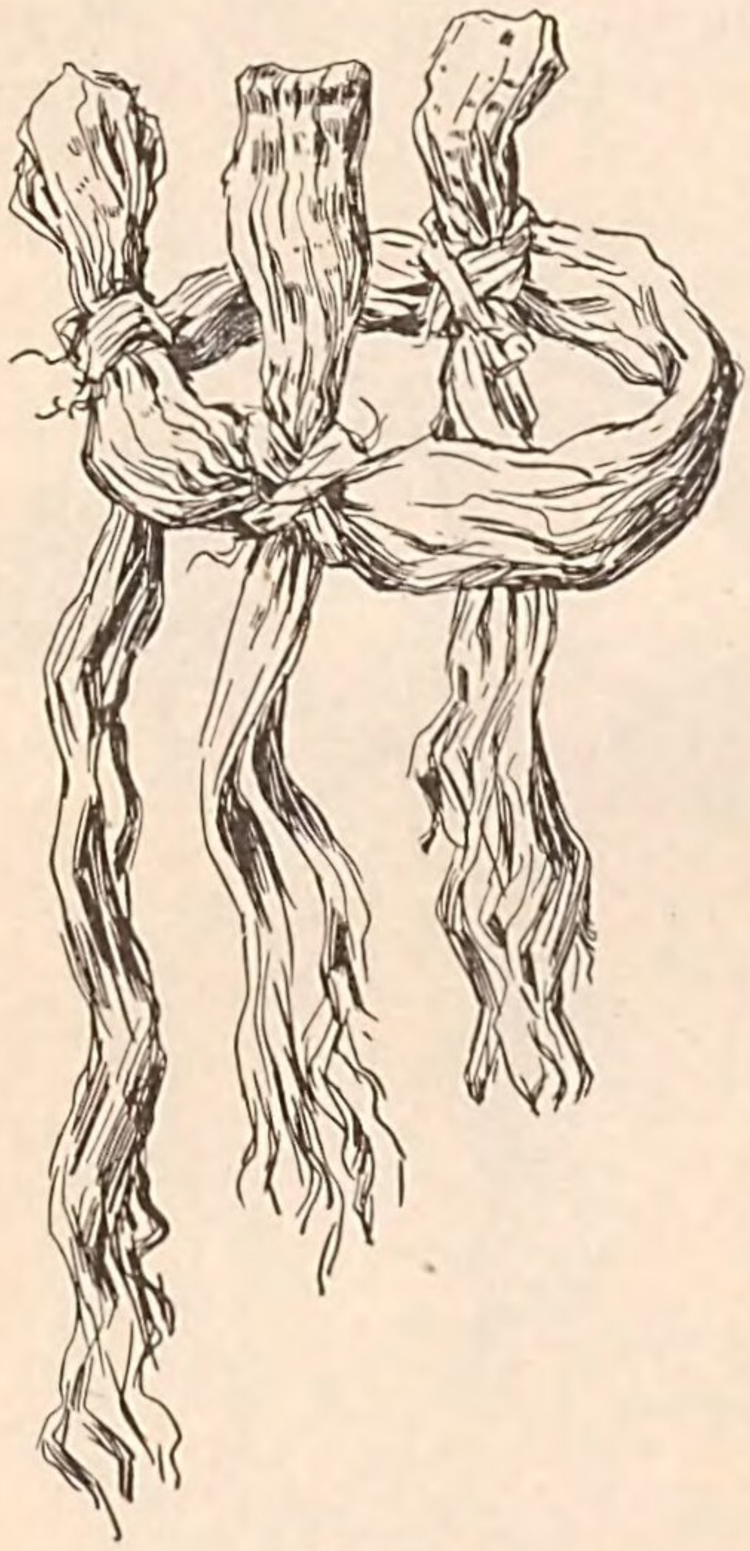


Fig. 179.

SECOND HEAD RING OF HAI′ALIK·AUAĒ.

Nimkish.

The crosspieces represent the powers of the shaman.

Cat. No. 175512, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

The Koskimo are the first to enter. Each man carries as many hemlock wreaths as he has killed enemies during war expeditions. They also carry bows and arrows. Then they step up to the middle of the house and throw one wreath after the other into the fire, calling the name of the enemy whom it represents. As soon as a wreath is thrown into the fire they call "yē," and all repeat this cry. At the same time they shoot arrows into the fire. This ceremony is called yî′lxoa, which means placing the head of an enemy on a pole. The fire is called XusE′la, which means fighting place. The whole ceremony is called al'Xts'âliL wā′lastEm (carrying blood into the house and giving away much property) or k·'ā′-g·'ēuLaxstā′la (sharp edge of knife). At present the wreaths represent the number of coppers which a man has given away. They have taken the place of heads, because, according to the usages of the Kwakiutl, a man who has given away a copper by doing so becomes a victor over his rival. They also throw paddles into the fire, the meaning of which is that they send a canoe to call their rivals to a festival, in which they are going to show their greatness.

After the Koskimo have entered, the maa′mx'ēnôx come in. Pieces of board representing dorsal fins are attached to their backs. They carry wreaths of hemlock branches in their hands. Their arms are stretched back and they make the motions of swimming, blowing from time to time like whales. They drop their wreaths in the rear of the house, go out again, take their fins off, and reenter. Then the people beat time, and the maa′mx'ēnôx, holding their blankets stretched out backward, enter. They take up their wreaths, and call the name of the copper or other property that they are going to give away. Then they

[1] Qātsēstai′.

throw the wreaths into the fire. This means that they are going to rival the other tribes in the amount of property that they will give away.

The wives of the Koskimo, the qau'qōtsaxsEm (?), are the next to enter. Each of them carries a number of sticks, which represent the amount of property which they are going to give to their husbands. Each says what amount of property these sticks represent. They are followed by the qā'qaō and k·ē'k·ēxalāqa, the wives of the maa'mx'ēnôx. They also carry sticks and state how much property they are going to give away.

Last of all the mEsē'q, or Sea-egg, enters. Sharp sticks about 3 feet long are fastened to his clothing. Two men accompany him. When he comes to the rear of the house, all the sticks are pulled out from his clothing, and at the same time the names of all the coppers which were given away during the past year are called. Everyone who has given away blankets has one stick contributed to the ornaments of this peculiar dancer. The sticks are then thrown into the fire, while all sing out, "yē!"

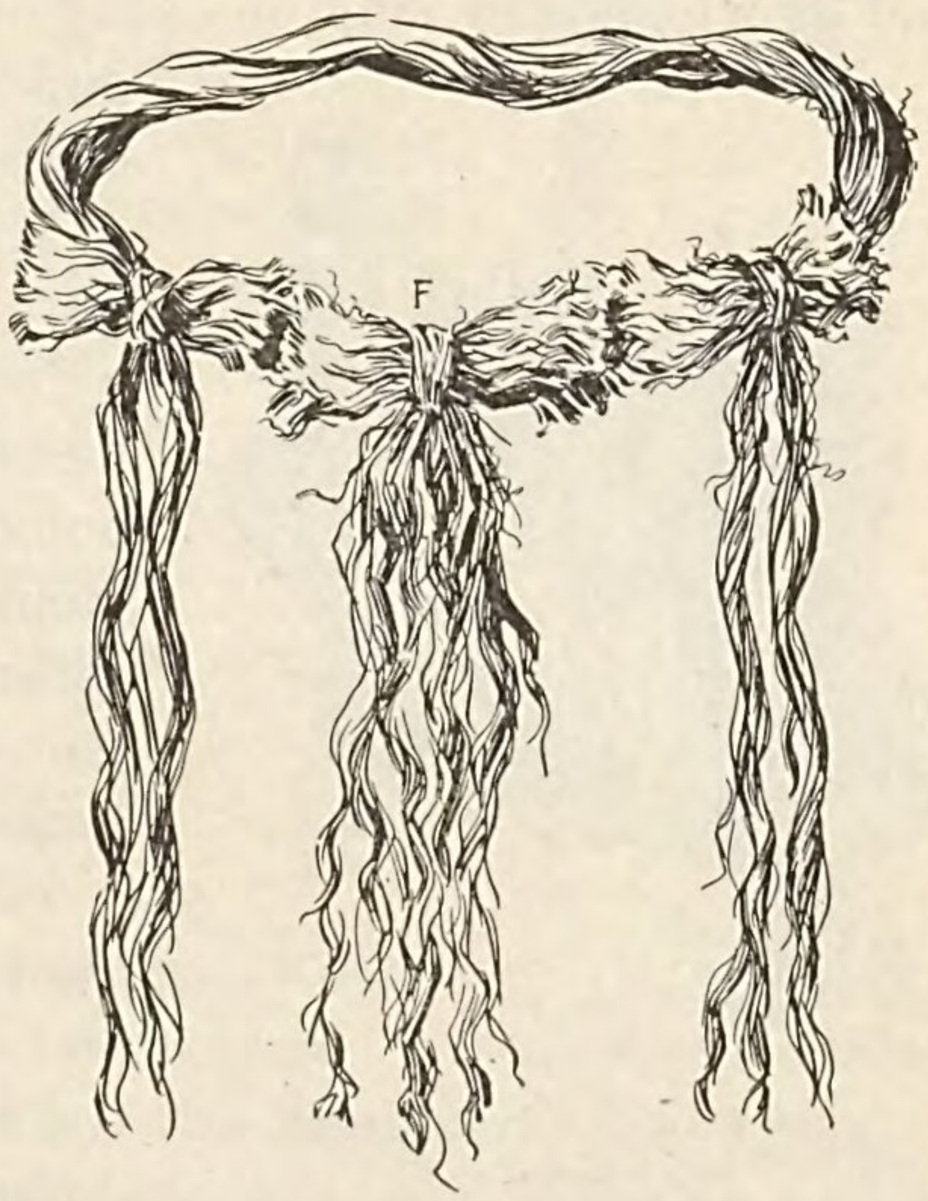


Fig. 180.

NECK RING OF HAI'ALIK AUAL.

Nimkish.

The three crosspieces represent the central and terminal heads of the sī'siuL.

Cat. No. 175514, U.S.N.M. Collected by F. Boas.

The maa'mx'ēnox and d'ō'd'opa then arrange themselves behind the fire, facing the rear of the house. The singing master stands behind them, facing the door and looking at the singers. The Koskimo and hē'mêlk sit on each side of the house, the women in the rear row. (See p. 436.)

Finally the seal society enter in the same manner as described above p. 506).

While they are going to their seats the singers slip out singly through the secret door. Then suddenly they all reenter the house with great noise, and the people say: "The great maa'mx'ēnôx have become excited."[1] They go around the fire slowly, holding their blankets spread out. Sometimes they are led by one of the mē'êmqoat. Then they pretend to pursue the latter.[2] If the member of the seal society should happen to be a fool dancer, they endeavor to hit his nose, and as soon as they succeed in doing so he gets excited and stabs the people. During all this time the singing master remains in his place.

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[1] Kuē'qōL la g·a maa'mx'ēnuxtsē'!
Wild these, the great maa'mx'ēnox.

[2] They act according to their names. The maa'mx'ēnôx are killer whales, while the mē'êmqoat are seals, who are the prey of the former.

After the singers have rearranged themselves in the rear of the fire, two of their number are sent to the door. Each has a rattle. They are the heralds who announce the dances which are to be performed that night in order to bring about the return of the novice. When the singers and the members of the seal society are in their places, the people slip out singly and return to perform their dances. On this evening they do not show the highest dances which they possess, but those which they owned when they were children. On the whole the lower grades of dances come in first, the higher ones later on, but there is no strict order. As soon as one of them approaches the house, the heralds shake their rattles, and upon this signal the singers begin to beat the boards rapidly, and continue to do so during the dance, at the end of which they sing one song of the dancer. The character of these dances was described in the preceding chapter.

Fig. 181.
HEAD RING OF HAI'ALIK·AUAĒ.
L'ā'sq'ēnôx.
Cat. No. 175522, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

When about one-half of all the dances have been shown, and particularly after a dance that has been well performed, two messengers (hō'ʟaq'îs, listeners) are sent out by the speaker of the master of ceremonies to listen if no sign of the hā'mats'a's return can be heard. They go out, listen, and come back saying that they have not heard anything.

While the people are waiting for the dancers to come in, railleries are going on. The speaker of the yē'wix·ila sends the heralds: "Go to our friend (the bear dancer) and see if he has not washed."[1] The herald goes out, after turning in the door. When he comes back, and the next dancer is to be a woman, he may say: "She will not come; she is fighting with her husband;" or, "She will not come; she and her husband are kissing each other."

The dances continue until early in the morning, when the ghost dancer appears. As soon as the people sing his song, all the old hā'mats'as, who have not entered the house so far, get excited, their whistles are blown by the hē'lig·a, and they enter the house from all sides—through the roof, through the front door, and through the secret doors in the rear of the house. They jump down on the floor, squat, and, looking up, cry "hāp hāp!" They jump around the fire four times, looking up and crying "hāp!" all the time. Their cries are supposed to be heard by the novice in the woods, who is heard all of a sudden on the roof of the house. He runs around four times. Three times he pushes the boards of the roof aside, and then he jumps down. The

[1] Ha'g·a laxEns nEmō'kua (nā'nē). Ē'saō xō'sit.
Go to our friend (bear). Not he washed.

people surround him and try to hold him. He runs around the fire four times, but all of a sudden he has disappeared again, having made his exit through the secret door in the rear of the house. Only the hemlock branches with which he was adorned remain in the house. As soon as the people see that he has disappeared, they say that somebody has made a mistake which angered the hā′mats'a and caused him to leave the house again.

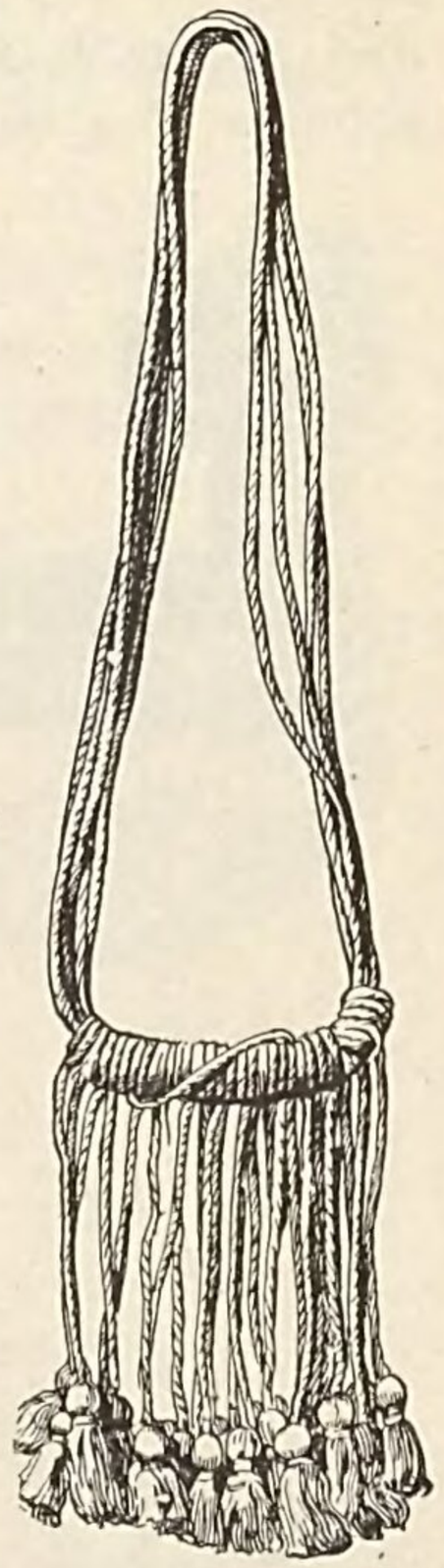

Fig. 182.

NECK RING OF SHAMAN, MADE OF RED CEDAR BARK.

IV A, No. 1033, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin Collected by A. Jacobsen.

Not always is the hā′mats'a induced to return in the manner described here. Sometimes the xoā′ēxoē dances and the earthquake that is thus produced brings him back, or the dance of the t'ō′X'uît may bring him back.

In some instances a particular officer, the Lelē′L'-alēnôx, must try to call the novice. He is considered the chief of all the quē′qutsa. He wears a rough head ring and neck ring of red cedar bark which is twisted four times. His face is blackened. He enters carrying a baton and stops in front of the fire. If anyone should laugh, he points at him, and the person who is thus singled out must look downward. He goes around the fire singing his secret song, as follows:[1]

> Ah, ah, supernatural power! Ah, ah, ah, supernatural power! Hoo!

In the rear of the house he turns once, cries "hu!" and stoops down to listen. Then he continues his circuit and repeats this action in front of the house. While he is doing so the hā′mats'a appears on the roof, in the rear right hand corner of the house, runs around the roof, and opens a hole on the left hand front corner and looks down into the house. From here he rushes to the rear left corner of the house. Then he runs to the rear right corner, and to the front right corner, pushes the boards aside, and looks down into the house. Then the people take a number of blankets, spread them out tight, and hold them under the place where the hā′mats'a is looking down. Finally he jumps down into the blankets in the front right corner of the house. They try to hold him, and slowly go around the fire trying to lay their hands upon him, but he disappears again. Only his hemlock branches are left in the hands of the people.

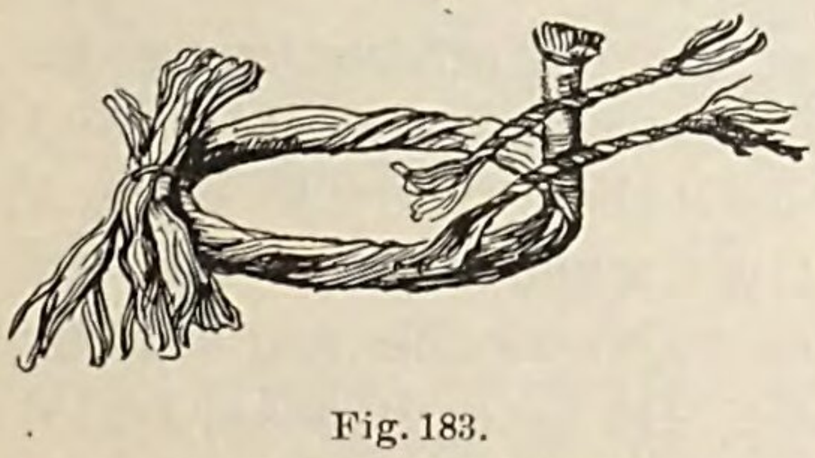

Fig. 183.

HEAD RING OF WĀ′TANEM.

IV A, No. 6872, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by F. Boas.

[1] Appendix, page 724.

Then the LEle̅′L'ale̅nôx says that the laughing of the person whom he pointed out in the beginning was the cause of the disappearance of the ha̅′mats'a. The laugher must call his daughter to dance, and he must take a staff (the feast pole qa̅′so̅p'e̅q) in his hands and promise to give a feast after her dance.

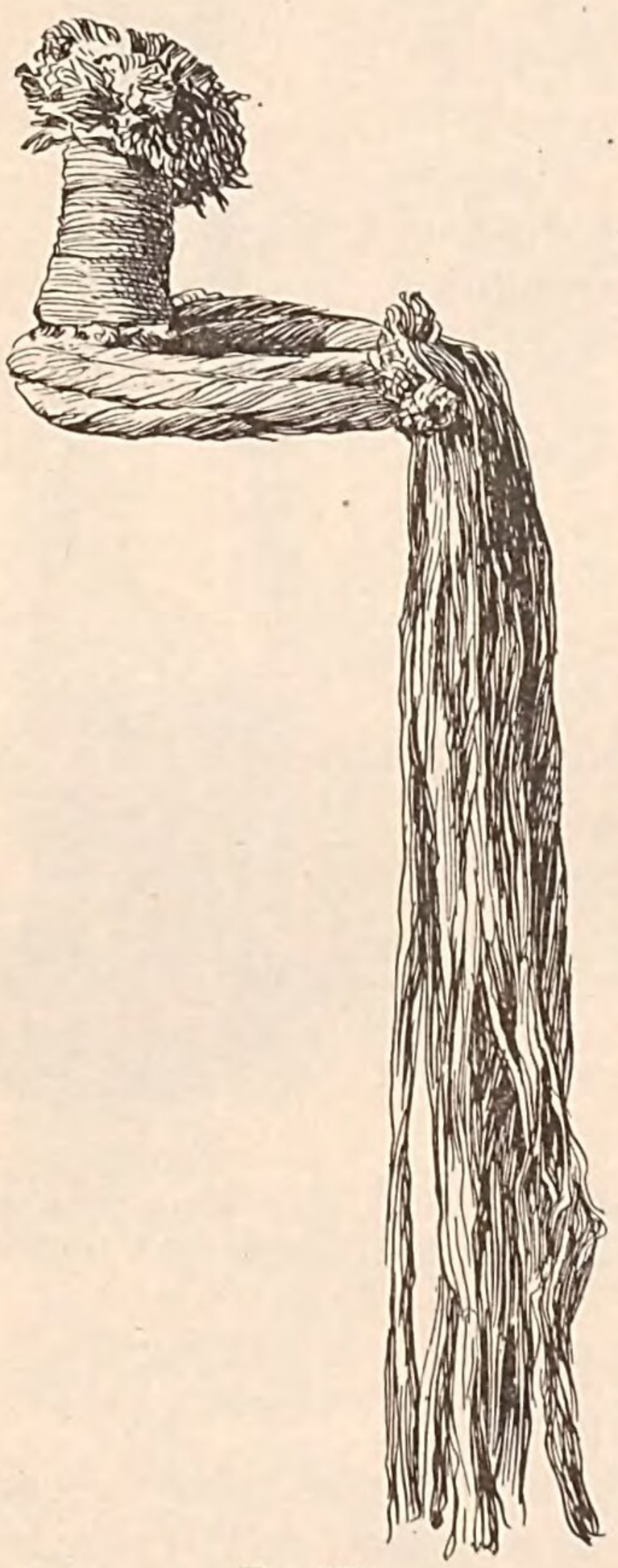

Fig. 184.

HEAD RING OF THE CHIEF OF THE KILLER WHALE SOCIETY.

IV A, No. 1824, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

If any other mistake should have been made, the LEle̅′L'ale̅nôx points it out in a similar way. When, for instance, a woman has brought her uninitiated children into the house, he will say on entering, "I smell someone who is profane;"[1] and the people will reply, "Important is your word."[2] Then he asks for red cedar bark, which is given to him. He makes a neck ring and a head ring (figs. 186, 187, pp. 527, 528). He asks one man to beat time. Then he sings his secret song, and suddenly the voices of birds (whistles) are heard on top of the house. He holds the red cedar bark in front of his face, pushing it forward with every step and crying, "o̅, o̅, ôp, ôp." Then he puts the cedar bark on the child's head. The birds' voices suddenly disappear, and are heard on the roof of the house of the child's father. Then that child must disappear, it being supposed that he has been taken away by these spirits.

After the novice has disappeared again, the chief's speaker asks all the people to make themselves ready to expect the novice on the following morning. All this time his whistles are heard in the woods. Then the people go to their houses and have a short rest, but after about an hour or two the ye̅′wix·ila calls them to his house and asks them to try to catch the new ha̅′mats'a. He says: "Take care! we want to save our great friend."[3] Then the master of ceremonies requests the seal society to assemble, and the que̅′qutsa to follow them. He says, "Gather seals!"[4]

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[1] Hmm; ba̅xusp'ala, smell of the profane.

[2] Awi̅′laxao̅x wa̅′LdEmaq'o̅s, Ho̅′LElete̅.
Important your word, Ho̅′LElete̅.

[3] Laams ya̅′L'o̅Xue̅tdExdaôxLo̅L ne̅nEmo̅′k qanso̅' wa̅′wultsEwax·'i̅t xEns
You, take care you, friends, we want to save our
nEmo̅′xtse̅.
great friend.

[4] Lo̅xsEmaLaa′mL is me̅′emqoat.
In bunch you seals.

The k·î′nqalaʟala lead the way, each singing her secret song. All the people follow them toward the beach. The first k·î′nqalaʟala sings:[1]

Yiya ham yiyaha. I am the real tamer of BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē.
Yiya ham yiyaha. I pull the red cedar bark from BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē's back.

Then the second one sings:[1]

It is my power to pacify you, when you are in a state of ecstasy.[2]

They go westward, and as soon as they come to the place called Nau′alak'uas (place of supernatural power), about one-eighth of a mile west of the village, four sons or relatives of the yē′wix·ila are sent out to gather hemlock branches. During this time the singers sing the new songs which were made on the preceding day in the woods, in order to enable the other people to learn these songs. Now, the boys return, bringing the hemlock branches, which are used for making head and neck rings for the people. All the quē′qutsa form a row and take each others' hands. They sing the new songs and go forward. The old hā′mats'as and the other members of the seal society go before them. Then all of a sudden the new hā′mats'a appears, and is surrounded by the people, but he disappears again. It is not the novice himself who appears at this time, but some other man who looks like him, and who while being surrounded by the "seals" takes off his hemlock dress and dresses in red cedar bark like the other seals, so that apparently the hā′mats'a has disappeared again, leaving only his hemlock dress. Suddenly the novice is seen again in front of the village. Everybody runs to take him, but he disappears again in the same manner as before. After a short time he is seen again at Nau′alak'uas. He is surrounded, but disappears a third time. Then all the people form a row, take each others' hands, and each begins to sing his own secret song. Thus they approach the village, where the hā′mats'a is seen again. One man strips off his clothing and goes in front of the people. He is called the bait of the tribe (tē′lEm). As soon as the hā′mats'a sees him he rushes up to him, seizes his arm, and bites it. Then the

Fig. 185.
HEAD RING OF QUĒ′QUTSA.
Koskimo.
Cat. No. 175526, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

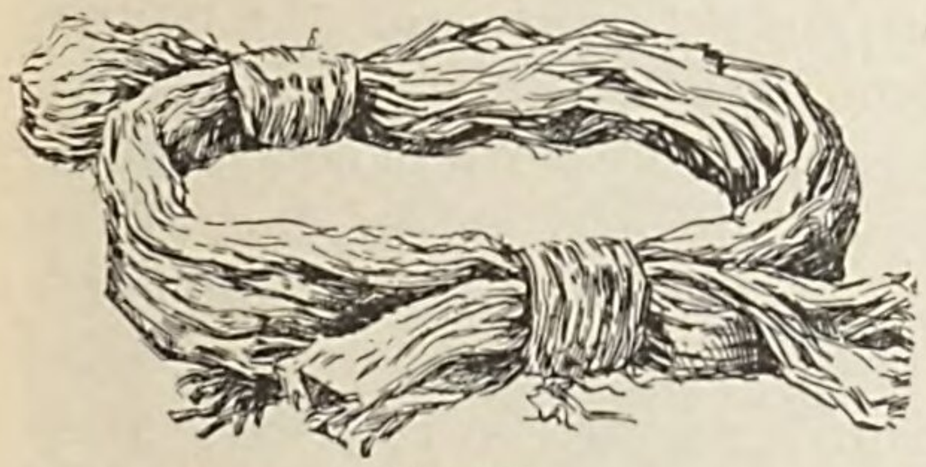


Fig. 186.
HEAD RING OF ONE WHO IS ADMITTED TO THE WINTER CEREMONIAL FOR THE FIRST TIME.
Cat. No. 175501, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

[1] Appendix, page 724. [2] This is the secret song of all the hē′lig·a.

people catch him and lead him toward the house, singing the new songs. (Plate 44.) The hē′lig·a sing their secret songs, and the uninitiated cry "hoî′p." By this means they attempt to tame the hā′mats'a. The people lead him to the house of the yē′wix·ila, who, on their approach, steps out of the house with his whole family, dressed in red cedar bark ornaments and button blankets. Their faces are marked with black spots. Their heads are covered with down. They dance in front of the house, accompanying the new songs. Some of the yē′wix·ila's relatives go down to the people, who lead the hā′mats'a, and hold boards in their hands for the people to beat time on. Then the latter begin to sing as follows: "Woe! you are making your parents poor, naualak!"[1] Then they walk into the house. After they have all entered, the new k·î′nqalaʟala who returned with the hā′mats'a from the woods, and who, during the ceremony, is entirely naked, begins to sing her new song. She enters the house going backward, facing the hā′mats'a, whom she desires to lead into the house. The hā′mats'a, however, is apparently unwilling to enter, and stays for about half an hour in the door, where he turns four times, the hē′lig·a surrounding him all the time. During this time the people raise the ha′msp'ēq and the mā′wiʟ. As soon as it is completed, the hā′mats'a leaves the door, goes to the right until he comes to the rear of the house, and climbs the ha′msp'ēq. He ascends the roof of the house, runs around once, and returns, descending the ha′msp'ēq, or he jumps down from the door of the mā′wiʟ. As soon as he jumps down he rushes to one man and bites his arm. He goes around the fire once, holding him in this way. Then he climbs the ha′msp'ēq again, runs around the roof, and after he comes down again bites another man. This is repeated four times. The people during this time sing the new songs, and the hā′mats'a dances around the fire, but not properly, as he is supposed to be still out of his senses. After he has danced around the fire the fourth time, he goes into the mā′wiʟ. Then all the people take off the hemlock branches and throw them into the fire. This is called smoking the wildness of BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē out of the hā′mats'a. Then they arrange themselves according to the societies to which they belong. The yē′wix·ila who stands at the left-hand side of the door says: "I

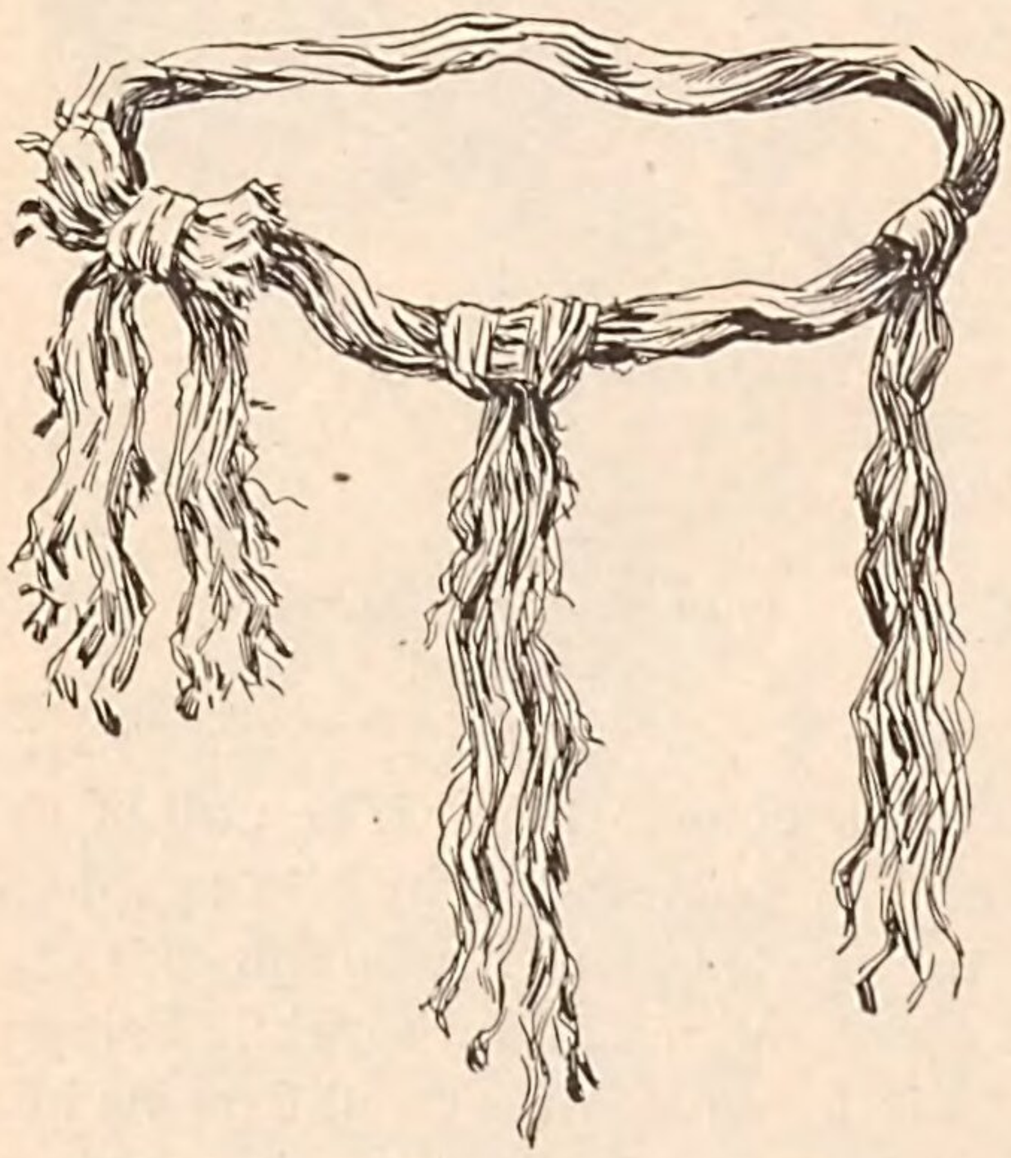
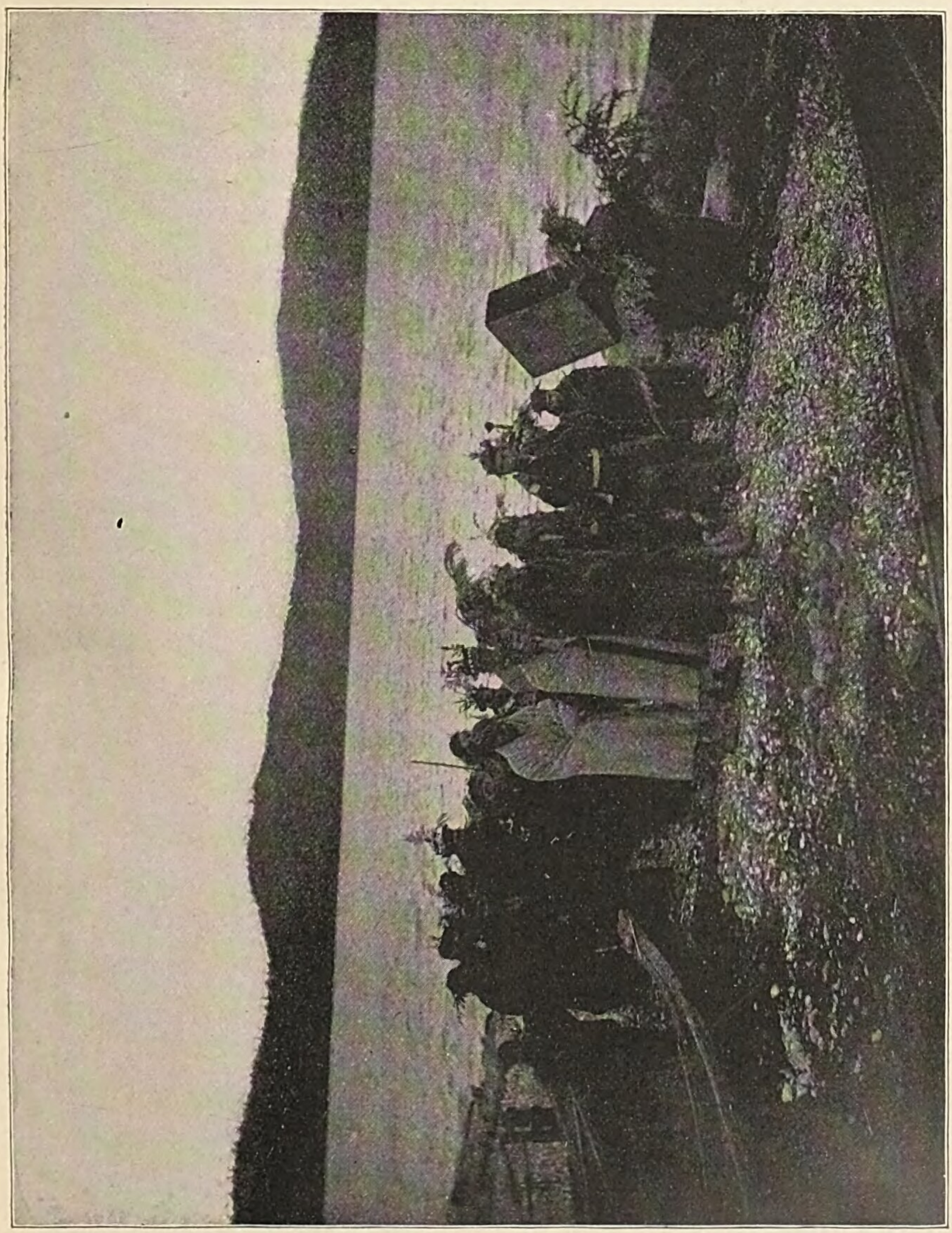


Fig. 187.

NECK RING OF ONE WHO IS ADMITTED TO THE WINTER CEREMONIAL FOR THE FIRST TIME.

Cat. No. 175502, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

[1] Wō sis wun g·iʟ mōwēʟōs nau′alakuō woē woē!
Woe you make poor men you naualak woē woē.



THE RETURN OF THE HĀ'MATS'A.
From a photograph.

am (Hē′iLtsaqolîs)! Come friends and give away the bracelets and coppers."[1] The name by which he calls himself here is the one which he assumes at this festival. Then the members of the society to which he belongs take the brass bracelets and the coppers out of the box and give them to him. He says: "I obtained this property from my father-in-law, and I am going to distribute it now according to the laws of the winter dance."[2]

The yē′wix·ila turns everything over to the master of ceremonies or to one of his own relatives, who in their turn distribute the property among the assembly, giving the women first, then the "seals," and lastly the quē′qutsa, each person receiving one stick of bracelets and one stick of coppers. After the property has been distributed, the people go home and take their breakfast in their own houses.

In the evening the yē′wix·ila again requests four messengers to invite the people. He tells them the names of the new hā′mats'a and k·î′nqalaLala, and tells them to call the people to come to his house, in order to tame the new hā′mats'a and k·î′nqalaLala. Each of these messengers receives one button blanket. They go to the various houses and say:[3]

"Shamans! We will pacify this supernatural one. We will soften (TsE′mqok·aLa)[4] by means of our songs. Friends! We will pacify this supernatural one. We will restore to her senses (Hē′lig·îxstēg·ilisa).[5] Let us go into the dancing house before dark!"

After they return to the dancing house, the yē′wix·ila calls four more messengers, who also receive a button blanket each in payment for their services. They must go to the end of the village, and beginning at the last house they must say: "We come back to call you. The fire is going out. We have no fuel. Come quick, shamans!"[6] The people follow them at once, and all enter the dancing house.

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[1]Nō′guam Hē′iLtsaqolîs. Qē′laxdaôx lag·a nēnEmō′kᵘ qas ax'ē′itdax'ōs sā′xa
I am " come, friends, for you to give the
k·'ō′kulē LEwa Lā′qôxsEm qas iā′x'uitaōsas.
bracelets and coppers that you give them away.

[2]La'mEnuX iā′x'uiL nēnEmōkuē′ g·ānō′x g·āyanEmX lā′xEnō'X
We will give away, friends this what we got from our wife there we
qig·ā′taas.
from whom wife was obtained.

[3]La'mEns yōLaLai′ pēpaxalai′ laxoa Lōkoalaxai′. La'mEns tamalqoaLai′
We will tame paxalas this supernatural one. We will make soft inside by means of songs,
lāx TsE′mqok·aLai′. La'mEns hēlēk·aLai′ nēnEmōkoai′ lā′xoa Lōkoalaxai′.
on "sound of swallowing." We will tame friends at this supernatural one.
La'mEns nā′nâqa'maLai′ pēpaxalai′ lāx Hē′lig·îxstēg·ilisai′. NānEmts'âEmLEnsai′.
We will restore to his senses paxalas on Tamer of (Hā′mats'a's) mouth. We will all go in before dark.

[4]Name of the hā′mats'a novice.

[5]Name of the k·î′nqalaLala novice.

[6]Qātsēsdaai′ la'am k·'îlx'ētdē da lEqoī′L; k·'ē′osnūX lEquiLaai′; wä hā′'lag·ilēL
We walk back going out the fire; not we firewood; wä hurry
Lax pēpaxalai′.
paxalas.

During the whole day the whistles of the hā′mats'a were heard in the house. Then the speaker of the yē′wix·ila says as follows: "Friends, do as I desire! Try to pacify our friend! Let all the women dance!"[1] This is a request to the women to dance with the hā′mats'a in order to tame him. The master of ceremonies calls upon all the ha′mshamtsEs, the hai′alik·ilaL, the t'ō′X'uît, and the k·î′nqalaLala to dance with the hā′mats'a. They blacken their faces, put eagle down on their heads, and begin to dance. Then the hā′mats'a shakes the ha′msp'ēq and comes out of the mā′wiL. At once the people begin to beat the boards, but do not sing. The hā′mats'a goes around the fire once and disappears again in the mā′wiL. The master of ceremonies says: "Somebody must have made a mistake," and calls up the paxa′lalaL—that means the shaman dancer. He steps forward, calls for a round rattle, and as soon as the master of ceremonies has given it to him he begins to sing the song of the paxa′lalaL.[2] "You took me around the world, BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē." He goes around the fire and then enters the mā′wiL at the same place where the hā′mats'a went in. He stays there for about ten minutes and then reappears, saying that the people have made too much noise, and that they did not have enough down on their heads, and that the hā′mats'a had disappeared again for these reasons. The master of ceremonies calls for four dishes of eagle down. Then four men come out of the right hand front corner of the house carrying the dishes and saying that they were waiting for the orders of the master of ceremonies. He sends the four men to feather the heads of the people, beginning with the hā′mats'a, continuing with the other "seals," and finishing with the quē′qutsa. Then the master of ceremonies says that the eagle down brought into the house supernatural power (which is not supposed to be present where there is no down).

Now the hā′mats'a is seen to leave the mā′wiL again. He jumps down, goes around the fire once, and disappears again. Again the paxa′lalaL is sent to discover if a mistake has been made which induced the hā′mats'a to leave again. He sings the same song as before, enters the mā′wiL, where he stays for some time. He reappears and says that the hā′mats'a was displeased because the hē′lig·a did not sing their secret song. Then four hē′lig·a are sent into the mā′wiL. The yē′wix·ila gives four button blankets to the master of ceremonies and requests him to do with them whatever he pleases. The master of ceremonies gives them to the hē′lig·a, who then begin to sing: "Wa

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[1] Ia aadē′ la'ams waxē′idEXdaôxL g·ā′xEn qās gu′nx·'itdaōs lā′lōLa xEns
Ia, friends, you give my desire me for you try get him our
nEmō′Xdaōxuē′x. Nā′xulēLdaôxEmLEs ts'ē′daqä′ yixoā′xdaôxLEx.
friend our. All you women dance.

[2] Yam ha mām ha mai yē, hamamaai hama.
LaXdEnō′kᵘ laistai′sElahayūas, BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē.
You took me around the world, BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē.
They all have one song in common.

ha wa ha wa ha wa ha wa ha hai ya yē hē ya yē ya ya wa ha wa ha hai ya yē hē ya yē ha yē ha, hoîp."

Now they enter the māwiL, and after a short time bring out the hā'mats'a, who bites the arm of one of them. As soon as they approach the door of the house, the hā'mats'a lets go his hold, turns around, and bites a second one in the same way. They continue their way, and, when they reach the mā'wiL, the hā'mats'a disappears once more. The hē'lig·a follow him, and soon he reappears, biting the third one. As soon as they come to the door, he lets go his hold and bites the fourth one. When they reach the rear of the house again, the hē'lig·a do not allow him to reenter the mā'wiL. The people beat time rapidly. During these ceremonies the hā'mats'a is entirely naked, with the exception of a wreath of hemlock branches which he wears around his neck, one around his head, one around the waist, and bracelets and anklets of the same material.

Now the people begin to sing the new songs which were made for the hā'mats'a. After the first song has been sung, he disappears in the mā'wiL, and immediately the mask of QoāqoaXuālanuXsī'waē, the raven, appears. After the mask has disappeared, the hā'mats'a appears again, entirely naked. When he has finished his dance, the mask of BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē comes out (see p. 446). The mask disappears in the mā'wiL, and the hā'mats'a comes out again dancing slowly. He wears a crown of red cedar bark on his head, a wide neck ring of the same material, anklets, bracelets, a dancing apron, and a bear skin. Then the people continue to sing the new songs which were made for him. The master of ceremonies spreads a new mat in the middle of the rear of the house in front of the singers. After his dance the hā'mats'a sits down on this mat, facing the rear of the house. Then the k·î'nqala-Lala comes out of the mā'wiL singing her new secret song. After she has finished, the people sing the new songs which were made for her in the woods. She dances until the two songs are finished. Then the master of ceremonies calls up a man named Ts'ē'qamē (quē'qutsa name); "Come, friend, try if you can reach our friend."[1] This is the request to him to tame the hā'mats'a. Ts'ē'qamē asks for four pieces of white soft cedar bark, which are given to him by the yē'wix·ila.[2] Ts'ē'qamē takes them, crying "hoîp, hoîp." That means that he is putting the secret of the winter dance into the bark. He asks for a pole (about 6 feet long), which is given to him by the yē'wix-ila, or by the brother of the latter, who is looking after the fire. Ts'ē'qamē ties the four pieces of cedar bark to the end of the pole. Each piece is about 8 feet long. He tells the people to be ready to beat time when the signal is given. He asks one of the k·î'nqalaLala to take off the clothing of the hā'mats'a.

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[1] Qelag·a adē', qās gu'nx·'itaōs dō'qoaL qās goayō'Lasōs āx g·îns nEmō'Xtsēk·.
Come, friend, for to try see that you reach our friend.

[2] He says: Ax'e'ta g·ax k·ā'tsekoaqaE'n; mōxsaE'nLē.
Give white cedar bark me four pieces only.

The k·î′nqalaʟala goes around the fire saying "hoîp, hoîp, hoîp, hoîp," and then takes the hā′mats'a's clothing and cedar bark ornaments off. Then Ts'ē′qamē gives the signal to the people to begin beating time, and as soon as they begin he puts one end of the cedar bark into the fire. He runs around the fire until he comes to the place where the hā′mats'a is sitting. Here he swings the burning bark over the hā′matsa's head, and at the same time the latter turns around squatting and crying "hāp, hāp, hāp." Ts'ē′qamē goes around the fire once more, and keeping his eye on the hā′mats'a until he reaches him the second time he swings again the burning cedar bark over his head. This is done four times. This is called nawa′qamā. Then the hē′lig·a lift the hā′mats'a, lug him around the fire, and take him into the mā′wiʟ. The master of ceremonies now calls the yē′wix·ila and asks him to pay Ts'ē′qamē for his work. The ye′wix·ila goes into his bedroom and brings out a button blanket, which he gives to him. Then the yē′wix·ila asks the master of ceremonies or one of his relatives to distribute the rest of the brass bracelets, coppers, and button blankets among the people. Each person receives one stick of bracelets, one stick of coppers, and one button blanket.

Now all the profane must leave the house. The door is closed and the purification of the hā′mats'a begins. Four men must take part in this ceremony,—the kuē′ts'ēnôx or the washer, the qa'nēnôx or the rubber, the ts'ē′silaēnôx or the tongsmaker, and the t'a′mtsēnôx or the time beater. Whatever these men ask for incidentally to the ceremony must be given to them, and they retain it as their personal property. When everything is quiet, the ts'ē′silaēnôx asks for a piece of cedar board about 6 feet long, for a wedge, and for a stone hammer. After this is brought to him, the t'a′mtsēnôx sits down in his place ready to beat time. Then the ts'ē′silaēnôx asks for a belt. After he has received it, he puts it on, goes around the fire four times, carrying a rattle in his hand, while the t'a′mts'ēnôx is beating time. He does not sing, but says "hoîp, hoîp." After he has gone around the fire four times, he stops, puts his rattle down, and stoops three times, as though he was going to take up the hammer and wedge, but he does not really take it until he stoops down the fourth time. Every time he stoops the t'a′mtsēnôx gives a short rap on the board. Then the ts'ē′silaēnôx goes around the fire until he comes to the place where the board is lying on the ground. He steps up to it, turns once to the left, puts his wedge against the board, and pretends to drive it in with his stone hammer, but he takes it off again, turns once more to the left, and places it a second and third time against the board. The fourth time he really, with one hard blow, drives the wedge into the board and splits it. Then he asks the yē′wix·ila for a knife, and after it is given to him he makes a pair of tongs out of the cedar board. Then he asks for a clean mat and for a piece of soft white cedar bark. He takes it up with his tongs, goes around the fire, and gives it to the

qa'nēnôx. Every time these men go around the fire the t'a'mtsēnôx must beat the boards.

Then the qa'nēnox takes the mat and spreads it on the floor at the left-hand side of the door, and lays the cedar bark on it. He begins to rub the bark and to cut it. When cutting, he draws his knife three times, pretending to cut, and every time he does so he turns to the left. The fourth time he really begins to cut the bark. One of the pieces which he cuts is about 6 feet, and two other pieces about 2 feet long each. A knot is tied in the middle of the long piece, which is then tied in shape of a ring, the ends crossing each other and leaving about 1 foot free. The two shorter pieces are tied near the middle of the long piece, so that the whole forms a ring with two ends on one side and two ends near the middle. The ring represents the body, the knot the head, the upper ends the arms, and the lower ends the feet of a person.

Now he rises and gives a signal to the t'a'mtsēnôx to beat time. He goes around the fire once and stops near the tongs which the ts'ē'silaēnôx made. Then he puts the ring down. Now the ts'ē'silaēnôx rises. He spreads the tongs with a small stick. Three times he pretends to take them up, turning each time. The fourth time he really takes them and goes toward the ring of white cedar bark, the qa'nā'yu. At this time the t'a'mtsēnôx begins to beat time again. The ts'ē'silaenôx goes around the fire with the tongs in his hands and keeps his eye on the qa'nā'yu all the time. When he comes to the mat on which it is lying, he pretends to take it up with the tongs, but he does not touch it. Then he turns around to the left and extends his arms toward the place of the rising sun. Every time he does so the t'a'mtsēnôx gives a hard rap on the board, and the people cry "wa!" This is repeated three times; the fourth time he takes the qa'nā'yu, and goes around the fire four times until he arrives at the east side of the house.

Then he pushes up the tongs three times. The fourth time he turns them around and places the handle under the roof of the east side of the house. He goes around the fire four times. Then he pretends to take up four stones with his tongs. He does not really take them until the fourth time. During this time the t'a'mtsēnôx beats again. Then the kuēts'ēnôx asks for a new dish, which is put on the floor. He asks for water, which is brought to him in a bucket. When he takes the latter, he gives a signal to the t'a'mtsēnôx to beat. He walks around the fire with the water, while all the people say "wa wa wa." Every time he comes to the point where he started, either opposite the door or in the rear of the house, he turns and lifts his bucket toward the sun. Every time he does so the t'a'mtsēnôx stops with a loud rap. After he has done so four times, he goes to the dish, which is standing at the left-hand side from the door. Three times he pretends to pour out water, and the fourth time he empties it into the dish. After this has been done, the new hā'mats'a is called to come out from the mā'wiL. He and the k·î'nqalaLala come out entirely naked. A new mat is put

down for them next to the dish. The qa'nēnôx holds the mat in his hands, turns, and pretends to put it down. After he has done so three times, he really puts it down. Every time he turns he says, "hoî'p." The fourth time, after putting down the mat, the k·î'nqalaLala sings the hē'lig·a song.[1] The k·î'nqalaLala goes four times around the fire singing. The hā'mats'a must follow her, and every time the k·î'nqalaLala turns he must turn too. They turn whenever they reach the point opposite the door and in the rear of the house. After they have made four circuits, they sit down, the hā'mats'a looking wild all the time, as though he wanted to bite the people. The qa'nēnôx rises and goes around the fire after signaling the t'a'mtsēnôx to beat time. He takes a small stick, and places it in the wall of the house a little below the tongs on which the qa'nāyu is hanging, but before really placing it there he pretends to make the motion three times, turning after each motion. Then he attempts to take the qa'nāyu from the tongs, but he really does not take it down until after he has made the motion three times. As soon as he really takes it, the t'a'mtsēnôx gives a loud rap, and says "ya." Then the qa'nēnôx turns once and puts the qa'nāyu on the short stick. Again he goes around the fire while the t'a'mtsēnox is beating time. He goes to the tongs, turns around once, and takes them down.

He goes around the fire holding the tongs downward. During this time the t'a'mtsēnôx beats time. The qa'nēnôx stops at the door and holds the tongs toward the door. Then the kuē'ts'ēnôx rises, and with a common baton he strikes the small stick which spreads the tongs, thus throwing it out of the door. If the stick should happen to strike the walls of the house and not hit the door, it forebodes short life for the hā'mats'a. Then the ts'ē'silaēnôx turns and goes around the fire. Three times he pretends to take the stones out of the fire, every time extending the tongs towards the sun. The fourth time he really takes the stones up. Then the people cry "wa wa." He turns, goes around the fire four times, and stops near the dish containing the water. Three times he pretends to throw the stones into the water, and every time he does so the t'a'mtsēnôx beats time. The fourth time he throws them into the water.

This ceremony is performed with each stone singly. Then he goes again around the fire and puts the tongs back under the roof in the same place where they were before.

Now the kuē'ts'ēnôx rises. He goes around the fire stretching his right hand backward and shaking it. This is the signal for the t'a'mtsēnôx to beat the board as hard as possible. Every time he reaches the east and the west side of the fire he turns around and the beater gives one short rap. Every time he comes to the turning point he extends his hands toward the qa'nā'yu as though he was going to take it down. His hands are shaking all the time like those of Bax-

[1] It is my power to pacify you (see page 527).

bakuālanuXsī′waē. The fourth time he really takes the qa'nā′yu down. Its "head" is in his left hand, its lower end in his right hand. He holds his left hand stretched forward. He goes around the fire, and at the turning point extends the ring toward the sun. Every time he does so the t'a′mtsēnôx gives a short beat.

He walks around the fire four times, and finally stops near the hā′mats'a. Then the qa'nēnôx calls the kuēts'ēnôx to come to the hā′mats'a. The kuēts'ēnôx goes aroung the fire four times, stops at the dish holding the water, and stoops down three times, intending to dip water out with his hands. He does not really take it until the fourth time. He holds the water in his two hands, goes around the fire, lifts it toward the sun, turns around, and puts it on the head of the hā′mats'a, softly stroking the latter. Then he takes more water, puts it again on the hā′mats'a's head in the same manner. This ceremony is also repeated four times. The k·î′nqalaʟala sits next to the hā′mats'a. The kuē′ts'ēnôx turns around and puts four handfuls of water on her head in the same way as he put it on that of the hā′mats'a. Then the qa'nēnôx rises again and the t'a′mtsēnôx beats time. He goes around the fire carrying the ring, and on the west side he extends it toward the sun. Then he walks around to the hā′mats'a, turns slowly, and puts the ring over the hā′mats'a's head, doubling it up and wiping his whole body. The hā′mats'a first extends his right arm, then his left arm, through the ring. When the ring comes down to his feet, he raises his right leg first, puts it down outside the ring, turns all around on his right foot, then takes up his left foot, and sits down on the mat, facing east. The qa'nēnôx takes the ring up, turns around, and drops his left hand and raises his right hand alternately.

Again the hā′mats'a extends his right arm, and he rubs him in the same way as the first time. This is repeated four times. Then the qa'nēnôx goes around the fire and performs the same ceremony with the k·î′nqalaʟala. Then the people sing: "In olden times you went all around the world with the supernatural being."[1]

The qa'nēnôx takes the tongs down from the roof and takes up the qa'nā′yu, while the t'a′mtsēnôx is beating time. He goes around the fire swinging the ring, turns in the front and in the rear of the house, raising the ring toward the sun. After he has gone around the fire four times, he swings the ring over the fire until it ignites. Then all the people say "wa wa." He walks out of the house, and burns the ring on the street. Then he burns the tongs in the house. Then all the people are allowed to enter the house.

After the song has been sung, the hā′mats'a gets excited, leaves the house, and runs around the village.

The yē′wix·ila now brings all his dishes and kettles, spoons and mats, and distributes them among the people of his tribe, the people going to the pile and each taking one piece. This celebration lasts until it is nearly daylight.

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[1] Appendix, page 724.

About this time the four officers, the kuē′ts'ēnôx, the qa'nēnôx, the ts'ē′silaēnôx, and the t'a′mtsēnôx, leave the house, the 'ast named carrying the baton. Then they say:[1] "Here is food for you quē′qutsa."

This is the notice for the last great feast in the winter dance ceremonies. At this time they count up all the mistakes made by the hā′mats'a.[2]

For four days after this the hā′mats'a runs about biting the people. On the fourth night the yē′wix·ila calls his society and tells them that the ha′msp'ēq is to be burnt. A messenger belonging to his society is sent out to call all the people together. He is given a button blanket and a new head ring and neck ring. This messenger goes to every house and says:[3] "Friends, we will tame our great friend ————." Then the whole tribe, men, women, and children, assemble. They sing the hā′mats'a songs, and during the ensuing day the yē′wix·ila pays them for their bites, the price being one canoe for each bite. The women who danced receive bracelets; the men who sang, button blankets. These presents must be returned with interest when the receivers give a festival another year.

All the quē′qutsa must now leave the building. The fool dancers and bears are also required to go out. Only the hā′mats'a, ha′mshamtsEs, nō′ntsistalaL, qoē′qoasElaL, nā′ne of BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē, and k·î′nqalaLala; the lāxsâ, stay. They nail the door up and close all the chinks and holes in the walls. The k·î′nqalaLala take the batons, then all the hā′mats'as begin to cry "hāp, hāp." The ha′mshamtsEs cry "wip, wip, wip," and all the others utter their peculiar sounds. The k·î′nqalaLala beat time, and each sings his own song. During this time the hā′mats'a gets excited, goes around the fire and around the ha′msp'ēq four times. Then they lift the ha′msp'ēq and pull it down, laying it so that it slants down from the roof. During this ceremony all the hā′mats'as are naked. Four times they go up and down the ha′msp'ēq while it is in this position, crying "hāp, hāp." Then the ha′msp'ēq is taken down entirely. The hā′mats'as cut it into four pieces, while the k·î′nqalaLala and the others who are present make as much noise as possible. Then four hā′mats'as carry each piece. They carry it around the fire, turning in front and in the rear of the house, and crying "hāp" all the time. Then they throw the pieces into the fire. Next, the mā′wiL is pulled down and burnt with similar ceremonies. For four days they remain in the house singing the new hā′mats'a songs. On the fourth day they dress in red cedar bark, strew their heads with feathers, and blacken their faces. Then the wä′lēqa—the first meal of the hā′mats'a

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[1] Hamāyaai′ qa s quēqutsai′.
Food for you quē′qutsa.

[2] Qā qEmxsâlē qā kuXwuLtsEwē qā dā′daLtsâlē
For turning to left in qanā′yu. for falling out of qanā′yu, for laughing through qanā′yu.

[3] Lamans iâ′LaLai′, nēnEmōkoai′, lāxans nEmōxtsē′ (Xauqumq'EsElag·ilîsk·as'ō BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē).
We will tame friends our great friend (Real skull eater).

after his return from the bush—is celebrated. The k·î′nqalaʟala leaves the house, followed by the hā′mats'a, each singing his own song. They go into four houses and are fed by the people. The hā′mats'a must eat all that is given to him. Then they walk into the next house, where they are fed again.

Now the whole tribe assembles again in the house of the yē′wix·ila. A canoe mast is put up in the middle of the house, and the master of ceremonies asks, "Who will take the red cedar bark off from the people and keep it until next winter?" Whoever intends to give a winter dance the following winter must step up and take hold of the stick. Then all the people take their rings off and throw them into the fire. Four only are kept until the next year. The people tie handkerchiefs around their heads in place of the cedar bark.

Then "the sound of the batons is driven out of the house." The people beat time four times and then throw all the sticks into the fire. This is the end of the winter dance.

After biting persons, and particularly after eating slaves or bodies, the hā′mats'a must observe a great many rules. Immediately after they have eaten of a corpse, the hē′lig·a brings them salt water, of which they drink great quantities in order to produce vomiting. If they do not vomit as many pieces as they have swallowed, their excrements are examined in order to ascertain if all the pieces of human flesh have passed the body. The bones of the body that they have eaten are kept for four months. They are kept alternately four days in their bedrooms on the north side of the house where the sun does not strike them, and four days under rocks in the sea. Finally they are thrown into the sea.

The hā′mats'as are not allowed to go out of the house door, but they must use the secret door in the rear of the house only. When one of them goes out to defecate, all the others must go with him, each carrying a small stick. They must all sit down together on a long log. They must rise again three times, and do not sit down until the fourth time. Before sitting down they must turn four times. Before they rise they must turn four times. Then they go back to the house. Before entering they must raise their feet four times. With the fourth step they really pass the door. They go in, the right foot first. In the doorway they turn four times and walk slowly into the house. They are not allowed to look back.

For four months after eating human flesh the hā′mats'a uses a spoon, dish, and kettle of his own, which are thrown away after the lapse of the prescribed time.

He must wear soiled cedar bark. He must stay alone in his bedroom. A grizzly bear dancer is placed in the doorway to see that no one enters.

Before taking water out of a bucket or before dipping it out of a brook he must dip his cup three times into the water. He must not take more than four mouthfuls at one time.

He must carry a wing bone of an eagle and drink through it, as his lips must not touch the brim of his cup. He also wears a copper nail to scratch his head with, as his nails must not touch his skin, else they would come off. For sixteen days after he has eaten human flesh he must not eat any warm food, and for four months he is not allowed to blow hot food in order to cool it. For a whole year he must not touch his wife, nor is he allowed to gamble or to work. When the dancing season is over, he feigns to have forgotten the ordinary ways of man, and has to learn everything anew. He acts as though he were very hungry all the time.

The whole ceremonial of bringing back the novice is, according to the ideas of the Kwakiutl, a repetition of the same ceremonial performed by the wolves who attempted to bring back their novices; and the following tradition, which, however, is not complete in all its details, is made to account for its origin:[1]

Mink made a salmon trap back of Qā′logwîs, the village of the Kwakiutl. The different tribes held a winter ceremonial, and the sons of the chief of the wolves had disappeared in the woods. While there they spoiled Mink's salmon trap. For three days they did so. Then Mink became angry. He made up his mind to watch who was tampering with his salmon trap. He went there in the evening and hid near his salmon weir. Now the four sons of the wolf, who had disappeared in the woods, came. They went right up to the salmon weir and took out the salmon that had gone into it. Then Mink said to himself, "You are the ones who tampered with my weir." They sat down and ate the salmon raw. Mink crawled up to them from behind and killed them with his club. He cut off their heads, and went home carrying the four heads. Nobody knew that he had killed them; even his mother did not know it.

Now the wolves were going to bring back their novices after two days. When the time came for bringing the novices back, Kuē′kuaxāoe was master of ceremonies. Mink closed all the holes and chinks of his own house, and tied ropes of cedar around it to strengthen it.

Before daylight Mink went in his canoe to Mē′mk·umlîs. He made a salmon weir of stones. Then he went and sat down on a rock. He looked at his weir. "What fish is in my trap?" he said. "A small bull head," replied the trap. Then he scratched his head. "Oh, that is pretty; I am working hard looking after my trap! Throw it into the water!" He asked again, "What fish is in my trap?" It replied, "A small flounder." He threw it into the water, and then the trap had caught first an eel, then a dogfish, a perch, a silver perch, a cohoes salmon, a dog salmon, a humpback salmon, a steel-head salmon, a spring salmon, and finally a sī′siuL. Then he said, "That is it; that is it!" and he was glad. He took the sī′siuL out of his trap and put it down on the rock. He broke off hemlock branches, laid them into his canoe, and put the fish on top of them. Then he went home to his house at

[1] Appendix, page 725.

Qā′logwîs. He went ashore to his house. His mother was lying down. Then Mink spoke: "Don't stay here, grandmother, but carry my fish into the house." His mother went down to the beach. She went to the canoe and looked in vain for the fish. Her body became contorted; her head looked backward, because she had seen the sī′siuL. Mink waited for his mother a long time. Then he arose and went to look for her. He found her, and saw that her whole body was contorted. "That is the way, grandmother! Are you so glad?" He took her and straightened her body. He carried the sī′siuL himself from the beach to the house. He put it into a box. It became evening. The people intended to bring back the novices that night. In vain they beat the bo̊ards for the expected ones. They had been killed by Mink.

The people were still singing in the house. One of the chiefs said, "Let us try, dancers, to bring back our novices." But when they did not come after numerous attempts, one of them spoke: "Dancers, we are not going to succeed in bringing back our novices." One of them replied, "Wash yourselves, friends." Then the last one spoke: "You who are not initiated, turn your faces toward the rear of the house. We will go in before dark." Then the people thought they would have to give up trying to bring back their novices. They listened, but did not hear the arrival of the supernatural power.

Up to this time Mink had not made his appearance. Then the people said, "What is the matter with our chief K·ēx· (mink)?" They went to fetch him. Now Mink, and his cousins the raccoon, the killer whale, and the squirrel, did what they had planned. His sister Ts'E′stayūkoa and the raccoon went and pulled out a board in the rear corner of the dancing house. The raccoon sat down in that corner. Now K·ēx· came in. He danced a little while and went out again. Then he came in and danced again with his sister. He sang,—

Spread your legs, Ts'E′stayūkoa,
Spread your legs, Ts'E′stayūkoa,—

and jumped through between the spread legs of his sister.

Then he came in again. He wore the heads of the wolves for his mask. But he was hiding them behind his blanket. He sang:

Mink is wearing the middle of the face of the sons of the chief of the wolves.

He went out again; and when he came in, the heads of the wolves were attached to his blanket. Now the people tried to kill him, because they saw that he had killed the sons of their chief. Then he went out of the doorway in the rear while his friends the squirrel and the raccoon were beating the drum. He came in again wearing the sī′siuL mask. As soon as he entered the door he uncovered the mask, and all the people died in convulsions when they saw it. Then K·ēx· selected all his relatives and the people whom he liked and resuscitated them. That is the end.

The initiation of members of the lower grades of the ts'ē′tsāēqa is not attended with as elaborate ceremonies as that of the la′xsâ.

Their initiation is called kuē′xalakᵘ. Those who are initiated by the kuē′xalakᵘ ceremonies are called g·ixsēg·i, that means, leaning against the wall of the mā′wiL. In most cases they return from their initiations during the festivals celebrated to bring back a novice of the la′xsâ. Sometimes, however, while the people are assembled at a feast, the wi′xsâ or kuē′xalakᵘ novice is taken away by the spirits, and then his father announces that four days hence he will be brought back. He calls the master of ceremonies of the kuē′xalakᵘ, who wears a head ring ornamented with five feathers,—one in front, one on each side, and two in the back. His face is painted red. He enters and begins to go around the fire, swinging his baton from the elbow. When he reaches the rear of the house, he turns around, swinging his stick, and then gives one rap on a board, crying at the same time "ha′mamamama" (very rapidly). As soon as he does so, all the people strike the boards. Meanwhile the master of ceremonies turns around, strikes the board again, crying "hamamai′." Again all the people strike the boards together and cry "ha′mamamama." These cries represent the sounds made by the ghosts. The master of ceremonies continues his circuit, swinging his baton all the time. When he reaches the door, he turns again and proceeds. When he reaches the rear of the house the second time, the same ceremony is repeated. He continues his circuit in the same way as before. When he reaches the rear of the house the third time, he turns and cries "yēhēē′" and gives a rap on the boards; then all the people cry "yēhēē′hōōōō." This represents the sound of the wolf. While the people are beating time the master of ceremonies turns again and then strikes the boards, crying "yēhēē," drawing out the last syllable as long as possible. Then the people strike the boards all at the same time and repeat his cry.

The master of ceremonies goes around the fire the fourth time, and when he reaches the rear of the house, he turns and cries "wōwōwō" or "wōē′p." Then the people beat time and say "kf" (the f drawn out very long). This is the sound of Hai′alik·ila. During this time the whistles of the ghosts are heard continuously.

When the master of ceremonies turns the last time, he smiles at the people, strikes the board, and cries "wō," to which all the people reply "hää." The ceremonies of this evening are called lōL.

Now the chief steps forward and says, "This is finished, friends; bring in your boxes."[1] While he remains standing, those people who are willing to bring boxes leave the house and soon return carrying them on their shoulders. The lids and ropes of the boxes are thrown into the fire. The boxes are placed in a row in the rear of the house, the openings turning backward. Then the yē′wix·ila asks one of his relatives or his daughter to dance. He holds a large staff in his hand, which is called qā′sōp'ēq or "feast staff." He promises to celebrate the winter dance; and calling up his father-in-law says that he was compelled to

[1] Wā nēnEmō′kᵘ, g·ā′xLax·îs t'ā′miatsē LaōS nēnEmō′kᵘ.

celebrate the winter dance without having had previous knowledge of what was coming, and requests his father-in-law to repay him for the property with which he was presented at the time of the marriage of his daughter. The father-in-law rises, asks the young man to give him the staff, which he grasps in the middle, holding it horizontally. Then he calls his friends to take hold of the staff with him. By doing so they pledge themselves to help the old man to repay his son-in-law. He says how much he is going to pay to his son-in-law and returns the staff to him. Then the latter takes it and carries it, pretending that it it is exceedingly heavy, saying, "ō, ō, ō, ō!" It is supposed that the property is attached to the staff.

The father-in-law asks: "When will you want me to pay you all this property?" And the young man says that he wants it by the third day. The following days the people are invited to feast and to dance in the chief's house. A sail is stretched across the rear of the house. The seal society have their seats close to this sail.

Now the master of ceremonies rises and calls one man (the mā'mE-nats'ēnôx), whose office it is to look after the drum. This office is hereditary. The master of ceremonies says: "Go and bring your inheritance." The man rises, steps up to the fire, goes around it, leaves the house, and soon returns carrying the drum on his shoulder. He stops in the doorway, turns around silently, and walks around the fire four times. He stops finally in the left-hand rear corner of the house, where he puts down the drum on its flat side. He carries a small whistle in his mouth and every time he pushes the drum he blows the whistle. It is of course supposed that this sound is produced by the drum. Then he says, "It is done; I have brought my inheritance." The master of ceremonies asks, "Did you bring the baton with you?" To which the man replies, "My grandfather has been dead so long that I forgot this part of my inheritance." He is sent to fetch it, and walks out of the house and returns in the same way as the first time. He deposits the batons in the middle of the rear of the house, and every time he moves them he blows another whistle.

Then the master of ceremonies calls another man, whose office it is to look after the eagle down. This office is also hereditary. He goes out in the same way as the other officer, and soon returns, carrying a painted bag filled with down. He says, "Here is the bag which my grandfather left for me to take care of." He walks around the fire four times, turning in the front and in the rear, and finally deposits it in the right hand front corner of the house. Then four men take four dishes, each takes one handful of down out of the bag, and puts it into the dish. The down is pulled apart so that it fills the dishes entirely. The owner of the down shakes his bag, which then appears to be quite full again, and carries it back. It is supposed that the bag always remains full. Then the master of ceremonies takes up one of the dishes and asks his brother, who is chief of the quē'qutsa, to take

another one. The name of this office is dā′sqamē xa kuē′xalakᵘ, holder of the kuē′xalakᵘ. The officer has the name Q'E′mtq'atas.[1] Two other men take the other two dishes and they walk around the fire once. Then they begin to strew the down on the heads of the people. The master of ceremonies begins either with the ha′ɯshamtsEs or with the bear-fool dancers (ɯE′nq'oLEla) (see p. 499 No. 16). Then he gives eagle down to the fool dancers and to all the other dancers.

Then the master of ceremonies goes around the fire again, swinging the baton. He stops in the rear of the house and strikes a box. All the people imitate him. Then a number of women, who are hired for the purpose, begin to dance. The people sing one song for each of the women. After this dance the chief of the quē′qutsa promises a feast for the next day, and the people go home.

The next morning a number of quē′qutsa go around from house to house to invite the people for the feast. The same women who danced the first night, dance this evening. Again a feast is announced for the following day. On this day all the dancers who are allowed to wear masks enter first and arrange themselves behind the sail, wearing their masks. Then the people enter, last of all the master of ceremonies, wearing his cedar bark ring, his face painted red. Again he swings his stick from the elbow, turns in the house, and says "wôi wôi," and strikes the box. Then all the people beat the boxes for about ten minutes. Suddenly the master of ceremonies stretches out his arm and swings the baton slowly all around. The people stop beating time at once. He continues swinging his baton, and swings it faster and faster. Finally he beats the box again, and again all the people begin to beat time. Now the dancers are heard behind the curtain, each with his peculiar sound. The curtain begins to shake and is lowered, all the masks standing behind it. This is the end of the celebration of the third night. Again a feast is promised for the next day. This evening the same ceremony is repeated, but after all the masks have appeared in the rear of the house, the young person who had disappeared in the beginning of the ceremonies comes out from the right hand rear corner of the house. He sings his new song and dances. Then his father brings out all the property given to him by his father-in-law and distributes it among the people. Bracelets, coppers, and spoons are given to the women and children. Silver bracelets, kettles, and box covers are given to the men. Before the people go home the chief promises another feast.

The following day the people assemble again, and a feast is celebrated, in which everybody takes part. Before they begin to eat, the host brings all the button blankets which he has received from his father-in-law and distributes them. The women receive white blankets.

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[1]According to tradition, the first man of this name invited the people to a feast, but, instead of feeding them, only taught them four songs. The name means, eating songs.

This is called a present to wipe the mouth with (dā′yaxstanō). Each person receives one dish and spoons, which they take home after the feast. After this feast the novice receives his name. Then the people leave the house. The purification of the novice is performed in the same way as described above (see p. 532).

Sometimes the kuē′xalakᵘ begins with a curious contest between the ts'ē′tsaēqa and the profane. This ceremony is used by the Kwakiutl, Ma′malēleqala, Nimkish, Lau′itsîs, T'Ena′xtax, Ts'ā′watEēnôx, Axuā′-mîs, Qoē′xsōt'ēnôx. The tribes forming the Newettee and Koskimo group use the ghost dance in its place. Mr. George Hunt told me the following instance of the performance of this ceremony:

The Q'ō′mk·ūtīs, Walas Kwakiutl, and Kuē′xa had celebrated the ts'ē′tsaēqa without inviting the Guē′tEla, the highest of the Kwakiutl tribes. Then the chief of the last-named tribe called all his people together into his house. He put up a long pole, the "winter dance pole," leaning it against the beam of his house, and asked his people, "Are you glad to hear the winter dance going on at the other end of our village while you are asleep in your houses? If you want to remain bā′xus, do so. If you want to join the winter dance, then one of you step up and touch this pole." As nobody stepped up to touch the pole he put his hand on it himself and said: "I will be the yē′wix·ila; but first let us all turn ourselves into dogs" (wā′tsē; in the ordinary language, waō′tsē). Then all his people took off their clothing, even their earrings and anklets, the women keeping only a small petticoat. They blackened their faces and hands and painted men's and dogs' faces all over their bodies. Then they cut the winter dance pole in pieces about a fathom in length each. The chief ordered them to cut a hole in the rear wall of the house. After this was done, they went out secretly and from the rear approached the house in which the other tribes were celebrating their winter dance. Then they barked like dogs, broke through the rear wall of the house, and drove out all the dancers, including even the hā′mats'a. They broke the canoes and all the belongings of the dancers. This was their revenge for not being invited to the festival. This ceremony is called wā′ts'axt, which means, dogs running from one house to the other.

Now the ts'ēt′saēqa assembled on one side of the street, while the "dogs" or the bā′xus assembled opposite them. The chief of the Guē′tEla, standing in front of his tribe, asked the yē′wix·ila of the other tribes, "Can you throw the supernatural power among us?" Then the ts'ē′tsaēqa began to beat time, the quē′qutsa and mē′emqoat all standing together. Then the t'ō′X'uît with the frog stepped out from among the ts'ē′tsaēqa and danced like the mā′maqa, trying to catch his supernatural power. After some time she apparently caught it in her hands and threw it against the "dogs." The first throwing is called the daE′lkᵘ (dEdā′LElaL, Newettee dialect), which means laughing. The dogs laugh and bark all at the same time.

Then the ts'ēt'saēqa beat time again. Again the dancer caught his supernatural power, went four times forward and backward, turned around, and threw it against the dogs. Then they sat down, still laughing, and began to scratch their heads. Again they barked. The ts'ē'tsaēqa beat time for a third time, and the dancer caught the supernatural power again. She went forward and backward with quick steps, turned around, and threw it again. Then the dogs rushed into the water, scratching and rubbing their bodies, which means that they are removing the bā'xus from their bodies. They barked and came out again.

Now the quē'qutsa of the other tribes assembled in a group by themselves and sent four men to the dogs, apparently to send some message, but actually in order to carry to them some red cedar bark. After they had returned, the dogs in their turn sent four of their number to fetch some more cedar bark. This is repeated four times, and is called ts'ā'ts'ēxsila—that is, pretending to carry messages.

Now the chief of the quē'qutsa spoke to his people: "Take care; don't give in, and remain what you are." All his people arose. Then the quē'qutsa beat time again, and the dancer continued her dance. Suddenly she was seen to hold red cedar bark in her hands. Four times she went backward and forward holding the cedar bark and moving her hands up and down. She turned four times, and every time stretched her hands out as though she was going to throw the cedar bark against the "dogs." The fourth time she really threw it. Then all the people stooped, and when they arose again they had cedar bark rings on their heads.

Then the hāmats'a, nū'LmaL, nā'nē, and the other mē'emqoat of the Guē'tEla began to get excited. The chief pushed his son toward them. They surrounded him and dragged him around until all of a sudden he disappeared. Then it was said that the supernatural power had taken him away from the hā'mats'a. This novice was now kuē'xalakᵘ. The chief next invited all the "dogs" and the ts'ē'tsaēqa into his house and announced that after four days he was going to try to bring the novice back. This is called wā'sdana qap'ē'kᵘ, or short assembly, and takes the place of the qap'ē'kᵘ ceremony described above. The kuē'xalakᵘ then continues as described before.

X. The Winter Ceremonial at Fort Rupert, 1895–96.

In the preceding chapter I have given a general description of the ceremonial of the initiation of a single novice. When the ceremony is actually in progress, there are several novices to be initiated, feasts are being held, and numerous incidental ceremonies are performed which depend upon circumstances, such as atonement for mistakes, rivalry between chiefs, and so forth. In order to make clear the character of the ceremonial, I will describe in the present chapter the ceremonial as it actually took place and so far as I witnessed it in the winter of

1895–96. At that time three tribes had assembled at Fort Rupert (Tsā′xîs)—the Kwakiutl, the Koskimo, and Nā′q'oaqtôq. The Koskimo included also the G·ō′p'ēnôx, L'ā′sq'ēnôx, and Gua′ts'ēnôx. I reached Fort Rupert on November 15, 1895, and shall record here what I saw.

On the 16th of November one of the Nā′q'oaqtôq gave a feast. The Kwakiutl had their seats in the rear of the house, the Koskimo at the right hand side, the Nā′q'oaqtôq on the left hand side. When all had assembled, the chief speaker of the Nā′q'oaqtôq said: "Welcome, friends. Now that you have all come in, take the handles of your batons and sing."[1] Then the batons were distributed. Planks were laid for beating time. While the people were still coming in, one of the quē′tsEm (quē′qutsa) began to tease a fool dancer, who intended to give up his dance and to become a quē′qutsa. He pulled his nose, rubbed it with snow, and threw snowballs at it. As stated before, the fool dancer is supposed to have a long nose, and to resent all allusions to the nose. He does not allow it to be touched. The quē′qutsa tried in this manner to excite him so as to prevent him from leaving the seal society and becoming a quē′qutsa. Finally, a number of quē′qutsa joined the first quē′tsEm. They pulled the nose of the fool dancer, spat on it, and smeared it with grease, notwithstanding his endeavors to escape them. Finally, they tied him to one of the house posts and continued to maltreat his nose. Now the Kwakiutl sang two songs. They were followed by the Koskimo, who sang two songs in their turn. Meanwhile the meal, which consisted of soap berries, had been prepared, and the speaker held up a dish which was intended for the first hā′mats'a. He shouted: "This is the dish of Yaqoîs."[2] The dish was carried to him. The members of the seal society received their shares in order, next the women, and finally the quē′qutsa. Now the host turned to the fool dancer who was tied to the post, and whom the people were teasing again. He said: "I will ask your friends to stay at their places for a little while because I am cooking for you, and wish to feed you." Then several of the fool dancers came to his assistance. They licked the grease off from his nose, untied him, and took him back to his seat. As soon as the dishes were distributed, the host's assistants began to prepare the second course, which consisted of rice. While the people were eating, the different societies uttered their cries:

"The hens are pecking!"[3]

"The great seals keep on chewing."[4]

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[1] G·āxmEns nēnEmō′kᵘ wī′laēLela. Wai′g·a d'axLā′liLaxs t'ā′miayu qa s
We came friends all in the house. Go on! take at the handle the batons for to
lā′g·ustâlag·aōs, nēnEmō′kᵘ.
go upward (sing), friends.

[2] LŌ′qulas Yā′qoîs.

[3] ɪEnLā′Lg·a qaqaqāō′.

[4] Yā′laLxōLax· qamk'oaLg·a mē′emkoatsē′k·

"The food of the great killer whales is sweet."[1]
"The food of the foolish boys is sweet."[2]
"The great rock cods are trying to get food."[3]
"The great sea lions throw their heads downwards."[4]
The Mosmos said: "It will be awful."[5]

When uttering these cries, the members of the societies lifted their spoons and seemed to enjoy the fun. Next, the Koskimo (tribe) lifted their spoons and all cried "yū." Then they ate as quickly as they could, and all the different quē'qutsa societies vied with each other, singing all at the same time.

Next, a man arose who acted as though he was a Haida. He delivered a speech, during which he made violent gestures, imitating the sound of the Haida language. An interpreter who stood next to him translated the pretended meaning of his speech, which was supposed to be of the nature of thanks to the host for the soap berries, because they were one of the principal food articles of the Haida, and because the speaker was pleased to eat the kind of food to which he was accustomed in his own country. He continued, saying that he carried a box filled with food which he was going to give to the person who would pronounce his name. Then the host's daughter was called upon, and was asked to say his name. He began, G·a'tsō, which she repeated; Sē'as, which she also repeated; then followed, spoken very rapidly, Qoagā'ñ Gustatē'ñ Gusgitatē'ñ Gusoa't Qoag·ê'ns Qaqā'xsl.[6] Then she said: "I can not say this; I must go to school in order to learn it." The Haida asked her to go to school with him for four nights; then she would know it. The girl's father interrupted them, saying that he wanted to wash his daughter before she went to school with him.

Now the Kwakiutl and the Koskimo sang two songs each, before the rice was dished out. After the songs the host's father-in-law, who had contributed the rice for the feast, spoke as follows: "O, friends! I have not finished giving food for the marriage of my son-in-law to my daughter;" and turning to his son-in-law, he continued: "Don't say that word. Don't refuse my kind offer, else I shall be ashamed. I do not do the same as other people, who only pretend to give feasts, giving only to those who have to buy my property from me."[7]

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[1] Q'ā'xaaX'wīst'ag·a maa'mx'ēnôxtsēk·!

[2] Q'ā'xaaX'wīst'ag·a naanE'Xsōkuēk·!

[3] Yā'laLXōLak· hā'mēk·aLg·a t'ō't'opatsē!

[4] T'ā'wiqasg·a L'ēL'êxêntsē!

[5] Ā'dzeg·anEmLtsē.

[6] This joke has been known for about eight years, and is often repeated.

[7] The son-in-law had hesitated to accept the rice for this feast and the old man referred to this fact.

Qä'LEn, nēnEmō'kᵘ, g·ā'mala wē'sEn wī'wosilaqa, g·ī'LEn k·'ē'tsEnaē qoā'LqoaLa
Yes I friends, for this reason not I poor, as I finished
wā'waLgila xEn nEgu'mpē. Qoā'la nē'k·ōL, qoā'la nēk· sēs wā'LdEmōs.
giving food at the time of marriage to my son-in-law. Don't say, don't speak that your word.

While the rice was being eaten a man arose and announced that he was going to buy a copper from Ē′wanūXtsē. The latter replied, but in his speech he made a mistake, naming the summer name of a person. He was interrupted at once and compelled to sit down.

November 18.—In the morning the Kwakiutl assembled in their secret meeting place in the woods. A new bear dancer and fool dancer were to be initiated in the evening and the plan of the festival was laid out. At the same time the song makers taught the people the four new songs which the father of the new bear dancer had bought from them, and which were to be sung in the evening. Then ƂQa′lʂaxōla, who was going to give the dance, made the following speech:

"Now come, my tribe, come Nu′xnēmîs, come Hō′LElitē, come LE′mg·ala, x·ī′xak·ala, and Nēnau′alakuēla. Now I will make my speech on this place of my friends. I will let you know my heart, friends. We will begin to beat the boards this night. You shall begin the songs, Dē′mîs, and you WaxsƂanulisax, and you NaXualīsax, you song makers. That, Ts'a′qamē and Gō′koayū, is all that we say to our friends."

Then NE′msqemūt arose and answered: "I am the one who was struck by the words of our friend." All the men who were sitting on the ground, said: "Go on!" He continued: "Now come! Listen to the speech of our friend on this ground and take care else the secret of our song makers will be known. I say this, Nu′xnēmîs and Hō′LElitē. Take care, friends. I say this, LE′mg·ala, I say this, x·ī′xak·ala."

Then the song makers sung and put words into the old songs. Now the song maker finished. Then the men who gave the ceremonial told how many dancers there were to be and how many songs. Now he finished. Then the song maker took as many sticks as there were to be dancers, and gave them to him. Then the man who gave the ceremonial named each dancer and said: "This will be the song of Gā′yaxstalasas," and pushed one stick into the ground. Then he called the name of another one and put a stick into the ground. He put down as many sticks as there were women who were to dance.

When he had spoken, LE′mg·ala arose and asked his tribe: "How will you dress?" The chief of the killer whales, Qā′quLayī, arose and said he would go with his friends, and the chief of the policemen, Gū′kwayu, arose and said he would go with his men and they would dress. LE′mg·ala was standing all the time while the people were speaking. After they had finished, he said: Now, Qā′quLayi, now Gū′kwayu, you have finished your speeches. I thank you. Why should you be

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Qoā′la Lā′qoa xEn nâ′qaē qa s a′LEn ana′xtsala. K·'ēsEn hē′qag·ilē da bEgwā′nE-
Don't push back my heart for else I ashamed. Not I do thus the (other)

maxs k'uē′k'uaxâlaē Lawîs ƚā′walaqâlut. Hē′imēq nēnEmō′kᵘ
men who merely pretend to do (to give feasts) and the one who has to buy my wealth. That is it friends

qants nē′k·a. Wā!
we say. Wa!

ashamed, friends? We do not need to be ashamed of what we are doing here in the woods."

He continued: "Now take care, members of the seal society! put on your painting of charcoal. Take good care of what we are doing in the house; if anything should happen to one of our masks you must get excited. Wa, wa!"

After their return they were invited by one man of the tribe to a seal feast in which the Nā′q'oaqtôq and Koskimo did not take part, because seal feasts are considered a privilege of the noblest tribe, namely, the Kwakiutl. The seal was singed and boiled. Then the skin with the adhering blubber was cut spirally all around the body, and handed to the men who stood up all around the house. They received about a yard of blubber each. Then the host made a short speech; and after the four feast songs were sung, they all fell to. After the blubber was dispatched, the meat was distributed in dishes and eaten.

In the evening the father of the new bear dancer gave a feast. The Kwakiutl sat in the rear of the house, the Koskimo on the left hand side on entering, the Nā′q'oaqtôq on the right hand side. When all had entered, the members of the seal society came in—first the bears dressed in button blankets. They had bears' paws on their hands, put on like mittens. They remained standing in the door and looked around wildly. The next to enter was the Ts'ō′nōqoa, who, according to the tradition, is sleeping all the time. She had her eyes closed and attempted to go to the rear of the house, turning to the left, while the customary circuit is to the right. One of the messengers who was stationed in the door took her by the arm and led her to the right. A rope was stretched from the door to her place, along which she walked to her seat in the rear of the house, feeling her way by means of the rope. The next to enter were the fool dancers. While they were going to the rear of the house a loud noise was heard outside. They pretended to be afraid, hid their faces among the people, and hastened to their seats in the rear of the house. The noise came nearer, the door opened, and in came the killer whales, young men and boys, dressed in blankets and having long carved fins attached to their backs. Some of these consisted of a sheath in which a carved board was placed so that it could be pulled out and dropped back by means of strings, thus giving the appearance of a fin which was alternately lengthening and shortening. The men came in stooping down low, so that the fins stood upright. They blew like whales, turned in front of the fire, and slowly went to the rear of the house, leaving the fire to their left, stopping and blowing on their way. After they had made one circuit they disappeared again. Next, a number of people came in, spreading their blankets and imitating motions and voices of ducks. They went to the rear of the house. As soon as all had assembled the people began to sing. Suddenly a man holding his young son on his arms rushed out of the right hand rear corner of the house, ran around the fire uttering the cries of the nū′L-

maL "hi, hi, hi, hi!" and pushing right and left with a dagger which he was carrying. At the same time he smeared his son's face with the mucus of his nose, thus "imbuing him with the sacred madness of the nū'LmaL." The poor child was frightened, and cried piteously during the ceremony. This was his initiation in the nū'LmaL society. It happened during an interval between the four songs which were sung before the meal.

After the people had eaten, the bear rushed out of the same corner whence the fool dancer had come. He was dressed in a bear skin and came out on all fours, pawing the ground, growling, and looking wildly upon the spectators. The people began to sing the first of his new songs, and eighteen women danced accompanying the song, in order to appease his holy wrath. The songs pacified him, and he disappeared again in the corner of the house from which he had come and where he is supposed to be initiated. After this the second course was served, and then the people dispersed, each lighting his torch and wending his way home along the dark street or down along the beach and up the narrow bridges which cross the stream leading from the beach to the street. Soon the glimmering lights disappeared in the houses, where the fires were tended before everybody went to his bedroom to enjoy the rest.

On the 19th of November the first hā'mats'a gave a feast of salmon and berries. Early in the morning he himself, accompanied by the seal society, went from house to house, their faces blackened, and dressed in their various ornaments—the fool dancers with their lances, the bears with their enormous paws. The fool dancers knocked at the doors with their lances. Then they entered and invited the people with the same words as are used at ordinary occasions. But they did not raise their voices; they uttered the invitation in a low growling tone. Whenever the name of a person was mentioned the meaning of which in some way offended the bears, they pushed the speaker—one of the fool dancers—so that he almost fell down. While the names were being called, the members of the seal society looked around angrily.

Generally four calls are necessary to convene the people, but the seals do not allow them to tarry. After they had called the first time, they went around apparently offended by the tardiness of the people. They carried a long rope, entered the houses, and the fool dancers pushed the people from their seats with their lances. The bear dancers scratched them and drove them towards the rope, which was stretched tightly. Then the members of the society who held the rope pushed the people out of the house on to the street. After having arrived on the street, they drove them before the rope until they reached the dancing house. Thus it did not take very long to bring the people together. About 3 o'clock in the afternoon they began their second call, and at 4.30 p. m. all the people were assembled. As the host belonged to the Kwakiutl tribe, the Koskimo and the Nā'q'oaqtôq

had the seat of honor in the rear of the house where the seal society is generally sitting. The Kwakiutl sat to the right and to the left of the door. The members of the seal society and the relatives of the host were standing near the door tending the fire and preparing the food. As soon as all the people were assembled, the seals placed two logs in front of the door, over which they laid a plank. The hā′mats'a and two fool dancers took their seats on the plank, thus preventing any of the guests from leaving the house.

About this time Hō′LElitē, the speaker of the Guē′tEla, arose and asked his debtors to pay his debts.[1] He said: "Now I beg you to please me and to pay my humble debts;[2] then calling the names of those whose debts were due. One of the latter arose and promised that all would pay on the following day. These debts had been contracted a year before the feast, and therefore became due by this time.

Hō′LElitē continued speaking. In behalf of the seal society he thanked the people that they had come to the feast. He called up four men to distribute eagle down. Then they took up the down, which was placed in four dishes, and put it on to the heads of the assembly. Now he asked the people to sing and to beat time, and four young men distributed the batons. The seals continued preparing the food, while the Koskimo and Nā′q'oaqtôq sang two songs each. The bears had their paws on; the fools carried their lances while they were preparing the food. One of the bear dancers was being led by a rope which was held by one of the fool dancers, in order to prevent him from getting excited and attacking the people. During their songs one of the Nā′q'oaqtôq women danced in the rear of the house.

After they had finished singing, the speaker of the Nā′q'oaqtôq arose and said: "The Kwakiutl do not look properly after the winter ceremonial. But now they shall see that we know well how to arrange our ceremonials." He took off his head ring, called his cousin Qā′snōmalas, and gave him the ring, asking him to go around the fire and to look for someone who had no red cedar bark ornaments. Qā′snōmalas took the ring and went around the fire, turned once in front of the door, and continued his way to the rear of the house. There he put the ring around the neck of his cousin, NE′msqEmk·ala, who had just arrived from the Nā′q'oaqtôq village, and who therefore had not taken part in the opening ceremonies, when everybody received his ornaments of bark. As soon as he had received the neck ring, he arose and danced as

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[1] ʟa′Xts'âliL qōqu′na = standing in the middle of the house asking for payment of debts.

[2] Ē′smaēLEn hawā′x'alōL qa s wax'ē′daōs g·ā′xEn lā′xEn g·ā′g·imäoL MaamXuitai′
Not now I beg you for to please you me to my small debts MaamXuit
ʟaoX Q'ēq'anqula yūmisōX Tsā′xisaq'a yū′Em xaawisōX LĀ′lēLk·'atstōdalä′x yūEmisa
and Q'ēq'anqula and he Tsā′xisaq'a he also LĀ′lēLk·'atstōdaläx he
ā′dêx LĒ′Ltsîs. Hē′iEm wa′xē.
dear LĒ′Ltsîs. That is all.

In modern speech the first word would be K·'ē′smaēLEn.

ha′mshamtsEs. After he had danced, his father, T'ē′t'ēsumx·tsana, arose and promised to distribute blankets. NE′msqEmk·ala's wife asked her speaker, Qoē′neqoiL, to speak for her. He held a silver bracelet in his hands and promised in her behalf that she would give to her husband four sticks of silver bracelets, ten bracelets to a stick, and button blankets as many as were needed for a festival which he was going to give. Then Qā′snōmalas took the blanket and T'ē′t'esumx·tsana took the bracelet. The latter spoke: "This is my way. No other clan can equal mine; no chief can equal me. I always distribute all my property." Then Qā′snōmalas interrupted him and said: "Don't say too much! You have made me your speaker and taught me not to mind others in what I am doing. You have made me happy. Therefore I shall sing." Then he sang two songs which expressed his happiness. After his songs he said: "That is enough. I sing two songs for what you have promised me to-day. I shall sing four songs when you will promise me a copper." He thanked his uncle's wife for considering the noble position of her husband and helping him to keep that position. He announced that he would distribute the bracelets and button blankets among the four tribes of the Kwakiutl. "Ya Koskimo," he said, "follow this way, follow my way. Don't lock up your boxes; keep them open as I do. Thus I have become higher than any other man. I always put my property into a box with red-hot bottom.[1] Let both our tribes strive against the Kwakiutl, so that we may take off two finger widths of their highness."[2]

By this time the salmon was done and was put into long flat dishes and fish oil poured upon it. The fool dancers and bear dancers distributed the dishes and the wooden spoons, every three or four people receiving one dish. The Koskimo and Nā′q'oaqtôq were given first, the Kwakiutl last. Etiquette demands that the guests eat as quickly as possible. Whenever the bear dancers and fool dancers saw a person eating slowly, they went up to him and pushed and scratched him. During all this time a huge fire was being kept up in the middle of the house and grease was poured into it. The flames leaped up to the roof of the house, which every now and then caught fire, so that a man had to be sent up to extinguish it. It is considered improper for the guests to mind such fires, and apparently no notice is taken of them until the host deems it proper to send up to the roof. He sometimes disregards the fire until it has attained quite considerable dimensions.

As soon as the people had finished eating, the chief fool dancer, who is the speaker of the hā′mats'a, tried to deliver a speech. But it is

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[1]That means, as water is scattered by being poured upon red-hot stones, thus his blankets are scattered among the tribes as soon as they fall upon the red-hot bottom of his box.

[2]The Kwakiutl are counted as high as four finger widths, as they consist of four tribes. The other tribes are each only one finger width high. Of these, the Nā′q'oaqtôq and Koskimo wanted to have each one, in order to become as high as the Kwakiutl.

customary to interrupt him. Whenever he made an attempt to speak, the people raised a great din, which compelled him to stop. He pretended to get angry and threw stones at the people. At this time he ordered the members of the seal society, of which he himself is a member, not to eat of the salmon, as a number of fish were set aside for them. When a number of fool dancers and bears began to eat, notwithstanding his commands, some of the other members of the seal society took the food away and pulled them back. After all the guests had eaten, a large dish was placed on the plank which was laid in front of the door. The hā'mats'a ate out of the dish, while the other members of the seal society ate out of large kettles which were standing near the fire. Then all the people laughed at them because they ate after the others had finished, although they are the highest in rank among the whole tribe and ordinarily receive their share first. When the people were teasing them, the friends of some of the members of the seal society stepped before them, spreading their blankets, thus hiding them from view, so that the people should not see them eating.

Now Hō'LElitē arose again and spoke: "This is the way of my chief. He gives a large feast on account of the nobility of my tribe." He asked the people to take the batons and to sing. The Nā'q'oaqtôq commenced and sang two songs. The Koskimo followed with four songs. In the fourth song the word "raven" occurred. As soon as it was heard, one of the hā'mats'as of the Koskimo became excited. He jumped up, crying "hāp, hāp, hāp," trembling all over his body. His attendants rushed up to him, the people beat time violently, and the drummer beat the drum, while the hā'mats'a tried to rush up to the people and to bite them. But he was held back by his six attendants. Slowly he moved to the rear of the house, where he went once to the left, once to the right, then continuing his course around the fire. When he came to the door, he went out, followed by his attendants. Then the Koskimo called four times, "yū!"

While this was going on, NEg·ē'ts'ē, speaker of the Koskimo, arose, and as soon as quiet was restored, he spoke: "Take care, my tribe; the supernatural power has entered our hā'mats'a Nau'aqîs;" and turning to the Kwakiutl, he said: "Be ready, friends, you on both sides of the house; we will try to tame our hā'mats'a." This was said at the moment when the hā'mats'a ran out of the door. His attendants returned after an absence of about ten minutes.

Now a number of large carved dishes were brought in, one representing a bear, the other a sea lion, and others other animals. They were placed in a row in front of the fire. Then Hō'LElitē arose again and with him Amā'x·idayu, an old speaker of the Guē'tEla. Hō'LElitē spoke, calling the host's bā'xus name, NEmō'gwîs, and pointing to the bear dish said: "This is NEmō'gwîs's dish, which was used by the first NEmō'gwîs when he gave a grease feast. He used a dish like this one. He also used this second bear dish and a wolf dish and a killer whale

dish." Then he called up Nō'Lq'auLEla, the father of NEmō'gwîs. "Speak yourself regarding your own dishes." Nō'Lq'auLEla called up his mother, Mō'sqEmXLala. He asked her to give to his son some of her father's dishes. Then she pointed out a bear dish and a dish representing the sea lion's stomach. He continued, asking her for some of her mother's dishes. Then she pointed to a killer whale dish and to a wolf dish. He spoke: "Friends, my mother has some more carvings, but I do not want to give them to my son as yet. First I want to give another feast; then I shall give them to my successor. That is all."

Then Hō'LElitē spoke again: "Did you hear what my chief said? He said that he wants to use the dishes before giving them to his son. That means he is going to give another feast. Hu, hu, hu, hu, hu," and all the people repeated this cry. The fool dancers and bear dancers took the dishes and carried them to the guests. Hō'LElitē called: "This is the dish of the troublesome ones.[1] This is the dish of Ts'Eqolag·ilîs.[2] This is the dish of the cormorants.[3] This is the dish of the rock cods and bears.[4] This is the dish of the whales for whom one waits.[5] This is the dish of the gulls.[6] This is the dish of the pigs."[7]

After all the large dishes had been distributed, the small dishes were carried to the women and to the young people. While all were eating, Hō'LElitē remained standing and asked the Kwakiutl to sing. They assembled in the door, and after having placed a plank on two logs they sang, standing, the feast song of the winter dance. As NEmōg'wîs had no daughter, his grandmother and his father danced, accompanying the song.

After they had finished singing, Hō'LElitē spoke: "Ya, friends, this is the way of my chief. He does so not only this time to show his greatness, but he always acts this way. Eat and swallow what is given to you as well as you can; eat it all. Bring our food and we will feed the chiefs." Then the members of the seal society brought a barrel filled with berries and placed it in front of Hō'LElitē. While carrying it they cried, "ū, ū, ū, ū, ū," indicating that the barrel was exceedingly heavy. Then they brought a number of large wooden ladles. Hō'LElitē dipped berries out of the barrel, and said, "Now sip, NE'msqEmk·ala,"[8] and the ladle was taken to him. He drank, and when he was unable to empty it he poured the rest of the food into his dish. Thus the ladles were carried to all the chiefs. After all had received their share, Hō'LElitē spoke: "Oh, tribes! I do not do so once only; I often give feasts of this kind. That is why we are called Kwakiutl—that means the smoke of

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[1] Wu'n'awunx·îs, the society of the Nā'q'oaqtôq, which embraces the secret societies hā'mats'a, bear, and mā'maq'a, and corresponds to the seals of the Kwakiutl.

[2] The wolves and hā'mats'a of the Koskimo.

[3] L'ō'L'Epana, chiefs of the Nā'q'oaqtôq.

[4] T'ō't'ōpa, nā'nē, chiefs of the Koskimo.

[5] ĒsElā'liLtsawe qoayî'm, the young men of the Nā'q'oaqtôq.

[6] Ts'ē'ts'eg·inaqa, elder boys of the Nā'q'oaqtôq, who fetch fuel, etc.

[7] Guē'gusōa, eaters, middle-aged men of the Koskimo.

[8] La'ams Xu'mt'ēLax NE'msqEmk·ala.

the world. All the tribes try to imitate us, but I have not seen anyone who has been able to do as we do." Then all the people said, "True, true!" Next NEmō'gwîs's father, Nō'Lq'auLEla, spoke: "Look at me; look at my son! You shall not call me chief on account of what I am doing, but call my son chief, because I am doing it for his sake. I am working for him; I want to make him heavier all the time."[1] Then he asked one of the Nā'q'oaqtôq chiefs, who had expressed his intention to leave, "Is it true that you are going to leave? If you intend to do so, wait four days longer, because my brother is going to give away blankets within a few days," and he continued: "Ma'malēleqala! my son is ready for you. He intends to give blankets to you. My brother-in-law KuLE'm is also ready for you, and Aā'listālitsa intends to give blankets to you." Then the Nā'q'oaqtôq, who intended to leave, arose and said: "I wish there were two men like you in Tsā'xîs (Fort Rupert). You are the first who treated me well; you who asked me to stay here."

November 20.—In the afternoon the Koskimo sent their messengers to invite to a feast. About 6 p. m. the people had assembled in their dancing house. First a Nā'q'oaqtôq distributed blankets among the people, and then one of their number arose, holding a copper in his hands. He spoke about its value, and said that he was going to buy it. Suddenly whistles and noise were heard outside, and the Koskimo hā'mats'a, who had disappeared the preceding night, entered, accompanied by his attendants. He danced around the fire once and disappeared again. Then the speaker of the Koskimo asked the Kwakiutl and the Nā'q'oaqtôq to sing. The Kwakiutl sang their two songs. The Nā'q'oaqtôq followed, but when in their first song they got out of time Yā'qoîs, the principal hāmats'a of the Kwakiutl, got excited. He jumped up, crying "hāp, hāp, hāp." His nine attendants rushed up to him, and while he was trembling violently they moved once to the right, once to the left behind the fire, then around the fire, and when they reached the door, they went out. During all this time whistles were heard proceeding from the circle of the attendants. While the Koskimo chief was continuing his speech the whistles and the howling of the hā'mats'a was heard on the street. Soon he returned, dressed only with a dancing apron, two rings of cedar bark worn crosswise over his shoulders, and a heavy ring of red cedar bark worn on his head. The first circuit he danced in a squatting posture. When opposite the door, he was for a short time carried by his attendants. In the rear of the house he turned once. The second circuit he danced standing, and the songs which were sung during this time were in a five-part measure. His feet were put down with the beats of the batons. The knees were lifted high up for each step, while the trunk moved downward at the same time. After he had gone around the fire twice, his father dressed him with a fine Chilcat blanket and an apron and leggins of the same make, with which he made two more circuits around the fire. Then he disappeared, utterly

[1] That means he wants to make his ornaments of red cedar bark more valuable.

exhausted, in one of the small bedrooms. During the dance he had apparently become quieter and quieter as time went on. Then Yā′qoîs's father arose and distributed a few blankets which had been fetched during the dance of the hā′mats'a. They were given as an earnest of the blankets with which he promised to pay for the ecstasy of his son.

Now at last the Koskimo began to prepare the feast. While they were engaged in this work, one of them shouted, all of a sudden: "Listen! What is going on outside?" Everyone was quiet, and suddenly the roof of the house shook violently. At the same time a boy was seen in the entrance of the house being wafted up and down. He hung perfectly limp while he was flying to and fro. Then the people pressed up to him and placed themselves so that the boy was in the dark. Suddenly he had disappeared. After a short time his bloody clothing and his head ring of red cedar bark fell down through the roof, and a short time after the bloody clothing of a girl also fell down. Then the speaker of the Koskimo said: "Three of our youths have been taken away by the spirits. Now our winter ceremonial shall begin." Great excitement prevailed, as this was quite unexpected to the other tribes. Then food was distributed, during which time speeches of welcome and of thanks were made. This was the end of the festival.

November 21.—Early in the morning the old hā′mats'a of the Koskimo, with three attendants, was seen on the beach pursuing a number of women. It appears that they had taken some of the food that was intended for him, which had excited his wrath. He ran after them, trying to bite them, and they escaped into the water, which the hā′mats'a is supposed to dread. There he kept them for a long time; whenever they made an attempt to escape, he tried to bite them and drove them back.

In the evening the father of Yā′qoîs gave the promised feast, in which he was going to pay for the ecstasy of his son. The blankets which he was about to distribute actually belonged to his mother. When the people were assembled in the dancing house of the Kwakiutl, she came in first, crying "hū, hū, hū," which indicates the weight of the blankets which she was going to distribute. She was followed by the father of Yā′qoîs, who entered singing his secret song.[1] He was followed by his son Yā′qoîs, the hā′mats'a, and by his sister La′stosalas, who is the k·î′nqalaʟala of the former. Then the members of his clan followed, carrying the blankets which he was going to distribute.

The speaker of the clan Sī′sînʟaē arose and said: "Look at me, friends, look at me well. This is my way of acting for my children." Then he turned to the Kwakiutl and said: "Yes, my friends, here I am again. I can not let you rest, for we must try to pacify our great friend.[2] Now arise! and take the handles of your batons," and turning to the Nā′q'oaqtôq and Koskimo, he asked them to help pacify the

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[1] Hē′lig·a yē′laqula.

[2] Meaning the hā′mats'a Yā′qoîs, who became excited the preceding day.

hā′mats'a. He said: "We have tried to tame him, but we can not do it. I am too insignificant as compared to him." "True, true," said all the people. Then they began to sing:

I have been all around the world eating with BaxbakuālanuXsī wa
I give nobody time to escape me, going around in the house with BaxbakuālanuX-
sī′waē.
You BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē, center of the earth, you were crying hāp for me;
You BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē, post of the world, you were crying hāp for me.[1]

Yā′qoîs and his k·î′nqalaʟala danced, accompanying the song. First two songs were sung for the hā′mats'a, then two for the k·î′nqalaʟala, one of which was as follows:

I keep down your wrath, Great, real Cannibal!
I keep down your whistles, Great, real Cannibal!
I keep down your voraciousness, Great, real Cannibal!
You are always looking for food, Great, real Cannibal!
You are always looking for heads, Great, real Cannibal!
You are always devouring property, Great, real Cannibal![2]

Then the speaker of the Koskimo arose and said: "Ya, Koskimo! Ya, Kwakiutl, Ya, Nā′q'oaqtôq. This here is my hā′mats'a.[3] I sold a copper for 1,000 blankets and he swallowed it.[4] I sold a copper for 1,200 blankets and he swallowed it. At another time I bought a copper for 1,200 blankets and threw it into the fire for the sake of his name. Now look out! I may do the same again this year. I want to make him as heavy as I can on my part. His father is doing the same for him." Then Yā′qoîs's father arose and the people shouted: "Speak, Chief; speak yourself; not through a speaker."[5] Then he said: "Friends, look at me; look at me well, because I want to tell you who I am! This is my way of doing. Five years ago you heard much about what I was doing. Then I gave my hā′mats'a first to Yā′qoîs. Ten times I gave blankets to the Koskimo. I want you to come to my house ten times this year, so that I may reach to the beams of my house. This is not my way of doing. Chief Nᴇqā′penk·'ᴇm, my father,[6] and Â′watē taught me this way and I followed them. My name is ʇā′qoag·ila on account of the copper which I had from my grandfather. My name is Qō′moqoē on account of the ermine and abalone shells which I have from my grandfather. Do you want to know how I obtained my hā′mats'a? I opened my box and took out my dances, which I received from my brother-in-law, Q'ulî′s.[7] Therefore I am not ashamed of my hā′mats'a. Now I ask you one thing—do not call me Guē′telabidō.[8] It

[1] Appendix, page 688.
[2] Appendix, page 693.
[3] He had given his hā′mats'a to Yā′qoîs at a former time.
[4] That means he gave it away.
[5] Wai, yā′q'ēg·aʟax, g·ī′qamē, xā′mastala.
[6] He merely called him father.
[7] Or Nu′xnēmîs.
[8] Son of northern tribe, because his mother belonged to one of the northern tribes of the coast.

is well when I live like one of you, and it is well if I act like one of the northern tribe, because my mother was of high blood among her tribe. I do not give this festival that you may call me a chief. I give it in honor of these two who are dancing here, that the words of their enemies may not harm them. For this purpose I build an armor of wealth around them." Then his speaker continued: "You have finished. I am proud of you. Yours is the right way of speaking. There is nothing wrong in what you said." Then he turned to the Nā'q'oaqtôq, addressing their chief, K·ak·xâ'lasō: "Did you hear what my chief said? He did not speak against you; he did not speak against the Koskimo, and he did not speak against us. He shall be the speaker of the clan Sē'nLEm.[1] Do not speak behind our backs, calling us sons of northern tribes.[2] Our hā'mats'a is making us tired. Now take care! Look after your batons and speak carefully, and see that food is given in the proper way to our great friend. He has many fathers. If one of them has not enough property at hand, another one is ready to pay for his ecstasies. Hō'LElitē! Come and do what you like with these blankets here. They fell from the red cedar bark of Yā'qoîs."

Hō'LElitē arose and with him Amā'x·idayu. He praised Nō'Lq'auLEla, the father of Yā'qoîs, and said: "O Nā'q'oaqtôq. This is the first time that such a thing is done. His property runs from him in streams, and if one of his rivals should stand in the way he would be drowned by it."

Then he began to distribute the blankets, beginning with the mā'maq'a of the Nā'q'oaqtôq. Sometimes he did not know the proper order and rank of the different names. Then he inquired of the people, and they called to him, trying to help him. Some even threw stones at him in order to attract his attention. After the first pile of blankets had been distributed among the Nā'q'oaqtôq, he took up the second pile and distributed it among the Koskimo, beginning with their hā'mats'a. After he had distributed all, he said once more: "Be careful; the supernatural power never leaves our hā'mats'a; if you should make a mistake, he will become excited again." After his speech, the Nā'q'oaqtōq and Koskimo sang a song on account of the distribution of blankets, and one of the Koskimo said: "I begin to be afraid of the manner in which we are being treated here. The property which is being distributed here reaches up to my throat. I will not blame Nō'Lq'auLEla. My grandson is a hā'mats'a, and neither he has received a blanket nor have I received one." It so happened that his name had been forgotten in the distribution. Then Nō'Lq'auLEla took the button blanket which his mother was wearing and gave it to the speaker, who thanked him for it. Next a Nā'q'oaqtôq arose and said: "No clan has ever been known to do what you have done to-day, and I am afraid of you. Kwakiutl,

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[1] Or Sī'sînLaē.

[2] His father was a Hē'iltsuq.

you had a chief before this time, but now you have no chief."[1] Upon this all the Kwakiutl said: "True, true; we can not deny it."[2]

After these speeches were finished, food, which consisted of crab apples mixed with grease, was distributed among the guests.[3] When the people had almost finished eating, one of the Nā'q'oaqtôq gave a button blanket to his son-in-law as a promise of a great number of blankets which he was to give him at a later time. Then the recipient thanked his father-in-law. He took his staff, which he held horizontally on his shoulder, and which he carried as though he was loaded down with the gifts of his father-in-law. Slowly he went around the fire singing his secret song—a t'ō'X'uît song, as he was a member of that society. He turned when he came to the front of the house and when he reached the rear of the house. While he was still singing, all the Nā'q'oaqtôq singers assembled near the door. They held a plank to beat time on and began to sing. The man danced while they sang. After the second song, he put on the button blanket and danced, accompanied by the third song. During the fourth song he took up some burning coals and laid them before one of the men. This was to indicate that he had power over the fire. Then he took another piece of burning coal between his hands, rubbed it, and, swinging his closed hands forward and backward, he all of a sudden threw them forward, and as they parted the coals had disappeared. He had transformed the coal into a supernatural object which was to fly around the whole world to see if there was a chief greater than his father-in-law. In four days he said it should return and bring him answer. Then he announced that he would keep the blanket which he had received, and that he would not give it away, and the people replied: "Do as you say."

In the evening the Nā'q'oaqtôq held their kuē'xalak^{u}. When all the people had assembled, the speaker thanked them that they had come, and turning to his own tribe, he said: "Keep your batons in readiness!" As soon as he had said so, the door opened and two men came in wearing large blankets and imitating the motions of cormorants. They entered by twos and threes and gathered in the rear of the house, standing in a row. When all had come in, the speaker asked the first of the birds: "What is in your stomach?" He replied: "Kwakiutl." Then he asked the next one: "What is in your stomach?" He replied: "Four tribes," meaning the four tribes of the Kwakiutl. Turning to the third one, he asked: "What is in your stomach?" He replied: "The Kwakiutl, the Koskimo, and all other tribes." When he asked the next one, he acted as though he was vomiting. This means that he was vomiting the property that was to be distributed at night. The fifth one said to the speaker that he had gone from tribe to tribe through

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[1] Meaning that Nō'Lq'aULEla, by his numerous distributions of blankets, had become greater than all the other chiefs.

[2] K·'ēsnoX hē'Xoa.

[3] The crab apples are picked while they are unripe, boiled, and kept in water.

the whole world swallowing the tribes.[1] After the speaker had asked every one in this manner, he thanked the cormorants for coming, and said: "I am glad that you are not light cormorants, but that you are heavy with property."

Another signal was given to the singers to beat time, and in came the killer whales. They also entered by twos and threes. They had fins made of wood tied to their backs, and came in blowing. They moved in a bent position, so that the fins stood upright. Blowing, they went around the fire, where they remained standing next to the cormorants. Now the speaker said: "Do you know why we open our ceremonial with the entrance of the cormorants and of the killer whales? In olden times, when Kuēkuaxā'oē traveled all over the world in his canoe Dā'daLa, he came to Goā'LgoaL'ā'lalîs, where the village of the Nā'q'oaqtôq is standing. There the Nā'q'oaqtôq and the killer whales were living at that time. Kuēkuaxā'oē left them and went to Ya'xoēstEm. After he had left, difficulties arose between the Nā'q'oaqtôq and the killer whales. When Kuēkuaxā'oē heard of this, he transformed part of the whales into birds, others into sand. For this reason the sand of the beach Goā'LgoaL'ā'lalîs is sounding when it is stepped upon."

After he had finished his speech, the women came in, dressed as birds. They danced around the fire and stopped next to the cormorants and killer whales. Then the speaker continued: "Do you know what this means? The birds were living at Ya'xoēstEm when Kuēkuaxā'oē arrived there. They were living in a cave. Kuēkuaxā'oē painted them different colors. The crows and the cormorants wanted to be made prettier than all the others, and waited until the last, but then they found that Kuēkuaxā'oē had used all his paint and had only some charcoal left, with which he painted them. Therefore they are black. After the birds had been painted, they came dancing out of the cave. At that time Kuēkuaxā'oē's canoe was burned. If you do not believe what I said, Koskimo, come and visit me and I will show you the place." After this speech, the Nā'q'oaqtôq distributed their blankets among the Kwakiutl and Koskimo.

After this was done, a messenger entered the house and said: "Some strangers are on the beach." The speaker of the Na'q'oaqtôq sent a man out, who took a torch and went down to the beach. Soon he returned and informed the speaker that some white men had landed and asked to be permitted to enter. The speaker sent for them, and the messengers came back leading a young Indian girl, who was dressed up in European costume, with a gaudy hat, a velvet skirt, and a silk blouse. Then they asked Nō'Lq'auLEla what he thought of her; if he thought she was wealthy. They asked him to send her back if she should be poor. He looked at her and said: "I can easily distinguish rich and poor and I see she is wealthy. Let her stay here." Then the speaker

[1] That means giving away blankets. When blankets are given to a tribe, it is called swallowing the tribe.

looked at her and said: "Oh, that is Mrs. Nū'lē." They led her to the rear of the house and asked her if she carried anything in her pocket. She produced a roll of silver quarter dollars, which the speaker took and distributed among the people. By this time it was near midnight.

Now the speaker said: "Let us take up the object of our convention." The festival was to be the initiation of a new q'ō'minâqa. About a fortnight before the festival the host's daughter, who was a q'ō'minâqa, had died, and he wanted to let his niece take her place. The festival was to be her initiation. She had been hidden in a secret room in the rear of the house, and when the singers began the songs of the dead girl she appeared wearing a blanket, dancing apron, a round neck ring, and a high head ring which was covered all over with down. She danced very slowly around the fire, accompanied by two attendants. Her hands trembled. They were held horizontally forward, lightly bent, her elbows resting on her sides. When she appeared, three women began to dance in the rear of the house in order to appease her. After four circuits she disappeared in her room, followed by her two attendants and the three dancers. When the second song was struck up, she reappeared and danced in the same manner as before. At the end of the song she went back to her room. During the third and fourth songs she grew quiet and danced like other women. When she appeared for the fourth time, she wore a huge round head ring. She was accompanied by an old woman, the aunt of the deceased girl, who wore no ornaments, and whose disheveled hair hung loosely over her face. This indicated that she was in deep mourning.

Soon after the end of the ceremony the song of a man was heard in front of the house. He approached slowly. Now the door opened and a naked person, wearing only an apron, and a head ring of red cedar bark, arm rings, and anklets of the same material, appeared. He stayed in the doorway for a long time, singing his secret song. Then he came forward, looking upward, his hands laid flat to the back side of his thighs. With short quick steps he ran around the fire. The audience became restless, because they feared him, the mā'maq'a, the thrower of sickness. When he entered, all the hā'mats'a had to leave the house. As soon as he began his circuit, a man holding a rattle ran up to him and followed all his movements. As soon as the mā'maq'a came to the rear of the house he gave a high jump. The drummer beat the drum rapidly and all of a sudden the mā'maq'a had caught his magical stick, which he held between his palms, drawing it out long and shortening it again. Suddenly he threw it into himself. The staff had disappeared and he fell backward in frightful contortions. Blood came pouring out of his mouth and out of his chest. After some time, he pulled the stick out of his mouth, recovered, and continued his dance. He tried to catch the stick again, looking upward and holding his hands close to his thighs. As soon as he had caught it all the people arose, and when he threw it, they stooped down, hiding in their blankets and crying, "wā." The first time he threw his stick it did not

hit anyone, but when he threw the second time two young Nā′q'oaqtôq rushed forward, blood pouring out of their mouths. After some contortions they lay there dead. The man who had accompanied the mā′maq'a's dance with his rattle was acting as though the stick had entered his throat and was suffocating him. As soon as the mā′maq'a had thrown the second time, he disappeared in the secret room in the rear of the house. Soon he reappeared, singing over the dead, who were carried into the secret room. Shamans were called, who sang over them and cried "hoîp," while the mā′maq'a danced a third and a fourth time, catching and throwing his stick, without, however, hitting anyone. This was the end of the ceremony.

November 22.—In the morning the Koskimo held a secret meeting, at which it was decided that Q'ē′q'anqoala was to show the dance Bā′baqoayūL (soul catcher). In this dance, which will be found described on page 575, the dancer pretends to capture the soul of one of the audience; but a certain amount of property is made to symbolize the soul. When therefore a dancer catches a soul, it means that he takes away from the owner a certain amount of property, which is to be distributed among the guests. Therefore the speaker asked at this meeting: "Q'ē′q'anqoala is going to show his dance. I want to know if anyone wants him to catch his soul." Whoever intended to distribute blankets offered his soul, saying: "Q'ē′q'anqoala, catch my soul, for I want to give away blankets to our rivals." The speaker thanked them for their offer. The soul is represented in the dance by a small ball of eagle down, which is attached to a string. As many balls are attached to the string at equal distances as there are men who offered their souls to be captured.

In the afternoon the Kwakiutl held a meeting at the assembly place in the woods, in which they laid out the plan for the kuē′xalak", which was to take place on the same evening. The Koskimo intended to have a festival on the same day, but finally gave it up on account of the one to be held by the Kwakiutl. The people assembled in the evening. The Kwakiutl sat in the rear of the house—the Koskimo on the right hand side on entering, the Nā′q'oaqtôq on the left hand side on entering. The last to enter were the members of the seal society, who took their seats in the last row in the rear of the house. The singers sat in front of them, while the old chiefs occupied the front row. When all had assembled, the speaker of the Kwakiutl arose and said: "Welcome, friends, on both sides of the house. We are all in our dancing house." And turning to the members of the seal society: "Do not go too soon, great friends." Now turning to the Kwakiutl, he said: "Now be ready with your batons."[1] As soon as he had finished his

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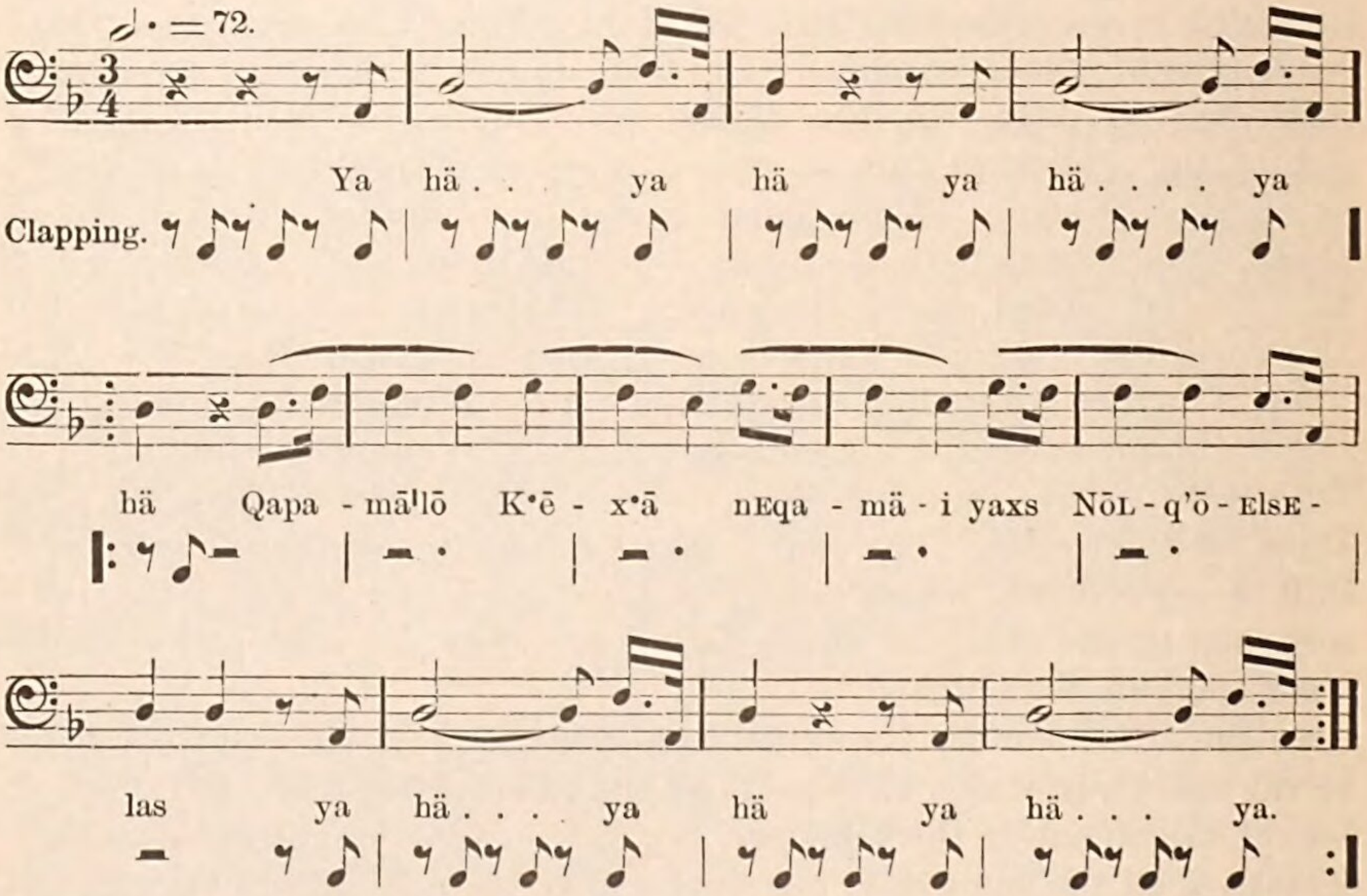
[1] Wä! qē′lag·a wā′waxsōtewalīL nēnEmō′k". G·ā′xmEns wē′ltsō lā′xEns
Oh! come on both sides in the house, friends. We all inside in our
ts'äq'atsēx. K·'ē′sLEs pak·'ā′laLōL nēnEmōktsē′k·as. Wä ya′LawiLōL
dancing house. Not you you hasten to go, great friends. Oh! take care in the house
nōs nēnEmō′k" qa s daxLā′liLalag·aōs saxs t'a′miayüqōs.
my friends and you take at their ends your batons.

speech, the two messengers who stood in the doorway said: "K·ēx· and his sisters are coming."[1] Then the door opened, and the members of the killer whale society entered, surrounding the dancer, whose name was K·ēx·. He represents the Mink, and performs the dance which, according to the legend, Mink danced after having killed the son of the wolves. He had a red circular spot surrounded by a black ring painted on each cheek. He danced holding his palms downward and raising them alternately to his eyes, as though he was hiding his face behind his blanket. Another man, whose name was also K·ēx·, who was sitting in the rear of the house, began dancing when the singers commenced K·ēx·'s song:



That is, "Mink put on his head the middle of the face of NōLq'ōlsElas."

With the word "Qapamā'lō" of the song the dancer put his palms vertically to his nose, indicating the long nose of the fool dancers. They inserted in the song first the name of the fool dancer NōLq'ōlsElas, who, as soon as his name was mentioned, tried to strike the dancer and to stop his song. After his name they inserted those of Nō'L'it and of Wā'xsqEmlîs.

Then QE'lqēx·âla, speaker of the G·ē'xsEm, arose and said: "This is done in rivalry with what the Nā'q'oaqtôq did last night. They showed us their legends; these are our legends. I do not need to tell them to you; you all know how K·ēx·, the Mink, killed the son of the wolves."

Now the door opened, and four men dressed as policemen entered. They were KuLE'm, MEsx·ā'q, xE'lpatōsEla, and G·ō'koya.

The last of these acted the judge and carried a book. He sent the

[1] G·ā'xLig·a K·ēx·ik· Lō'gwas wīs'waqoak·.
He comes Mink with his sisters.

policemen around asking if everybody was present, and KuLE'm asked, "Are all here?" The people replied, "Yes." Then the two other policemen went around, looked at everybody, and stated that one person was missing. They went out, and soon returned leading the old woman Gudō'yō, whose hands were fastened with handcuffs. Then they pretended to hold court over her on account of her absence. The judge pretended to read the law on the case, and fined her $70. She replied that she was poor; that she was able to pay in blankets, but had no ready móney. KuLE'm, who acted the interpreter, pretended to translate what she said into English, and the payment of 70 blankets was accepted. Then the friends of Gudō'yō turned against the judge and said: "That is always your way, policemen. As soon as you see anyone who has money, you arrest him and fine him." She was unchained, and the policemen went back to the door.[1]

They called K·ēx· and his friends, the killer whales, and told them to fetch the 70 blankets. The cousin of the old woman, who was the speaker of the Maa'mtag·ila, told them where to go, and soon they returned. Gudō'yō's sister, LĒ'mElxa'lag·ilîs, followed them, dancing. All the people were singing a ha'mshamtsEs song for her. The blankets were distributed in her name. The mā'maq'a of the Nā'q'oaqtôq received his share first; then the other members of his tribe, and afterwards the Koskimo, beginning with the hā'mats'a. While this was going on, button blankets and bracelets tied to sticks were being carried into the house. A G·ē'xsEm, whose daughter had married LĒ'LĒlälakᵘ, a G·ī'g·îlqam of the Kuē'xa, was going to repay the purchase money of his daughter. This ceremony is called "the brief qautē'x·a." The speaker of the G·ē'xsEm, QE'lqēx·ala, arose and shouted: "Get ready, LĒ'LĒlälakᵘ,"[2] and called all the chiefs of the clan G·i'g·îlqam. LĒ'LĒlälakᵘ was sitting at the left-hand side of the door. He arose and said: "Did I hear you call my name?" "Yes," replied the speaker, "your father-in-law is going to repay you." "I wish it were true what you said,"[3] remarked LĒ'LĒlälakᵘ.

Then the speaker counted 39 button blankets and gave them to him, saying that the fortieth was not quite finished yet; and he added: "Here are 120 blankets; if your button blankets should not be enough for all the guests, you may use these." After he had spoken, K·ā'qoLĒ, a speaker of the G·ī'g·îlqam, arose, holding the speaker's staff in his hands, and said: "I will go and take the blankets." With quick steps he ran around the fire, turning in the rear and in the front of the house. That meant that he was treading on all the tribes, because the Kwakiutl rank highest of all. Then he struck the pile of blankets with his

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[1] This performance was first introduced in 1865, and has been kept up since that time.

[2] Wē'g·a Ƨoā'līLx LĒ'LĒlälakᵘ.
Go on, stand in the house, LĒ'LĒlälakᵘ.

[3] Wē'xEnL â'lanēs Las nē'k·a.
I wish it was true what he said.

staff. That meant he broke the canoe in which the blankets were stored so that they fell into the sea, the sea meaning the other tribes. Now he turned angrily to the Nā′q'oaqtôq, and said: "I am LĒ′LĒLÄLAK^{u}, who promised to give blankets to the Nā′q'oaqtôq."[1] After he had finished, QE′lqēx·āla spoke again and gave LĒ′LĒLÄLAK^{u} the name which was promised to him at the time of his marriage by his father-in-law. He said: "Your name shall be G·a′lqEmalîs;[2] your name shall be QEmō′ta'yalîs[2] (howling over all the tribes), and your name shall be L'ēmElxElag·ilîs[3] and SEbE′lxalag·ilîs."

Then NE′msqEmūt, an old chief of the G·ī′g·îlqam, spoke: "Now you will be Walas'axa′ak^{u}."[4] Immediately x·ī′x·ēqala, chief of the G·ī′g·îlqam, interrupted him: "I am the only one who has the Walas'axa′ak^{u}. Do you want to know where I obtained it? Walas NEmogwîs and Ō'maxt'ā′laLē lived in K·'ā′qa. There he first came down from heaven, there he had his dancing house, and since that time it is called 'K·ā′qa,' or built on a rock. Come! Wā′xsqEmîs, that we may express our joy." Wā′xsqEmîs is a fool dancer, and as soon as he was called he became excited, and ran around the fire in the fashion of the fool dancers, crying "hi, hi, hi." Then the people sang his song. Now x·ī′x·ēqala continued, turning to the other tribes: "I will tell you how strong my clan is: Here is the copper Mā′xts'ōlEmtsēwuL lying dead in the water off our beach. Here is the copper Ya′xyaxaqau′-loma lying dead in the water off our beach. Here is the copper Ya′xyaxaqau′loma lying dead in the water off our beach. Here is the copper Qoayî′mk·in lying dead in the water off our beach. Here is the copper Qa'wī′g·a lying dead in the water off our beach. Here is the copper NE′nqamala lying dead in the water off our beach."[5]

When the name of the copper Qa'wī′g·a (meaning raven) was called,

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[1]Nine years ago LĒ′LĒLÄLAK^{u} had promised blankets to the Nā′q'oaqtôq; but as he had not fulfilled his promise so far, he was much ridiculed. Whenever a festival was held, they said they heard him crying in the woods because he was not able to gather a sufficient number of blankets.

[2]A Walas'axa′ name.

[3]A ha′mshamtsEs name.

[4]La'ams Walas'axa′ak^{u} LŌ
Now you Walas'axak^{u} you.

[5]G·a′am LĀ′qoak· Mā′xts'ōlEmtsēwuL yâ′xstālis la′xoa L'Emā′îs. G·amē′s
This is the copper Maxt'sōlEmtsēwuL it is dead on this beach. This is in the water.
Ya′xyaxaqau′lomak·a yâ′xstālis la′xoa L'Emā′îs, etc.
Ya′xyaxaqau′loma it is dead in the water on this beach.

The expression, "lying dead in the water off our beach," means that the clan had broken it.

The first of these coppers is valued at 4,000 blankets, the next at 3,500 blankets. It is counted twice, because it was broken twice by the clan. The Qoayî′mk·in copper is valued at 1,500 blankets.

everybody expected that the hā′mats'a would get excited, and looked at him anxiously, but everything remained quiet. X·ī′x·ēqala continued: "That is the strength of my clan. None among all the other Kwakiutl clans ever broke as many expensive coppers as we did." With every copper that he named he put his staff down violently, bending his knees at the same time. Then he turned to the G·ē′xsEm and said: "I thank you for the button blankets and for the 2,000 bracelets," and promised at once to distribute the blankets among the Nā′q'oaqtôq.

After he had spoken, Lē′Lēlälak^{u} asked his brother-in-law, "What became of the 40 blankets which I gave you at the time of my marriage to your sister? If you do not want to pay them, say so; but if you do intend to pay them, let me know. Do as you have a mind to; I do not care." Then his brother-in-law replied that he was going to pay in course of time. Lē′Lēlälak^{u} then promised to give the 40 blankets to the Koskimo.

Now Hō′LElitē arose and said: "You have finished. Now let us take up the object of our convention." The blankets were put aside. As was stated before, the festival was to be a kuē′xalak^{u}—that means the initiation into one of the lower ranks of the secret societies. The person to be initiated was the son of Sē′g·ag′ila, who had arranged this feast. He gave his membership in the fool dancer society to his young son. The people began to sing a fool dancer's song. Then suddenly a fool dancer rushed out of the right hand rear corner of the house carrying his young son in his arms and crying, "wiē′, wiē′." At the same time he cleaned his nose and put the mucus on the boy's face. This is done because it is supposed that the power of the fool dancer is seated in the mucus. After he had run around the fire once he disappeared again behind the curtain which was drawn in the rear of the house. Hō′LElitē arose again and said: "This is NuLt'aqā′lag·ilîs," thus naming the place which the boy was to occupy. The people sang again, and a woman wearing the headdress of the Nā′naqaualiL came out. Another woman danced backward in front of her. A man carrying a rattle accompanied her. This dance was not an initiation, but only a representation of the dance which X·ī′x·ēqala had obtained from his wife by marriage. After this dance was finished, a young boy was to perform another Nā′naqaualiL dance. He came out and danced once around the fire, accompanied by one man carrying a rattle and three others who watched him. He wore a head ornament with four horns. After this dance he disappeared behind the curtain, and when the second song commenced, a large mask representing the sunrise Na′x-naik·êmL appeared in the rear of the house, coming from behind the curtain. It was a double mask, which in the course of the dance was to open. When the wearer of the mask opened it, one side of the cover broke. Although the attendants rushed up to the mask immediately, trying to cover it, the hā′mats'a had seen what had happened

and became excited at once, crying "hāp, hāp, hāp." The fool dancers and the bears joined him. The hā'mats'a rushed down into the middle of the house, the fool dancers struck and stabbed the people and pelted them with stones, and the bears scratched them. The greatest excitement prevailed. After a very short time the members of the secret societies of the other tribes became excited too. The hā'mats'a of the Koskimo jumped up trembling and crying "hāp, hāp." The Nā'q'oaqtôq hā'mats'a followed, and so did the pa'xala, who jumped about the fire squatting and crying "mamamamamama," which is the cry of the ghosts. He took burning coals and firebrands and threw them among the people. The women ran screaming into the bedrooms. The Koskimo accompanied their hā'mats'a out of the house, and the Nā'q'oaqtôq were driven out by their hā'mats'a. While this was going on, some of the Kwakiutl were trying to rearrange the fire. According to the rules, the members of the seal society ought to have broken the right-hand side of the house first, the left-hand side next, and ought to have driven out the people in this manner, the hā'mats'a biting the people, the fool dancers striking, and the bear dancers scratching them. But it seems that there was some misunderstanding in this case, and the house was not broken, although the excitement which prevailed was very great. While the Kwakiutl were trying to rearrange the fire, T'ēt'ēsumx·tsana, uncle of the Nā'q'oaqtôq pa'xala, ran around the fire shouting "naualakwai'!"[1] drawing the word out as long as his breath would allow. As the people left the house, the noise subsided, although the members of the seal society continued to rave in the house.

After a while the Koskimo returned into the dancing house, four men going first, each carrying a staff held in a horizontal position, and each singing his own song.

They were Wīnā'lag·ilîs. They led a young girl, who wore a head ring. She was just initiated into a secret society.[2] Then two of the speakers spoke at the same time. So far as it was possible to make out what they said, they spoke about as follows: "This girl has been the game of Wīnā'lag·ilîs, who is hunting novices." They led her around the fire once and guided her behind the curtain. While she was going around the fire, the Nā'q'oaqtôq pa'xala pointed his staff at the Koskimo. This, it is said, meant that he would kill them if they did not bring a novice.

Now the Nā'q'oaqtôq entered, first a hā'mats'a and two t'ō'X'uît, who held each other by the hand. When they came, the pa'xala, who was all the time standing with bent knees, dropped down still lower. Next, two mā'maq'as entered carrying a dead child in their arms. T'ō'pēwa, speaker of the Nā'q'oaqtôq said: "Nā'q'oaqtôq and Kos-

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[1]Spirit of the winter dance.

[2]People who are initiated for the first time are called wā'tanEm. After they have been wā'tanEm four times they become members of the higher societies, the lā'xsâ.

kimo, you have a hard task; you must kick against a high mountain.[1] Wīnā′lag·ilîs or Hai′aLilaqas has killed this boy, the son of XExuā′nElq'ala, the pa′xala. The supernatural power came and took him away. He is dead. We will try to resuscitate him."

As soon as he said so, the mā′maq'a tried to throw the body into the fire.[2] T'ē′t'ēsumx·tsana and T'ō′pēwa pushed them back and asked for assistance. Now they put the body down on top of a box and T'ō′pēwa asked the highest pa′xala of the tribe to try to resuscitate the boy. Lō′Xoaxstaak^{u} came and sang his secret song. Then he spoke to the Kwakiutl: "Friends, if you have a mask for the winter ceremonial which you want to show, do not let a stranger use it; teach your own people to show it, that no mistake may occur. Only because a stranger showed your mask a mistake happened and brought about our great difficulty. I say so, T'ō′pēwa."[3] Then he went around the fire singing. After he had made one circuit, the women joined his song and a deep sounding whistle was heard, which represents the breath of the pa′xala. He sang four songs, and after every song the whistles were heard. Every time it sounded the Kwakiutl beat time and cried "hä, hä, hä, hä." Then the boy began to move again and pretended to come to life. This was the end of the festival.

When all was over, the hā′mats'a of the Koskimo appeared once more and ran around the fire, followed by his assistants. Then he disappeared again.

November 23.—Early in the morning the Koskimo dressed themselves to meet their novice. Two messengers went through the village and asked the people to clear the floors of the houses and to sweep them. They arranged themselves in two groups—first the wī′xṣâ, then the lā′xsâ. One of the former carried a skin drum. The men walked first. They were followed by the women, among whom was the new wā′tanEm, who was initiated the preceding night. The men were singing while the women were dancing. The wā′tanEm danced, raising her hands alternately, her elbows close to her sides, the palms of the hands upward. She had four feathers on her head ring. She did not dance with the first song, but joined the dance during the second, third, and fourth songs. The lā′xsâ followed the wī′xsâ at a short distance. The men were singing, a woman beat a skin drum, and others, among them another wā′tanEm, were dancing. Thus they walked from one house to the other. A few hours after this the hā′mats'a was heard all of a

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[1]Meaning that they had to strive against the Kwakiutl.

[2]As all of this was quite unprepared, the ceremony was not carried out as it is in other cases. If the performance has been planned beforehand, the mā′maq'as would have provided themselves with a skeleton, which they would have carried in their arms instead of the child. They would have thrown the bones into the fire, and after the charred remains had been seen by the people they would have made them disappear in a ditch made for the occasion, and the boy would have risen at the place where the charred bones had been seen before.

[3]He spoke in behalf of the latter and therefore used his name.

sudden on the beach west of the village, but soon he disappeared again. Then the Koskimo walked behind the village, where the "breathing hole" of the hā′mats'a is supposed to be. During this time he is believed to be in the underworld. They went behind the village, thinking that he might come up from underground. About 11 a. m., a man who had gone into the woods west of the village to gather alder bark, was attacked by the hā′mats'a of the Koskimo. In order to save himself from the attack, he ran into the sea and walked home in the salt water, pursued by the hā′mats'a. His cries soon attracted the attention of the people. They ran up to the hā′mats'a and surrounded him. He was naked, except that he wore a head and neck ring of hemlock branches and a belt and apron of the same material.

After he had been caught, the Koskimo sat down, and the song maker taught them his new songs. After they had learned the songs, they arose. The men took a long plank and beat time on it, while one was carrying the skin drum. They sang the first two of the new songs. The women went ahead, dancing in honor of the hā′mats'a, who was dancing in a squatting position. Thus they approached the village slowly, going along the beach.

Finally they entered the dancing house, where the hā′mats'a danced, accompanied by the first and second songs. Then he disappeared in his bedroom with his attendants.

Now Lō′Xoaxstaak^{u} arose and said: "Now, friends, I will ask you to help me and dance to-night with the new hā′mats'a which was given to you, Tōqoamalîs, chief of the Koskimo, by the giver of the winter ceremonial. I follow his law. All the hā′mats'as shall dance with our new hā′mats'a. I do not know yet what his name is going to be. I ask you, Ts'ā′qoalag·ilîs; and you, Tā′nîsk·asō; and you, Qoā′ts'amya; and you, LēmElxa′lag·ilîs; and you, Nā′noqoîs; and you, WēqoamiLa′lag·ilîs. Now you all must go and wash in the water of BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē and put on the dress of the BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē. That is all."

Then Tō′qoamalîs arose and said: "O my children. I am glad to see that you are obeying the laws that were given to our ancestors. You know that if we make a mistake in this ceremonial, it means that our lives will be cut short. When I was a young man, I have seen my grandfather kill a man who broke the rules of the red cedar bark. Thus I tell you Ā′Labala, and you Lō′Xoaxstaak^{u}. That is all."

Most of the people now left the dancing house. All day whistles were heard proceeding from the room of the hā′mats'a. The people prepared for the dance that was to be celebrated that night.

The members of the seal society of the Kwakiutl had remained in their dancing house since the preceding night. They were not allowed to leave it until the approaching k·ik·î′lnala. The fool dancers and bears however, were sent out every now and then to get food. At other times they ran out of the house with their lances and struck and scratched the people or threw stones at them. Some-

times the hā′mats'a, accompanied by some of the fool dancers and bears, would leave the house and attack the people. In the afternoon all the members of the seal society appeared on the roof of the house. Every society howled its peculiar cries, the fool dancers throwing stones at the people. During all this time the people were forbidden to pass in front of the house. Whenever anyone approached the house, the members of the seal society frightened him away. While they were on the roof of the house, all standing at the front edge of the roof, a man approached. Immediately the hā′mats'a and bears jumped down and pursued him. The fool dancers climbed down the sides of the house, and all went in hot pursuit until the man escaped into one of the neighboring houses. Whistles of the different societies were heard in the house all day long.

About half past six in the evening, Lāgulā′g·aliL and Lō′Xuals blackened their faces, put on blankets and belts, head rings and neck rings of red cedar bark, and strewed eagle down on their heads. Then they left the dancing house and opened the door of the neighboring house. There they stood, and Lāgulā′g·aliL cried: "Now, quē′qutsa men and women, let us go into the house;" and Lō′Xuals added: "We will pacify our cannibal." Thus they went from house to house. When they had returned from the round, four young men went and called the people, saying: "Now we come to make you rise." While they were still going around, some of the Koskimo gathered in the dancing house, beat the boards, and cried "yū" twice, giving a short final rap with each cry. As soon as the Kwakiutl heard the beating, they all went to the dancing house. There the beating and the cries were repeated twice.

About 8 p. m. all had assembled in the dancing house. The men of the Koskimo tribe were sitting in the rear portion of the house. Then LoXuaxstaak^{u}, a Koskimo, arose and spoke: "Come, friends, that you may see the manner in which I perform the winter ceremonial. This was given to us by the creator of our ancestors. Your ways, Kwakiutl, differ greatly from ours. They were given to you in the beginning of the world. Take care and do not change your old customs, Kwakiutl!" Then he turned to his tribe and asked them to hold their batons in readiness. While he was speaking he held his staff in a horizontal position. Then Ho′LElitē, chief speaker of the Kwakiutl, replied: "Your speech is good, friend. It is true what you said. I am glad to see that you are adhering to the customs that were given to you;" and, turning to the Kwakiutl, he continued, "We must answer our friends."

Now the rest of the quē′qutsa of the Koskimo entered—first G·a′loīL, the chief speaker of the dancers. He held a speaker's staff in his hands and carried a number of blankets over his shoulder. He was singing his secret song while the others were singing outside the house. He sang as follows:

1. I tried to tame them by the power of my magic, friends.
2. I blew water upon them to tame them, friends.

A second speaker followed, carrying his staff. His name is Mā′a. He is the highest in rank of all the quē′qutsa. When he entered, G·a′loīL stopped singing and Mā′a commenced his secret song. At the same time G·a′loīL addressed the people and said: "Now look at me and at my friend. Look at us, friends, at the other side of the house" (meaning the Kwakiutl). And, turning to his own tribe, he continued: "Now take care, friends!" To which A′Labala, another speaker, who stood next to LōXuaxstaak^{u}, replied: "Yes, friends, let us keep in readiness. If we should make a mistake, we shall not escape the power that will kill us." During these speeches Mā′a sung his secret song, as follows:

1. Ah, I have everything; I have all the dances of my enemy.
2. Ah, I have all the death bringers of my enemy.

Now a third man, a wolf dancer, entered. Two white feathers were attached to his head ring of red cedar bark and his head was strewn with white eagle down. His name was NaqwaLayē. As soon as he entered, Tō′qoamalîs and LāgulagˑālîL, the chiefs of the Koskimo, who had been sitting in the rear of the house, arose, and with them their speaker, Qoa′lxˑala.

NaqwaLayē's head ring belongs to the descendants of Ya′xstaL of the Naqô′mgˑi lisala. According to tradition, the Xōyā′lEs (see also p. 332) had killed all the GˑigˑēLEm, except LēōlExmut and his three sons, the eldest of whom was Ya′xstaL. In order to make his sons strong, LēōlExmut dragged them over the beach around the island of GˑigˑēLEm, so that the sharp shells cut their backs. Only Ya′xstaL survived this ordeal, and came to be of supernatural strength. Then they went to make war upon the Xōyā′lEs. When they had reached Ta′tsolîs, a wolf came to their camp while they were asleep, threw Ya′xstaL on his back, and carried him away. From time to time he put him down, in order to see if he was still alive. When he felt his breath, he took him up again and continued his course. Finally he reached the village of the wolves. He threw Ya′xstaL down in front of the chief's house and, having assumed human shape, he whistled. Then many people came out of the houses to see who had come. They mistook Ya′xstaL for a sea otter, carried him into the house, threw him down, and began to cut him up. When they had cut down his chest and were about to open his belly, he jumped up and asked: "Will you help me to take revenge upon the Xōyā′lEs?" The wolves promised to help him, and asked him: "What did you come for? Do you want to have this wedge? It will help you to build canoes in which you can reach your enemies." Ya′xstaL did not reply, but merely thought he did not want to have the wedge. WīLaqā′latit, chief of the wolves, knew his thoughts at once. He asked: "Do you want the harpoon? It will enable you to kill seals enough at a time to fill your canoe." Ya′xstaL thought that he did not want to have the harpoon, and WīLaqā′latit knew his thoughts. Then the wolves offered him the water of

life and the death bringer. He thought: "That is what I came for." WīLaqā'latit knew his thoughts and gave them to him. Then he ordered the wolves to devour Ya'xstaL. At once they tore him to pieces and devoured him. They vomited the flesh, and when WīLaqā'-latit sprinkled it with the water of life, Ya'xstaL arose hale and well. He had become exceedingly strong. Then they carried him home. He was standing on the back of the largest of the wolves.

After he had come back, he and his father continued their journey. While they were traveling, Ya'xstaL tried his death bringer. He moved it in the direction of the woods. At once they began to burn. Now they met the Xōyā'les, who were coming up to them, many canoes full. LēŌ'lExmut said to Ya'xstaL: "Now use your death bringer, but do not kill them outright; burn them." Then Ya'xstaL pointed the death bringer at the Xōyā'lEs while his father was singing. They were stricken with terror and jumped into the water, their canoes caught fire, and they were all transformed into stones.

The two feathers on the head ring of the dancer represented the death bringer of Ya'xstaL.

Next two couples entered, each couple hand in hand. The first couple were ƿā'La (a man) and Pō'wig·ilîs (a woman); the second couple were G·ā'sa (a man) and G·ō'qoadē (a woman). G·ā'sa was carrying a copper. The faces of these four persons were painted red.[1]

When they had reached the rear of the house, G·ā'sa spoke as follows: "Oh, friends! turn your faces this way. Look at me! Treat me and my cedar bark ornaments in the right manner. In former times I and my people have suffered at your hands, Kwakiutl. We used to fight with bows and arrows, with spears and guns. We robbed each other's blood. But now we fight with this here" (pointing at the copper which he was holding in his hands), "and if we have no coppers, we fight with canoes or blankets. That is all."

To this the speaker Qoa'lx·ala replied: "True is your word, friend G·ā'sa. When I was young, I have seen streams of blood shed in war. But since that time the white man came and stopped up that stream of blood with wealth. Now we are fighting with our wealth. That is all." Then he said, turning to his tribe, "Now, my singers, take your batons and be ready to sing."

Then they all began to beat time and cried "hē." They continued with a song, for two women, Mē'xas and Tsa'uLala, came in dancing:

Ah, magician, ah, ah, ah, magician, magician, magician. (Repeated ad infinitum.)

When the dance ended, G·ā'sa spoke again: "You have seen our two friends dancing on account of this copper. Its name is 'Killer Whale.' It is the property of my tribe, of the Koskimo. Now I will sell it to

[1] Up to this year the Koskimo, Nā'q'oaqtôq, and La'Lasiqoala never used red paint during the winter ceremonial. The quē'qutsa of the Kwakiutl have been using red paint, and this has been imitated by the other tribes.

you, Kwakiutl. I promise to give its value to you Guē′tɛla, and to you Q'ō′mōyuē, and to you Walas Kwakiutl, and to you Q'ō′mk·ūtîs. This is 'Killer Whale.' I want to sell it at once." Thus speaking, he gave it to Q'ēq'anqoala and said: "Go on! Place this copper before our friends." He did so. Then a Kwakiutl chief, No′Lq'auLɛla, arose and spoke to Q'ē′q'anqoala: "Bring the copper to me." He did so, and Nō′Lq'auLɛla continued: "Oh, my tribe! my friends! Look at me. I, Nō′Lq'auLɛla, took the copper for the sake of your name, Kwakiutl, because your name is above those of all other tribes and I do not want to see it derided. Now, brother-in-law Nu′xnēmîs, look at me. I have nothing with which to pay for this copper to which I have taken a liking. Therefore I ask you and my wife La′msitasō to buy the copper for me. That is all, friends!"

To this speech Mā′a, the Koskimo, replied: "There is no chief like you, Nō′Lq'auLɛla. You are the first one to treat us well. You carry your tribe on your back by the strength of your wealth."

When he had finished, Tō′qoamalîs, chief of the Koskimo, took a pair of blankets and spoke: "True is your word, Mā′a! Nō′Lq'auLɛla is our chief, for he gave us more property than any other chief of the Kwakiutl. Go on, Nō′Lq'auLɛla! buy our copper," and, turning to his tribe, he concluded: "Thus I speak for our chief, Koskimo." Now he held up the pair of blankets and said: "Look at this, friend! This is our good will to our friends on the other side" (meaning the Kwakiutl). "I want you to do as our friend G·ō′qoadē did who brought the copper into our dancing house. Sell it for blankets and give them away! This pair of blankets served to keep our copper warm. I took it off in order to put it onto some of our friends on the other side. This is for Yā′qoîs, Sē′îx, and Hō′LɛlitE. It is given by G·ō′qoadē, the daughter of Kō′kwiLala. That is all."

Then Mā′a and G·a′loīL went out, and immediately the quē′qutsa began to beat time and cried "yū!" all at the same time. When they had done so, the whistles of the hā′mats'a were heard on the roof of the house. Then Mā′a returned, carrying a staff to which an imitation of a scalp was attached. He was followed by G·a′loīL. Both remained standing at the door, one on each side, and Mā′a said: "Friends, did you hear that noise? If I am not mistaken, something dangerous is near us. Keep your batons in readiness."

While he was speaking the door opened and the hā′mats'a Ya′xya-k·alag·ilîs appeared, crying "hāp, hāp, hāp." His face was blackened. He wore a head ring and a neck ring of red cedar bark. His neck ring was thin and set at two places with long fringes, indicating that this was the first initiation of the new hā′mats'a. He wore no blanket. He was accompanied by two attendants, who carried rattles. One of them wore a large head ring of red and white cedar bark, the ring of the mā′maq'a of the hēlig·iliqala of the La′Lasiqoala tribe.[1]

[1] See "Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas," Berlin, 1895, page 187.

As soon as he entered the Koskimo began to sing:

1. Your dance does not equal mine, for I am the giver of magic, hamē.
2. I have been in the secret room of BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē, the giver of magic, hamē.
3. In high ecstasy was BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē, the giver of magic, hamē, when I was near him and uttered his cannibal cry, BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē, the giver of magic, hamē.

The second song was as follows:

1. I am known here and all over the world, I the supernatural one.
2. I am renowned here and all over the world, I the supernatural one.
3. You are the great one who gives coppers, who gives property, the supernatural one.

While the people were singing, the hā'mats'a danced in the doorway in a squatting position, turned around, and danced toward the rear of the house. Two women danced for him, one to the right, one to the left of the door. When he had reached the left hand rear corner of the house, Mā'a and G·ā'loīL stepped forward and followed him, saying now and then: "Great is your magical power. Do not be too violent in your fury," and the attendants cried "hōîp, hōîp." Whenever the singers came to the end of a line, the hā'mats'a stopped dancing and cried "hāp." The attendants gathered around him while the sound of whistles was heard.

After these two songs had been sung, Mā'a spoke: "Friends, we can not pacify the great hā'mats'a with these two songs and by means of the dance of these two women. Now arise, women, and dance with him. If we should not succeed in pacifying him, we should always be troubled by him. We should not be able to eat in our houses on account of him. Therefore, friends, sing again." While he was speaking, the sound of the whistles continued to be heard. The hā'mats'a was crying "hāp." Then Ā'Labala stepped up to him and dressed him with a black blanket and an apron and strewed eagle down on his hair.

Now the singers commenced the third song:

1. You are looking for food, great magician, you are looking for men, mā hā.
2. You are trying to eat as much as you desire, great magician, you tear off their skins, mā hā.
3. You go close to the secret room, great magician, you have been inside the secret room, mā hā.

During this song the hā'mats'a was dancing in a standing position. His movements were becoming less violent and the sounds of the whistles were becoming fainter. The cries "hōîp" of his attendants, the singing of the men, and the dances of all the women were beginning to pacify him. At the end of the song the women took a rest. They had been dancing, their backs turned toward the fire, with the exception of two who were standing at the sides of the door and who stood turned toward the fire.

Now the speaker G·ā'sa joined Mā'a and G·ā'loīL, who were standing near the door. Then the singers began the fourth song:

1. The chief cannibal of the whole world cried hāp; mē, hamā.
2. Now eat, chief cannibal of the whole world, mē hamā.
3. Do not try to hide from me, mē hamā.

The hā′mats'a was dancing still more quietly, first to the right and then to the left in the rear of the house, then around the fire. In front of the fire he squatted down, crying "hāp." His attendants gathered around him and shook their rattles, crying "hōîp." Then, with the beginning of the next line of the song, he continued his dance, and after four circuits he disappeared behind the curtain which was stretched in the left-hand rear corner of the house.

Then Mā′a, who was still standing near the door with his two companions, spoke: "Friends on the other side of the house! Now our great friend is pacified." While he was speaking, Kō′kwiLala, the helper in the winter dance, swept the floor with hemlock twigs, in order to prepare it for the following dances.

Then Ā′Labala, who was standing in the right-hand rear corner of the house, spoke: "Take care, friends on the other side of the house. Watch my customs, for they were given to my tribe, the Koskimo, and to the L'ā′sq'ēnôx and G·ō′p'ēnôx, and to you Gua′ts'ēnôx, by the Maker of the world. Your customs, friends on the other side of the house, differ from ours. They were given to you. I am glad to see that you as well as we are observing our old laws. Now Tabala, Ha′nk·ala, Tsā′xîs, and LōXuals, go and fetch our chief's blankets."

The four men left the house, and soon they returned carrying the blankets. G·ā′sa took one pair and said: "Hō′LElitē and Nu′xnēmîs, look at these blankets. That is the power of our winter dance. The hā′mats'a who just finished dancing is Ya′xyak·a′lag·ilîs, and these blankets will be given away in honor of his name and of his dance." Then he gave the first blanket to Yā′qoîs, the chief hā′mats'a of the Kwakiutl, and then to the other men in order. When all were distributed, Hō′LElitē spoke: "Friends, did you hear what G·ā′sa said? Everything he said is true, except one remark, in which he is mistaken. You said that your customs in regard to dances and festivals differ from ours; remember, we are all of the same name. That is all. Thank you for this red cedar bark that you gave us (meaning the blanket). Now I have finished."

Then Qoā′qoaxst'ala walked around the fire, apparently without any purpose, but in fact as a signal for the dancers, who were standing outside the house, to enter. The door flung open, Mā′a, G·ā′loīL and G·ā′sa, who remained standing near the door, gave a signal to the singers, who began to beat time very rapidly. A song was heard outside the house, and now a dancer, K'uē′daqala by name, entered with quick, short steps, his hands stretched backward under his blanket, his face blackened. He was both mā′maq'a and ha′mshamtsEs. As soon as he had come to the rear of the house, the singers ceased beating the boards. Mā′a said: "Thank you, friend, for coming to this dance."

Then G·ā′loīL gave another signal, and a female dancer, T'ē′La by name, entered, her hands stretched forward. Again the singers stopped

beating the boards. G·ā′loīL gave another signal, and a second woman, G·a′lg·amqas by name, entered, and danced in the same manner. She stepped up to T'ē′La, and the singers stopped beating the planks.

Then G·ā′sa spoke: "Friends, look at these two women. They are the mothers of my tribe. They carry all the winter dances. Whenever these two appear, we must be on the alert, for they are always followed by other dancers." When he had finished, LoXoaxstaakᵘ told the people to be careful, because he had heard the voice of Q'ē′q'anqoala, the Bā′baqoayūL (soul catcher).[1]

As soon as he entered, all the dancers stooped down as though they were trying to hide, for fear that Bā′baqoayūL might take their souls. His aunt, Pō′sqaas, took a position to the left of the door, and while he was walking around the fire she danced the ha′mshamtsEs dance. When he came back to the place in front of the fire, all the people arose and he lifted his hands, the palms being held close together. This was repeated four times. When he stopped the fourth time in front of the fire, he opened his palms and the "soul" was seen between them. The speaker told the singers to stop beating the boards, and Mā′a went about among the people in order to find whose soul the dancer had caught. After a short while he turned to the people and said: "My friend Q'ē′q'anqoala has captured the soul of our chief LĀ′qōlag·ilîs." Then the latter stepped forward and asked the singers to sing the song of Q'ē′q'anqoala and of his aunt Pō′sqaas.

They sang as follows:

1. I go to obtain your cedar bark ornaments, hā, your cedar bark ornaments, hamē me, hamē, hamē, hamē hē hamā hē hē hamā.
2. Now your dance will shine throughout the world wherever a winter dance is held; Giver of light, hamē mē, hamā.

During this song the Bā′baqoayūL was dancing on one spot in the rear of the fire in a bent position. Pō′sqaas was dancing the ha′mshamtsEs dance to the left of the door, and G·ā′sa and G·ā′loīL, the greatest mā′maq'a among the Koskimo, danced around the fire, their elbows held close to their sides, forearms held forward, hands closed, and thumbs stretched upward.

At the end of the dance LĀ′qōlag·ilîs spoke to Q'ē′q'anqoala: "Come, my son! I thank you for bringing back my soul, for I am saved now." Then he called the two chief speakers, A′Labala and Lō′Xoaxstaakᵘ. They followed his summons, and he gave them a stick about 2 feet long. Lō′Xoaxstaakᵘ held it up and said, "Oh, friends on the other

[1] This is a t'ō′X'uît dance of the G·ō′p'ēnôx. The dancer is supposed to be able to catch the absent souls of people. He dances, his palms held close to the body, like the mā′maq'a. (See p. 560.) A string is fastened to his middle finger and a small ball of eagle down is fastened to the middle of the string. When he opens his hands, the ball is seen in the middle between them, the ends of the string being tied to the middle fingers. It represents the soul that the dancer has captured. The details of this dance are described in the text. (See also p. 561.)

side. I am glad that we have someone who can catch our souls when they fly away from us. Now I will pay you, Kwakiutl. Thus I speak for Lā′qōlag·ilîs. Here are blankets for you, Guē′tEla. Here are blankets for you, Q'ō′moyuē; blankets for you, Walas Kwakiutl; blankets for you, Q'ō′mk·ūtîs. This is a canoe worth 100 blankets, given by Q'ē′q'anqoala, the son of Lā′qōlag·ilîs.

To this La′mg·ala, a Walas Kwakiutl, replied: "Thank you for your good words, Ā′Labala. Did you say that you have someone who understands to catch the souls of men?" "Yes," shouted many of the Koskimo. He continued: "Thank you. We might need your help." Then, turning to the Kwakiutl: "Friends, I ask you to keep yourselves in readiness, for the Koskimo are like to a vast mountain of wealth, from which rocks are rolling down all the time. If we do not defend ourselves, we shall be buried by their property. Behold, friends! They are dancing and making merry day after day. But we are not doing so. Remember, this is our village and our battlefield. If we do not open our eyes and awake, we shall lose our high rank. Remember, Kwakiutl, we have never been vanquished by another tribe. That is all."

Now a loud clapping was heard outside the house. The walls were beaten with sticks, and Mā′a gave a signal to the singers to beat the boards. The door opened and a man entered, the chief guē′so, followed by four other members of the group.[1] They hopped into the house holding their feet close together. When they had reached the rear of the house, Mā′a, who was holding a gun in place of a speaker's staff, spoke: "Friends, why should you not come to join our dance?" and, turning to the Kwakiutl, he continued: "Friends on the other side, these are our friends the 'Pigs!' Formerly they were 'Sea Lions.' This is to inform you." Next, LōXoaxstaak^{u} said to the chief singer, Qoā′qoaxst'ala: "Look out! our friends are very merry and they wish to dance." The maa′myaēnôx[2] commenced a song, which was taken up by the singers:

1. What is on the enemy's blanket? Wiēē.
2. War is on the enemy's blanket. Wiēē.

The women arose and danced, raising their forearms and holding up their first fingers. This song and dance were repeated four times. At the end of the song the singers beat time very rapidly and then the hā′mats'a's cry "hāp" was heard in the secret room.

This song and dance were given by the wolves to Ya′xstaL, and are used by his descendants to excite the hā′mats'a and warriors who go out to battle.

When the singers commenced the song for the third time, G·ā′loīL, who

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[1]This is one of the quē′qutsa groups of the Koskimo. Their present name is guē′gusō (pigs) while formerly they were called L'ē′LēxEn (sea lions).

[2]Another of the quē′qutsa societies of the Koskimo, embracing the daughters of the chiefs—those who must not be maltreated.

represented Ya'xstaL himself, joined the dance of the women. He jumped about in a circle in the wildest fashion. Then the hā'mats'a's cries "hāp," and the quieting calls of his attendants, "hōîp," were heard.

After the song and dance had been repeated a fourth time, Xulē'qulEls, a G·ō'p'ēnôx, and his speaker, Hē'g·ilaxsē'k·a, arose. The latter took up some blankets and spoke: "Yes, friends on the other side! Kwakiutl! I have my ways of celebrating the winter ceremonial, and you have your own, different from mine. Thus it was given to you by the Giver of Dances. I should like to have your dances, but I am afraid to change my ways, for they were given to me in the beginning of the world. This song which we just sang was given by the wolves to Ya'xstaL at ƥā'yaīL when he received the death bringer with which he was to burn his enemies or to transform them into stone or ashes. We are of Ya'xstaL's blood. But instead of fighting our enemies with his death bringer, we fight with these blankets and other kinds of property." Then he distributed the blankets among the Kwakiutl.

Next, two young men whose faces were blackened stepped forward, and one of them said: "I am going to look for my friend." He went out and brought an old woman to the middle of the house, where she sat down. Qoā'qoaxst'ala said: "Take care, friends! this woman is going to dance. Prepare to sing her song." Then the singers beat the boards rapidly and cried "yū." The beating and the cry were repeated at a given signal. As soon as the second cry died away, another hā'mats'a was heard outside the house.

Ā'Labala, who had left the house a short while ago, reentered, stood in the doorway, and spoke: "Look at me, friends! Now take care! I have seen something outside the house that looks as though it was not going to have mercy upon anybody. Thus I tell you. Now beat the boards!" Then the singers began to beat time, the door opened, and the hā'mats'a entered crying "hāp, hāp, hāp." At once everybody commenced to sing his or her secret song. Ā'Labala went up to the hā'mats'a with short quick steps and then back again, saying: "Come friend, that this great tribe may see you." Then he turned around and said: "This is Ts'ā'qoalag·ilîs, our chief hā'mats'a. Take care, friends; he devours property, not flesh of men."

Now the hā'mats'a came down to the middle of the house. He wore a head ring of red cedar bark, to the back and front of which branches of balsam pine about six inches long were attached crosswise. His neck ring was worn over the left shoulder and under the right arm. It was made of red cedar bark wound with branches of balsam pine. The women began to dance for him. He danced, squatting, toward the rear of the house, and was joined by the old hā'mats'as, Tā'nîsk·asō, Qoā'ts'Emya, LēmElxa'lag·ilîs, Nā'noqoîs, and WēqoamiLa'lag·ilîs, who entered one by one, crying "hāp." Finally they reached the rear of the house, where they remained standing in a row, their backs turned

toward the fire. Then the door opened and the new hā′mats'a, who had been brought back in the morning, entered, crying "hāp, hāp, hāp." He wore a head ring made of balsam pine, to which a long plaited trail of the same material was attached. The trail reached down to the small of the back. Three white rings about one inch in diameter, made of cedar withs, the bark of which had been stripped off, were attached to the ring over his forehead and one on each side, all on the same level. Another ring of the same material was attached to the trail. He wore an apron made of balsam pine; his neck ring, arm rings, and anklets were made of the same material. He was held by one assistant.

As soon as he entered, the singers began to beat the boards, and continued until he had come down to the floor. Then they began to sing his first song:

1. He cried hāp for me, the only great being in our world.
2. BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē cried häp for me, the great cannibal of our world.
3. BaxbakuālanuXsi′waē taught me to devour lives, the great cannibal of our world.

He danced to this song, and Ts'ā′qoalag·ilîs, the chief hā′mats'a, danced forward to meet him, cried "hāp!" and attacked the people.

After this song LōXuaxstaak^{u} arose in the rear of the house, holding a copper, and a woman named Āyaqa, brought a strip of calico about 40 yards long, which was unrolled and spread in a circle around the fire.

Then the singers began the second song:

1. I give you to eat, I give you to eat, good cannibal.
2. I pacify you with property, I pacify you with property, good cannibal.
3. I push down your wildness, I push down your wildness, good cannibal.
4. I give you lives to eat, I give you lives to eat, good cannibal.

The hā′mats'as were dancing between the calico and the fire in a squatting position. Their attendants tried to pacify them with cries of "hōîp," and women danced for them. Then A′Labala stepped forward and asked the singers to wait before beginning the third song. He called his speaker, Tō′qoamalîs, who took his position in the rear of the house, and addressed the people as follows:

"Yes, my children, I am the storage box of your thoughts, for I remember all the old tales, and in my young days I have seen things which you young people never heard of. It is good that there is one old man who can show you all these things. Now I will go to this hā′mats'a and take off the dress that BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē put on him." He stepped up to the hā′mats'a, who was standing in the rear of the house, and took off his head ring first, then his neck ring. He cut off the arm rings and anklets and gave them to LamāLa. Then he asked Nau′aqala to bring blankets and ornaments made of red cedar bark. Nau′aqala went to fetch them from his bedroom, and when he had returned, Tō′qoamalîs proceeded to dress the hā′mats'a. He put the blue blanket over his back and cedar bark ornaments on his head, his neck, his arms, and around his ankles. He also tied a dancing

apron around his waist and strewed eagle down on his head. Then he said, "It is done."

The young ha'mats'a cried "hāp, hāp, hāp," and attacked the people. Now the singers began the third song:

1. The cedar bark of the winter dance is all around the world.
2. The eagle down of the winter dance is all around the world.
3. The songs of the winter dance are most powerful all around the world.
4. For me cried hāp, BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē, the great magician.

During this song all the hā'mats'as were dancing in standing posture and the women were dancing for them. At the end of the song they all stood in the rear of the house.

After a short while the singers beat time again and commenced the fourth song of the hā'mats'a:

1. Nobody can imitate your cries, great BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē, great magician, hamā mā.
   Nobody can imitate your dance, great BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē, great magician, hamā mā.
2. I was taken into the room of BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē, the great magician, hamā mā.
   I received the red cedar bark of BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē, the great magician, hamā mā.
3. He put into me all the dances, BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē, the great magician, hamā mā.
3. The cannibal pole is shaking, the pole of BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē, the great magician, hamā mā.

When the song was nearly ended, the hā'mats'as disappeared in their secret room, led by Ts'ā'qoalag·ilîs.

Then Lo'Xuaxstaak" stepped forward, still holding his copper, and spoke: "Now that is the end, friends. You have seen my way. This is my way." With this he pointed to his copper. "This is the price of a hā'mats'a. I do not mean you, Kwakiutl; I mean my rivals in my own tribe. They all want to have hā'mats'as, but they want to show them cheaply without giving away a copper." The Kwakiutl interrupted him now and then with cries: "That is true! your words are true, chief!" Lo'Xuaxstaak" continued: "Our hā'mats'a touched some of you, Kwakiutl, in his excitement and hurt you. This copper, the face of which is engraved with the design of the grizzly bear, is worth 500 blankets. It is to pay those whom our great friend has bitten. You, La'msitasō, were bitten this morning. Here are 50 blankets of this copper for you; and you, Hō'lElitē, 50 blankets of this copper for you; and you, G·a'lg·alXōla, 50 blankets of this copper for you; and you, Nō'Lq'auLEla, 50 blankets of this copper for you; and you, K·ēx·, 50 blankets of this copper for you; and you, Qā'wiqam, 50 blankets of this copper for you; and you, Nu'xnēmîs, 50 blankets of this copper for you; and you, Mē'qoadaxstala, 50 blankets of this copper for you; and you, K·ā'qoLē, 50 blankets of this copper for you; and you, La'mg ala, 50 blankets of this copper for you. That is all. Now, Qoā'yuqoalag·ilîs, I will ask you to come and tell the story of the

hā′mats'a, for the tribes say we own neither hā′mats'a nor other dances. That is all."

Then Qoā′yuqoalag·ilîs came forward. The Koskimo placed a box for him in the rear of the house. He sat down and began:

"Be quiet and listen to me, for I am going to tell you the story of this hā′mats'a, which will show you that we, Koskimo, G·ō′p'ēnôx, L'ā′sq'ēnôx, and Gua′ts'ēnôx, do not steal winter dances from you, Kwakiutl, nor from other tribes. All the winter dances were given to us by the Maker of Man in the beginning of the world. The hā′mats'a whom we have seen to-night comes from Hai′alik·awē. All the clans Hahai′alik·awē of all the tribes in the whole world have a right to a ha′mats'a with raven whistle, for Hai′alik·awē had a hā′mats'a with a raven whistle at the place which we name Lalā′t'ē, and his hā′mats'a's name was Qā′yuL and Qalamā′lag·ilîs. We may use either of these names for our hā′mats'a. We will call him now Qā′yuL, and if he should be taken away again by BaxbakuālanuXsi′waē, we will call him Qalamā′lag·ilîs. You, Kwakiutl, you always use hemlock branches for your ha′mats'a, for it was given to you in this manner by the Maker of Man. It was given to us to use balsam pine for our ha′mats'a and for all other dances. The white rings you saw on the head ornaments of our hā′mats'a are the same as worn by BaxbakuālanuXsî′wae when he was excited. The attendants passed ropes through these rings to tie him down, that he might not leave his house and devour his people; and the trail of his ornament served for his attendant to hold him. You also saw the streaks of blood running from the corners of his mouth to the lobes of the ears. They indicate that BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē lives on nothing but blood. That is all."

He had hardly finished when Lō′Xoals, a Koskimo, came forward from the rear of the house holding a single blanket. He spoke: "Look at me. See this single blanket! I am tired of waiting so long at this place for one solitary single blanket. Now I will show you that I do not care for a single blanket." He tore it, threw it into the fire, and continued: "Now you who saw it in the fire take good care to keep it warm. All single blankets will go there hereafter. We are too great a tribe to receive only a single blanket each." Then LamaLa went up to him and stopped him. He held six button blankets and said:

"Friends on the other side! Each of us has something to say. Lō′Xoals has had his way when he wanted to burn this blanket. Kwakiutl, he did not mean you. Do not feel offended by it. I have rivals in my own tribe and I must wake them up from their sleep, for they do not see that it is hard work for us to fight you with property. We are the Koskimo, who have never been vanquished by any tribe, neither in wars of blood nor in wars of property. Now I will ask you one thing: Treat me well. Of olden times the Kwakiutl illtreated my forefathers and fought them so that the blood ran over the ground.

Now we fight with button blankets and other kinds of property, smiling at each other. Oh, how good is the new time! That is all. Now to these button blankets. Son-in-law, come and stand where I can see you." Then Nau'aqala stepped to the front of the house and said: "Here I am." LamaLa continued: "I understand that you have no button blankets. Therefore, I thought I might bring you some. Here are six button blankets. I took them from your wife's back. Now come and take them, and do with them as you please."

Nau'aqala asked: "What did you say, my father-in-law?" Then LamaLa repeated: "I told you, son-in-law, that I had taken six button blankets from the back of your wife and I give them to you. Now come and take them." Nau'aqala spoke: "I will go, for I am not afraid to go and take them. I have given away button blankets three times, and this will be the fourth time. Now I will go and take them." Then he went back to his place and said, turning toward the people: "Oh, my tribe! look at these button blankets and see what I am going to do with them. One of you shall tell me what to do with them."

To this the old woman who was standing near the door replied: "My tribe, I want to say a few words to you, and particularly to my son, who asked to be told what to do with these blankets. Friends, you all know my name. You knew my father and you know what he did with his property. He was thoughtless and did not care what he did. He gave away or killed slaves; he gave away or burnt his canoes in the fire of the feast house; he gave away sea-otter skins to his rivals in his own tribe or to chiefs of other tribes, or he cut them to pieces. You know that it is true what I say. This, my son, is the road your father laid out for you and on which you must walk. Your father was no common man; he was a true chief among the Koskimo. Do as your father did. Either tear up these button blankets or give them to our rival tribe, the Kwakiutl. That is all."

Lo'Xoaxstaak^{u} arose when she had finished and asked: "Did you hear what our aunt said? I will not block the road my father laid out for me. I will not break the law that my chief laid down for me. I will give these button blankets to my rivals, the Kwakiutl. The war that we are having now is sweet and strong." Then he gave the button blankets to the Kwakiutl; first to Yā'qoîs, then to the old chiefs. After they had been distributed, Lo'Xoaxstaak^{u} said: "These button blankets are the red cedar bark that I have taken from the head of my hā'mats'a. Next the men brought him 40 white blankets, and he said: "These white blankets are the red cedar bark that I have taken from the neck of my hā'mats'a and I am going to give them to you, Kwakiutl." He distributed them among the next in rank. Then he took the calico and said: "This is the red cedar bark that I took from the arms and from the legs of my hā'mats'a. I will give it to the women and children of the Kwakiutl." They tore it up, and gave the pieces to the Kwakiutl—first to Yā'qoîs, then to the others.

With this the festival ended, and the people went home. It was about 1 a. m. when the calico was distributed.

About 7 p. m., November 23, Hō′LElitē sent two messengers, NōLElag·ilîs and KuLE′m, to call all the men of the Kwakiutl tribe to a secret meeting to be held in his house. The messengers went into all the houses and called the Kwakiutl, whispering into their ears. They slipped out at once and went to Hō′LElitē's house. Great care was taken that the Nā′q'oaqtôq and Koskimo should not know what was going on. As soon as the men were assembled, Hō′LElitē arose and spoke: "Indeed, friends, you have gratified my wishes, for you all have come as soon as I sent for you. I am glad that you are keeping the laws that were handed down to us from the times of our grandfathers. You will have observed that the Koskimo are likely to beat us in our war with property. Therefore I ask you not to be asleep, else the Koskimo will surely walk right over us, friends! Wake up and open your eyes. Do not let the wealth of our rivals blind you. Our ancestors have never been vanquished. I do not want to see the Koskimo vanquish us now. I have called you in order to inform you that my chief Sē′g·ag′ila is going to give a winter dancē, and I will ask you, my friends, how we shall begin it. I want you to decide in regard to the manner of beginning the ceremonial. That is what I wanted to say to you, wa, wa."

The men remained silent for about twenty minutes. Then Nu′xnēmîs, the chief of the winter dance of the Kuē′xa, arose and said: "Indeed, Ho′LElitē, you are always keeping the rules laid down in the times of our ancestors, for instead of beginning the ceremonial without notifying us, as others might do, you tell us of your plans and secrets as our forefathers used to do; and that is the right way." Then he turned to his own tribe the Kuē′xa and said: "Don't you feel glad that my friend Hō′LElitē, the great magician, was kind enough not to keep his secrets, but let us share them? You also, La′mg·ala, ought to feel proud that he invited us to know of his plans. Do you not think that it would be best if the clothing of Wīnā′lag·ilîs were brought out by this secret meeting? You all know what I mean. The clothing of Wīnā′lag·ilîs consists of hemlock branches, and his play is ĀmE′lkᵘ or NūLanūLdEls. The ĀmĖ′lkᵘ must be shown at daybreak, and the NūLanūLdEls may be shown at any time of the day. I think it would be best to surprise our rivals, the Koskimo. Let us call all the men and women before daybreak to-morrow and go to the meeting place which our forefathers used for the ĀmE′lkᵘ. You all know the rules of the ĀmE′lkᵘ. That is all. Now I have finished."

Then Hō′LElitē replied: "Thank you, my friends. Thank you, Nu′xnēmîs, for what you said. You are the only one who wants to keep the rules that were given to us by our ancestors. Friends, I want to ask you one favor: Arise before daylight. Tell me now if you are willing to do so and to follow our friend Nu′xnēmîs's advice. Let the

women of your households know about this secret meeting and keep it from our rivals, the Koskimo. I will send two messengers in the morning to call you by tapping at your bedrooms. That is all. Now go home and have a short sleep." After this speech all went home.

November 24.—Early in the morning Hō'LElitē sent NōLElag·ilîs and KuLE'm to call all the Kwakiutl. They went around and tapped at the outside walls of the bedrooms. The people arose at once and went out to the place where the ĀmE'lkᵘ is held. This place is about 150 yards from the east end of the village at the edge of the woods. The men went into the woods and cut off hemlock branches, from which they made head rings and neck rings; with these they adorned themselves, as well as the women. Then Nu'xnēmîs told the people to get ready for the first cry, and he himself sung out "hō" as loud as he could. Then all the people beat the boards, which were laid down at the place of meeting, and cried "hē." Next all the ha'mshamtsEs dancers—all of whom are women—were tied to a rope which was held by a man. The bear dancers were tied together in the same manner, and led by another man, one of the old bear dancers. Then the ha'mshamtsEs began to cry "wîp wîp" and the bears began to growl. Now Nu'xnēmîs sang out again, "hō;" the people beat the boards and responded by the cry "hê." The ha'mshamtsEs began to cry "wîp," the bears began to growl "wo hā," and the fool dancers cried "wīhī'." After a short interval, Nu'xnēmîs sang out "hō" for the third time, and the people and the dancers responded in the same manner. Then, while the men were still beating time and while the various cries were being uttered, Yā'qoîs, the chief hā'mats'a, rushed out of the woods, followed by his six attendants, and crying "hāp, hāp, hāp, hāp." He ran about among the people in a state of great excitement.

Nu'xnēmîs spoke: "Let me ask you what has happened that Yā'qoîs should be so much excited?" Hō'LElitē replied: "We have not been in the house of BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē. But our friend Yā'qoîs has passed through it eight times. He knows all that belongs to the winter dance, and he knows all the mistakes that may be made. Yā'qoîs has seen that we have no chief t'ō'X'uît among us to throw the supernatural power among our friends here, and that has made him wild. Therefore I will call someone who has been t'ō'X'uît four times to be our chief in the ĀmE'lkᵘ." Then he called a woman, saying: "Come, Wīlanqoa'lag·ilîs! Take your place, for you were made t'ō'X'uît by your father four times, so that you are not afraid of anything." Then he called all the people to stand in a square, and the woman took her position in the middle. Upon Hō'LElitē's command, the men commenced to beat the boards. He asked K·ēx· to step inside the square, and to show the woman what to do. He obeyed, and while the people were beating the boards K·ēx· began to dance in a stooping position. He looked up and down and trembled while he was running backward and forward with short steps. Finally he turned to the right and

caught the supernatural power of the winter dance between his palms. Four times he ran backward and forward, swinging his hands, the palms of which were pressed together, then he threw it upon the people, who began to laugh, while some cried "hāp" and "wīhī'." Now the woman was told to try to catch the supernatural power. She went through the same motions, and when she caught the spirit, the sound of whistles which she had hidden in her mouth was heard. Four times she ran backward and forward, then she threw the supernatural power among the people, who stooped down at once. Then they began to laugh and to utter their cries. This continued for a few minutes, then she caught the spirit again, whereupon Nu'xnēmîs sung out "hō" for the fourth time. The people responded "hê."

Meanwhile the day had broken. The people arranged themselves in procession, which was led by Yā'qoîs and his attendants. They were followed by the bear dancers; then came the fool dancers and the ha'mshamtsEs, and finally, as a fourth group, the people surrounding the t'ō'X'uît who had thrown the supernatural power into them. Yā'qoîs first entered the house of Nu'xnēmîs, followed by the rest of the procession. Wīlanqoā'lag·ilîs was the last to enter. She was accompanied by Hō'LElitē and Nu'xnēmîs, who remained standing, one on each side of the doorway. As soon as she had entered, she commenced singing her secret song:

1. O friend! I have been made to set everything to rights. O friends! yo, yo, yo, yēi, friend! yo, yo, yo, yēi, friend.
2. O friend! I carry in my hands the dances of my rivals. O friends! yo, yo, yo, yēi, friend! yo, yo, yo, yēi, friend.
3. O friend! They tried to strike me with the death bringer. O friends! yo, yo, yo, yēi, friend! yo, yo, yo, yēi, friend.
4. O friend! And the fire of death has been put into my hands. O friends! yo, yo, yo, yēi, friend! yo, yo, yo, yēi, friend.

She sang this song standing in the doorway, and during this time G·a'lg·alxōla, who was standing among the people, said: "I am glad that you have come, and that you compel us to follow the laws of our ancestors; but sing louder, that we may know who you are." Then he turned to his people and continued: "Take care! Sometimes the t'ō'X'uît will come to a house in which there are many people and will benefit them, but generally they do harm to them." Then the woman stopped singing. Hō'LElitē gave a signal to the people to beat time, and Nu'xnēmîs cried "hō," as before. The people responded "hê," but kept on beating the boards. Then the t'ō'X'uît went forward to the rear of the house, leaving the fire to her left. She moved in a stooping position, looked up and down, and finally caught the supernatural power. Then the whistles were heard again. She threw it among the people, who first cried "yā," as though she had missed them; but then they began to utter their various cries. After a few minutes she took the spirit back again and all were quiet.

Then G·a'lg·axōla said: "What was the matter just now? I told you

to take good care and not to yield, and you seemed to have lost your senses. Take better care the next time."

Then they walked out of the house in the same order, the t'ō'X'uît with her two attendants being the last. When Nu'xnēmîs left the house, he cried again "hō," and all the people responded "hê," but the hā'mats'a cried "hāp, hāp, hāp, hāp," the bears cried "wo, hā," the fool dancers "wīhī," and the ha'mshamtsEs "wîp, wîp." In this manner they visited four houses. In each house the t'o'X'uît caught the supernatural power and threw it upon the people, as described heretofore. Every time she threw it the uproar increased. The people shook their blankets to indicate that the power had entered them. They laughed and cried, and kissed each other's wives, for during this time there is no jealousy and no quarreling.

After they had visited four houses, Nu'xnēmîs led them back to the winter dancing house of Sē'g·ag·ila. They were marching in the same order as before. Just before they entered, Hō'LElitē spoke: "Friends, I missed one of our number." The people asked who it was, and he replied: "It is the son of our friend Sē'g·ag·ila. The spirits have taken him away. Let us go into the house and see what we can do for our friend." Then the people entered. As soon as all were in, the whistles were heard in the hā'mats'a's room. Then Hō'LElitē spoke: "Enter this house of our ancestors and observe the rules that were laid down for the winter ceremonial. Now be happy. I thank you that you all have come to this morning's ceremonial, for I do not like to have the Koskimo or other strangers laugh at us. If any of you should have gone home before we finished, they might have had cause for doing so. We have done well, and the spirit of the winter dance is pleased with our work, else he would not have taken one of our number with him. Therefore I myself and my friend Nu'xnēmîs are pleased with you. We can not do anything without you, for what is the power of a chief without the help of his tribe? You call me and Nu'xnēmîs chiefs of the winter ceremonial, but we have no power without you. Now I have finished." Then Nu'xnēmîs sang out once more "hō," the t'ō'X'uît repeated her secret song, and when she had finished Hō'LElitē gave the signal for the people to beat the boards. She stretched her hands forward and caught the supernatural power in the same manner as described before, and threw it upon the people, who cried again. Three times she caught it and threw it upon the people. The fourth time after she had caught it she threw it up into the air. Then she sat down.

Now Hō'LElitē arose and spoke: "O friends! Do you see how I look? I am almost ready to run away from this house of the supernatural power. I was standing near the post and next to me was standing K·ēx·'s son. As soon as our friend Wīlanqoā'lag·ilîs caught the supernatural power the fourth time and threw it upward, it came and took the son of our chief K·ēx· along. Friends, there was one taken away this morning,

and a second one was taken just now, so there are two of our number missing to-day. If the supernatural power continues in this manner, we shall have no children left. Therefore I think I will go home and hide." When the people heard this, they cried: "Oh, do not go! What shall we do without you, the only one who can speak with the spirit of the winter dance."

G·a'lg·axōla said: "Indeed, Hō'LElitē, your words are true. But why do you want to run away and leave us in the dark? Your name was given to our ancestors as a light by which to see the spirit of the winter dance, and you also, Nu'xnēmîs, were made chief of the winter dance of the Kuē'xa: If you run away, what can we do, for none of us can speak to the spirits as you two friends do. Take care, and let us stand our ground. Let us face the spirit of the red cedar bark. Now pass around the batons and let us sing the songs that our grandfathers used in order to drive away the birds of the red cedar bark, for I am afraid of the way in which our people are disappearing to-day. Now I have finished."

Then Nu'xnēmîs called all the men together, struck the board once, and cried "wō wō ai." Then all the people struck the boards together and cried "wō wō ai a ai a k·as ai," beating time rapidly for a few minutes. Then Nux'nēmîs struck the board with one sharp stroke and cried "wō." Then all the people did the same, all striking the boards at the same time with one short, loud rap. Immediately following this rap they beat the boards rapidly, crying "hē," drawn out very long. Then they were quiet, but the whistles continued to be heard.

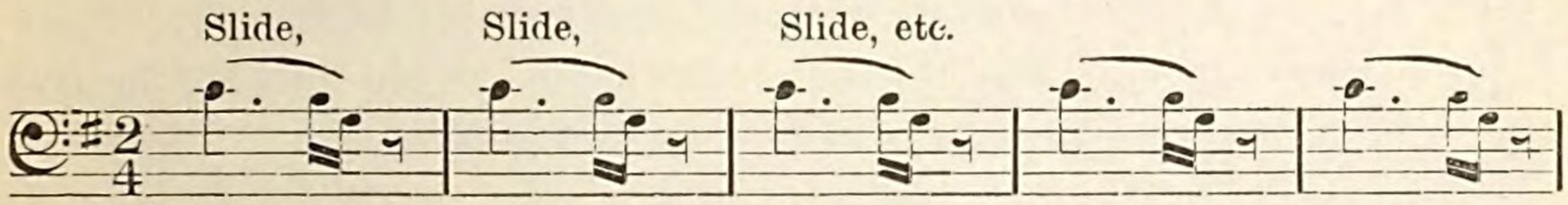
G·a'lg·axōla said: "You have failed to drive away the spirits with this song." Then Nu'xnēmîs gave another rap and cried "hama ma ma." Then all the people began to strike the boards rapidly, and cried "hama ma ma ma ma," continuing to beat the boards for a few minutes. This cry is intended to drive away the grizzly bear. Then Nu'xnēmîs gave a short rap, crying at the same time "hamam," and all the people gave a short rap and cried "hama ma ma," and then ceased beating. The whistles were still heard.

Then G·a'lg·axōla said: "You have missed the spirit of the cedar bark again. Nu'xnēmîs struck the boards as before and cried "yihi i i i." Then the people took up the cry in the same manner as before, crying "yo hi i i i hū ū ū ū," and again Nu'xnêmîs gave the signal to stop, as before, by the cry "yihi," and the people finished, crying "yihi i i i hū ū ū." Still the whistles continued to be heard.

Again G·a'lg·axōla said, "You missed the spirit again, for the whistles continue to sound. Now try to find a song that will drive them away." Now Nu'xnēmîs cried "wup," as before, and the people repeated "wup, wup, wup." Nu'xnēmîs gave the signal to stop, as before, crying "wup," to which the people responded by crying "kux, wup, wup, wup." Now the sounds of the whistles began to grow a little weaker.

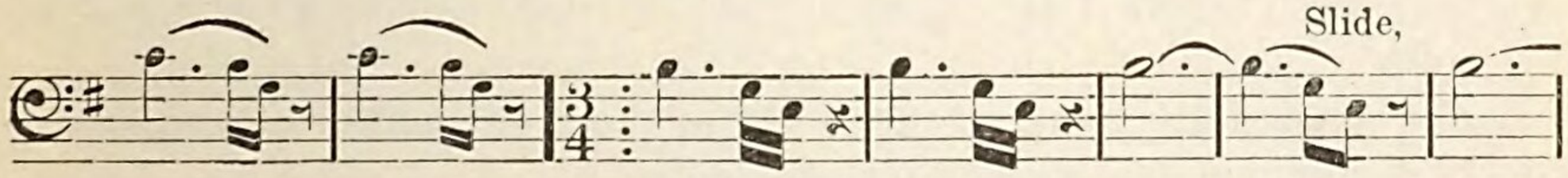
Then G·a'lg·axōla said: "Now you have hit the birds of the ceremo-

nial, for you hear that their cries have changed. Look out, Nu′xnēmîs and Hō′LElitē, and you members of the seal society, and you quē′qutsa." Then Nu′xnēmîs gave a new signal and began to sing, accompanied by all the people, who were beating time very rapidly. The song was as follows:

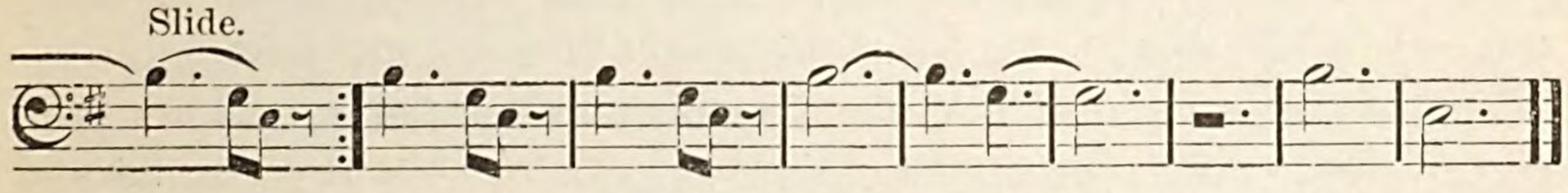


Wō wō ai ā ai

Clapping. etc.

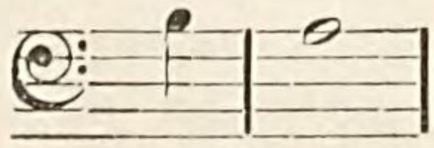


a kyas ai - kyas mē - La ai . . . . . .



ai - kyas mē - La ai . . . ō . . . hai ō.

At the end of the song the master of ceremonies cried "hū;" and when he had finished, all the people sang



hä hē.

This song was repeated four times, and all this while the sound of the whistles was growing less and less. Finally, at the end of the last song, the people cried in response to Nu′xnēmîs's cry, "wo hä′hē, wā wā" and with this the sound of the whistles ceased altogether.

Then G·a′lg·axōla said: "Wa, wa! I can not say much now, for we are surely all very hungry. But I will thank you for driving away the birds. I am afraid of the way in which our children were taken away this morning. Our friend K·ēx· has asked me to invite you, Yā′qoîs, to stay and to have something to eat, and all you, members of the seal society, and you, quē′qutsa. Now take your seats." Then all the people sat down in their proper places, while Yā′qoîs retired to the secret room of the hā′mats'a in the rear of the house. Then K·ēx· and his friends brought dry salmon and roasted it. They sent a piece to Yā′qoîs, and then distributed the rest among the members of the seal society and the quē′qutsa. They sent a dish of grease to Yā′qoîs, and then gave the others in order, one dish to every four persons. After they had eaten, K·ēx· asked them to keep their seats, as he intended to give another feast. Hō′LElitē, who acted as K·ēx·'s speaker, said: "Now friends, my chief K·ēx· is going to give another feast. Let us sing and let the world know that we are feasting. Pass the batons.

We have much to do before this night." One man distributed the batons, and now Nu'xnēmîs began the song of the hā'mats'a Bu'bagolayu of the Kuē'xa, and the latter tribe sang as follows:

1. You are looking for food, great magician, hamē.
2. Sweet is what you will eat, great cannibal, hamē.
3. You will swallow men alive, great cannibal, hamē.

After the first song was finished, Nu'xnēmîs began another song of the same hā'mats'a, which was also sung by the Kuē'xa:

1. BaxbakuālanuXsi'waē was looking for food for me, hamai.
2. BaxbakuālanuXsi'waē was looking for men for me, hamai.
3. BaxbakuālanuXsi'waē was looking for corpses for me; therefore you are feared by all, as you will devour men, hamai.
4. Yes! all are afraid of you, eldest brother! You who empty the houses, great magician.

After these two songs of the Kuē'xa, the song maker of the Walas Kwakiutl commenced the following song:

1. I want to eat you; I am a great magician.
2. Your dance is getting greater all the time, you true dancer.
3. Your dance is growing greater all the time, you true dancer.

The second song of the Walas Kwakiutl was as follows:

1. He cried hāp for me, the great magician, hamamai.
2. He sang the songs of the winter dance for me, the great magician; hamai.
3. I went through BaxbakuālanuXsi'waē's house, the great magician's; hamamai.
4. I went to the far end of our world. I am liked by all as far as the edge of our world. All try to imitate me; hamamai.

While the last song was being sung, K·ēx· and his friends were preparing the berries. The dishes were placed in four rows, and two men were sent around to count the people by threes, while a third one distributed the spoons. Then K·ēx· called Hō'LEelitē to come. He took up a dish and said: "Now friends, we are ready to eat. But I do not want to have any trouble. I want to keep the weather calm for our great friend Yā'qoîs, for if I do not give to him first he will grow as wild as the storm. This dish is for you, Yā'qoîs." Then he took up another dish and said: "This is for you, seals, and for your friends." Thus the dishes were all distributed, one being given to each three persons. Before they began to eat, a man was sent to Yā'qoîs, to see if he had commenced eating. Soon he came back carrying the empty dish and laughing. He said: "Look at me, friends. Our great friend Yā'qoîs must have been hungry, for his dish was emptied before I came to see him. Now eat, for you must be hungry also." Then all began to eat.

Hō'LEelitē arose, holding his speaker's staff, and said: "Friends, I feel happy on account of this day's work. It seems to me I am seeing our grandfathers, and that pleases me much; and it must please you too, La'mg·ala; and you, Lā'LasqEm; and you, NE'msqEmut; and you, K·ē'qalē; and you, Ts'ī'lg·axsta. I know you all feel very happy to-day. Only do not forget the laws of our grandfathers. But I must not say

that again, for you are keeping them well." While he was saying so, some of the old people remarked: "Yes; it is true." And he concluded: "I know we are glad to-day. Now eat, for our chief's food is sweet."

Now the people ate, and when they had finished, most of them went home. The hā'mats'a's whistles were heard during this time in his room.

About 2 p. m. the people came to fetch blankets, which were to be given away in honor of Yā'qoîs, in payment of his last ecstasy. When the blankets were being brought into the house, the tally keeper of the G·ō'p'ēnôx came in to look after the proper distribution of the blankets. He gave the names of the clans and the number of blankets which were to be given to each name in each clan. The blankets were arranged in such a manner that those intended for each clan were laid in the same direction, while those of the next clan were placed crosswise on top of the preceding lot. Wherever a man was to receive blankets who still owed some to the giver, a number of sticks corresponding to the number of blankets due were placed in the pile, which were given to the debtor as canceling the debt, according to the number of sticks. After the pile intended for the G·ō'p'ēnôx was arranged, the tally keepers of the other tribes came in and looked after the blankets which were to be given to them. In the evening a feast was given, the blankets were distributed, and shortly after the beginning of the feast the hā'mats'a Yā'qoîs came in and danced three times; the first and the second time in a squatting position with an ordinary blanket, but the third and fourth time in a standing position and wearing a Chilcat blanket. As everybody was tired on account of the long ceremonies of the preceding nights, the feast closed early.

November 25.—Early in the morning T'ō'kuiL, chief of the Koskimo, sent his two speakers, Ā'Labala and WalkaLtsEmt, to the chiefs of the Kwakiutl, to inform them that on this day the Koskimo intended to perform their ceremonies, and requesting them to postpone their festivals to another day. They also asked them to keep the matter a secret from the young men. At the same time the speakers invited the Koskimo to come quietly to the house of their chief. At 8 o'clock they were assembled. Then a hā'mats'a was placed at the entrance, in order to prevent outsiders from coming in, and members of the tribe from leaving the house. A'Labala, the first speaker of the Koskimo, arose and spoke in a low voice so that he could not be heard outside the house:

"Koskimo, you have assembled in the dancing house of our grandfathers. Thank you, friends, for having followed the first call of our chief T'ō'kuiL. Listen to me, men, women, and children! You have the largest cedar bark in the whole world, and you keep the laws of your grandfathers more strictly than anyone else. We have two chiefs in our tribe, and therefore we can not be vanquished in our strife with property. Look out! Do not let the Kwakiutl vanquish you, for they

are few only. See, how many you are! There are enough Koskimo in this house to fill the seats all around the walls. The Kwakiutl could not fill one-half of the seats in this house. Therefore they can not vanquish us. Take care, friends! As I said before, we have a good tradition to follow. Therefore we can afford to laugh at them. The Kwakiutl say that we have no tradition, but our chief T'ō'kuiL, who is going to give the ceremonial, belongs to the family of G·ē'xdEn. You know that he had a hā'mats'a whose name was Nauayolis (the only one in the middle of the world). Who has a name as great as that? And if I should mention all the traditions and the great names of our grandfathers, the people would run into the woods, for they have no names like ours. Therefore, take care, friends! It is not my office to let you know the plans of our chief. I have said enough."

All were quiet for about half an hour. Then Tō'qoamalîs, the chief keeper of the red cedar bark of the Koskimo, arose. He looked up to the roof and down to the floor, and then said:

"Ā'Labala, your words are true. You have seen part of my younger days, for you have seen my father. But you have not seen my grandfather. I have seen him. His rules were strict, but those of my father were a little less rigid. Our rules of the winter dance are much less strict than those of olden times. Thank you, Ā'Labala, for your speech. I paid close attention and found that you did not make a single mistake. Now, friend Ā'Labala, look out and take notice of all I say in the speeches that I make during the winter ceremonial, at marriages, when the marriage money is refunded, and at summer festivals; for all these were learned from my great-grandfather. They were given to my father and to my great-grandfather at the beginning of the world by the Maker of Dances. Thus I obtained the large box in my house, in which I keep all the dances and the red cedar bark and the names and traditions of our great-grandfathers. After I am dead, I want you, Ā'Labala, to take my house and the large box in which I am keeping the laws of our grandfathers. Next winter we shall have the greatest winter dance that has ever been known, but I do not want to direct it, for I will give all my rights to you, friend Ā'Labala. After this winter you will have to ask his advice about everything, not mine.

"Now I will speak about our present meeting, for I know you all wish to know its object. You can not know, for it is the office of the chief of the winter ceremonial to inform you. You know that I am the chief of the winter ceremonial. My name is Tō'qoamalîs. It is renowned among all the tribes all around the world, for I have given blankets to all of them, and whenever I speak they all hear me. The spirit of the winter dance even hears me, and you also, my tribe, hear me. This is a secret meeting of our winter dance. You are aware that the grandson of our chief T'ō'kuiL has been taken away by the spirit, and that T'ō'kuiL's sister was taken away at the same time. Last night Bax-bakuālanuXsī'waē came to me and told me that these two have passed

through all his customs and rules, and that they are on their way home. Therefore I have called you into our winter dance house, that you may prepare for them. They will make their appearance to-day. Keep yourselves in readiness. The spirit never lies, and BaxbakuālanuX-sī′waē does not keep the novices longer than four days, and it is four days to day since our children have disappeared. Now I have finished."

Every now and then the old men would interrupt him, saying: "Your words are true," or "Your words are good, chief," or "Go on! teach your children how to speak." He remained standing a short while without speaking.

Then T'ō′kuiL came forth from behind a curtain that was stretched along the rear of the house, and said: "O Koskimo! I am pleased that you have come to this house. I did not put it up for myself; I did so for the greatness of your name. How glad I am, for I believe I heard our chief Tō′qoamalîs say that BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē came and told him that my grandson and my sister are on their way home. Is that true?" Tō′qoamalîs replied: "It is true." Then T'ō′kuiL continued: "Let them come, for I have my property in readiness." Tō′qoamalîs said: "I did not finish. Let our leaders prepare to meet the two new hā′mats'as who are on their way home from BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē, for they will be excited, and we must not call upon the quē′qutsa to be the first to meet them. We must ask some who have greater powers. I will ask our friend the great Pō′Xuiyalas, and her friend the great G·a′loīL, and the great KōkuiLala, and the great Q'ē′q'anqoala, our four mā′maq'as who have passed through the t'ō′X'uît ceremonies to be our leaders. Next shall follow the Hē′mElk, the old hā′mats'as. I will ask you, Nā′noqoîs, and you, great Nau′alg·îs, and your friend the great Qoā′ts'amya, and your friend the great Qoā′yuqoalag·ilîs, and your great friend Qoaxkuē′kᵘ, and your great friend L'ēmElxa′lag·ilîs, to follow the mā′maq'as to defend us from the wildness of the new hā′mats'as. Next I will ask you, Maa′myaankᵘ; you will form the third group. Dress yourselves as nicely as you can. You have heard the Kwakiutl say that we do not know how to arrange a winter ceremonial properly. Send someone to fetch button blankets from your houses and put them on. Last of all, I will ask you, quē′qutsa. Two of you shall carry a plank on which the Maa′myaankᵘ shall beat time to accompany their song. Two others shall carry a plank on which the mā′maq'as shall beat time to accompany their song, and you shall also carry a plank on which you shall beat time to accompany your own song. And one of you shall carry a skin drum. Our friends the great hā′mats'as shall not sing, because they have to look after their whistles. There shall be four attendants for each of the new hā′mats'as, and I will name them now. You, Hē′lek·ats'e, K·ā′qōLē, ĀLanudala, and your friend Hē′lekamig·alîs, keep ready to attend the new hā′mats'a, who is going to come back to us to-day. You, Qoā′gîs, Nalulala, X·ī′x·ēqala, and your friend, Lelā′asnukᵘ, keep ready to attend the

other hā′mats'a, who is going to come back to us to-day. That is all. These are the rules of G·ē′xdEn, who came down from heaven. My grandfather was of the blood of G·ē′xdEn, according to the tradition. Be very careful, for the Kwakiutl tribes will watch us closely. They will try to find fault with our laws, for they have ways of their own which differ widely from ours. They have no winter ceremonial of their own, and they will try to learn from us. I am not ashamed to show our winter ceremonial, for it is derived from tradition. That is all."

With this he sat down and Ā′Labala arose. He said: "O Koskimo! you have heard the rules of our grandfathers. Try to remember them, and do not forget what our chief has said, for he might die and I might die as well, and then one of you must take my place. That is all, my grandchildren."

Next Lā′gulag·ilîs, the chief of the painting, arose and said: Tō′qoa·malîs, it is true what you said. We have traditions which teach us our laws. We are not like our rivals, the Kwakiutl. I tried to discover the origin of their names which they use in the winter ceremonial, but no one could tell me, for they have no traditions. Therefore you, Koskimo, my tribe, may laugh at the little Kwakiutl; for each of our clans has a tradition, or even two, and we may justly be proud of it. Look at me and my name. According to the tradition that was told me by my grandfather, the first Lā′gulag·ilîs was the chief of the paintings for the winter ceremonial. That is now my name. It belongs to the tradition of my clan, the G·ē′xsEm. And my name has existed from the beginning of the world. When the Kwakiutl desire to discover the true history of our ceremonials, tell them the tradition of G·ē′xdEn, for our chief, T'ō′kuiL, is giving his winter ceremonial. Now take care, my tribe. You are aware that I am the chief of the paintings and of the ornaments of the quē′qutsa. We are all prepared now, for we are painted with charcoal that we obtained from Ya′xstaL, according to the legend of the Naqò′mg·ilisala. You know how he obtained the fire of death from the wolves at ƍayaiL. You also remember how he burnt his enemies to ashes and transformed them into stone by means of his fire of death. Our paint is that of Ya′xstaL, therefore we use only black paint and no red paint. The other tribes use very little charcoal and much red paint, because they have no traditions to guide them. I do not allow any red paint to be used in the winter ceremonial, because our traditions do not say anything about the use of red paint. Only the clan NaE′nsx·a are allowed to use red paint, for their chief, Nēna′laats'ēqa, used red paint in the dance nō′nLEm, to indicate the blood of the tribes whom he had killed. Therefore they use no charcoal, but red paint only. They also use white paint in the nō′nLEm dance, because Nēna′laats'ēqa brought this ceremonial down from heaven, and the white paint symbolizes the white clouds. All our ceremonials are founded on traditions which our ancestors were careful to preserve. Now I have finished my speech." (See p. 410 and figs. 129–133, pp. 484–486.)

Then G·ā′sa arose and said: "Did you hear the speech of our old chief? It made me feel proud and happy, for I am a young man and did not know how we obtained our winter ceremonial. Let us remember the speeches and traditions of our ancestors. Take care, mā′maq'as, hā′mats'as, maa′myaank^{u}, and you, quē′qutsa of the Koskimo, Gua′ts'ēnôx and L'ā′sq'ēnôx, for we are all one tribe now. Do not fall and do not laugh, that the Kwakiutl may not sneer at us. I am going to watch you carefully, and if I should see anyone breaking the laws of the winter ceremonial, he will be made a wā′tanEm. He will have to wear a long white feather and dance in all the houses of the Kwakiutl. After his dance he will have to distribute at least one hundred blankets. This will be the punishment for any transgression of the rules of our ancestors."

When he had finished, two men, Nā′kuaLē and Walx·aLtsamt, entered, and the latter spoke: "Be quiet, slaves of the red cedar bark! I have seen our two chiefs who were taken away by G·ē′xdEn's Baxbakuālanuxsī′waē. They look dreadful, dressed in ornaments of balsam pine. I narrowly escaped them." G·ā′sa asked, "Is that true?" When he said so, a man who was standing on the roof of the house secretly gave a signal to the two new hā′mats'as, who were waiting in the woods at the west end of the village. They rushed down to the beach, crying "hāp, hāp." When the people who were assembled in the house heard them, Tō′qoamalis sent G·ā′sa to the roof of the house to look around. He came back and said: "Slaves of the red cedar bark, prepare to meet our two new hā′mats'as."

Then the people left the house, the four mā′maq'as first. They were followed by the six hā′mats'as, who wore ornaments of red cedar bark and eagle down on their heads. Cedar bark was wound in four turns around their arms and legs. Next followed the maa′myaank^{u}, the young women, who also wore rings of red cedar bark, but no arm rings or leg rings. They had a belt of cedar bark and wore button blankets. Their faces were painted black, with three horizontal lines (one over the eyebrows, one over the lower part of the nose, and one just under the mouth) and four vertical lines (one downward from the middle of each lower eyelid, and one from the middle of each temple). When these three groups had left the house, the remaining qūe′qutsa shouted "yū" four times. Then they all rushed out of the house, and followed, in a separate group, the three preceding groups. The mā′maq'as were singing. The hā′mats'as walked on silently. Their heads and arms were held downward. The maa′myaank^{u} were singing and dancing, and the quē′qutsa cried "yū" every few minutes.

When they had reached the new hā′mats'as, the four mā′maq'as surrounded them. The six old hā′mats'as formed a circle around the mā′maq'as. They in turn were surrounded by the maa′myaank^{u}, who held each other's hands. The quē′qutsa surrounded the last in a half circle, also holding each other's hands. Only the four speakers, Mā′a,

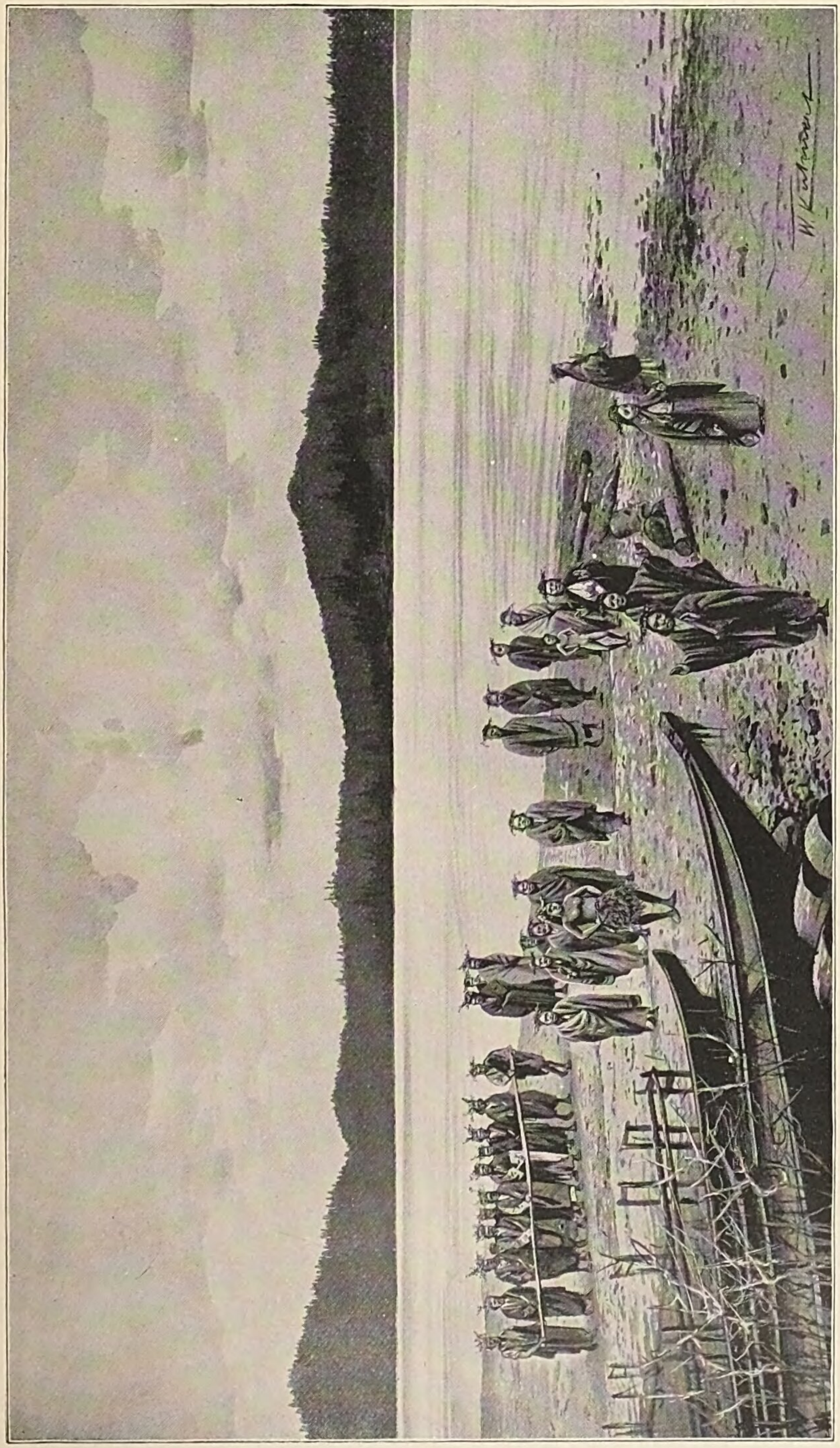
G·ā′La, A′Labala, and Lō′Xoaxstaakᵘ, remained standing outside the circle. The last named shouted from time to time "wē′i, wē′i," stretching his left hand upward, while with his right hand he held the speaker's staff. The people responded by the cry "yū."

Then Mā′a spoke: "Friends, we have caught the grandson and the sister of our chief, who were taken away by BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē. We thought they might be dead and they might never return. What in the whole world can vanquish us? Even BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē is unable to overcome us. I thought the Kwakiutl might have killed these two young people, because they can not overcome us in our war of property. I am glad that they were taken away by the spirit of the winter ceremonial. We are a long way from our village, and I believed that the spirit of the winter ceremonial had stayed behind, but he is following us wherever we go. Now let us return to the woods and learn the song of our novices. BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē gives four songs to all the novices who go to his house, and certainly he has given songs to these two."

The two novices now ran back to the woods, crying "hāp," and the people ran with them. Here they sat down. G·ā′loīL and Qoaqoax·st'ala took their seats in the middle of the whole group. Then Mā′a said: "Now listen, Koskimo! I will ask our singing masters to sing four new songs for these hā′mats'as. Try to learn them as quickly as you can. Sing! singing masters; and put some words against the Kwakiutl into your songs, G·ā′loīL." The first singing master of the tribe commenced his song, and after he had sung one line, he began to beat time. The people joined him, and after he had sung through the whole song, they tried to sing it. Next Qoaqoax·st'ala sung his song in the same manner. Then G·ā′loīL sang the third song, and finally Qoaqoax·st'ala the last one. The two singing masters asked the people if they liked the songs, and T'ō′kuiL thanked them, saying that they were just what he had wished for. Then the people arose, and started to return to the village in the order indicated in fig. 188.

Before starting they all put on head rings and neck rings made of hemlock branches. As soon as they reached the village, Lō′Xoaxstaakᵘ shouted "wēi, wēi," and all the quē′qutsa responded "yū." Then the hā′mats'as began to run about and to dance in the circle, and the people struck up the new songs, beating time on boards that were carried by some of the quē′qutsa. The maa′myaankᵘ also began to dance, and thus they proceeded until they reached the dancing house (Plate 45). The novices were the last to enter the house. There they danced around the fire. The maa′myaankᵘ danced in their honor, and the old hā′mats'as joined their dance. After the second dance they were clothed by Mā′a, and then they began to dance more quietly. After the fourth dance they disappeared into their secret room.

Now the Koskimo, Nā′q'oaqtôq, and the Kwakiutl assembled on the beach and sat down in a square. A grandson of Wā′las, the Koskimo,



THE RETURN OF THE HĀ'MATS'A.
From a painting by W. Kuhnert.

THE HĀ MATS'AS OF THE KOSKIMO IN A FEAST.
From a painting by Kuhnert.

was going to buy a copper. A number of speeches were made, and a woman danced for Wā′las, for whom the people sang a song of joy. During the feast that followed this purchase, the hā′mats'as of the Koskimo sat on a platform with blackened faces, behind the quē′qutsa. (Plate 46).

The members of the seal society of the Kwakiutl were still confined to the dancing house, but every now and then they rushed out of it and knocked the people down. The hā′mats'as hit them, and they broke canoes, dishes, and other things.

In the evening the Koskimo had their t'E′msEla. When the four messengers were sent out to invite the people, the host blew four times upon them, and their head rings were strewn with down. At this time the hā′mats'a rushed out of his secret room, ran around the fire, and out of the door. As soon as he appeared, all the people who happened to be in the house took up sticks, or whatever they could lay their hands on, and beat time rapidly. In the evening the people assembled. The Kwakiutl and Nā′q'oaqtôq took up the front corners.

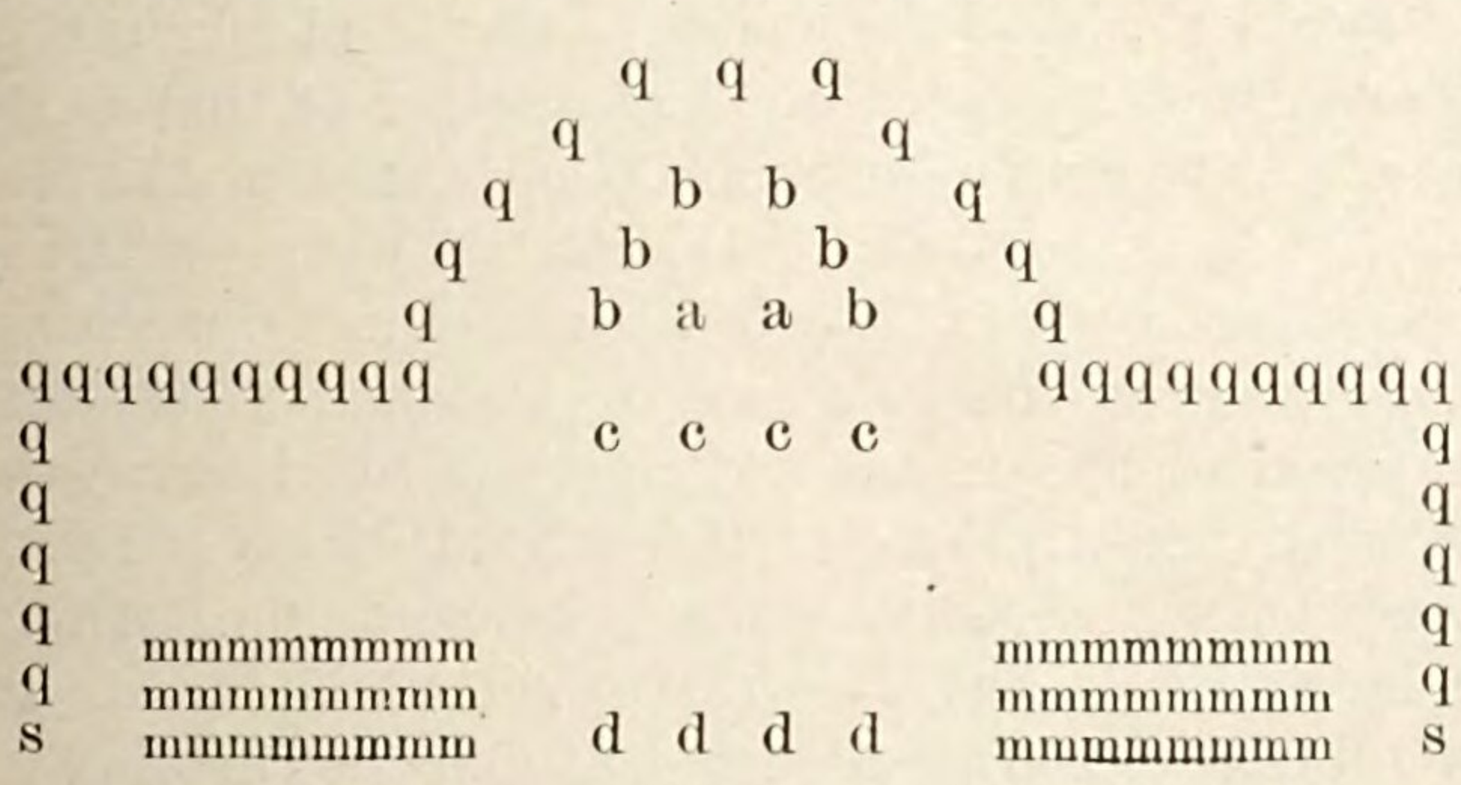


Fig. 188.

THE RETURN OF THE NOVICE.

Order of procession: (*a*) The novices; (*b*) the old hā′mats'as; (*c*) the mā′maq'as; (*d*) the speakers; (*m*) the maa′myaank^{u}; (*q*) the quē′qutsa; (*s*) the singing masters.

When all were assembled, the speakers of the Koskimo came in, their faces blackened. They were followed by a man carrying a ring to which many small horns were attached. As soon as they entered, the people beat time and sang while they were going to the rear of the house. Then the man who carried the ring went to the rear of the house singing and beating time for himself. Another person, who held two lances wound with cedar bark, made a speech, which was followed by another song of the man wearing the head ring. After this the speaker took off the head ring and explained the meaning of the horns. He said: "These seven horns have been put on to the ring by BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē. They belong to the ring of Nō′aqala, the hā′mats'a. He obtained it from G·ē′xdEn. He had two neck rings which were held by the k·î′nqalaLala of BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē. The white rings which are fastened to his hemlock rings are the stars and the one in front is the sun. The red lines on his cheek are the blood

which flowed down where BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē rubbed G·ē'xdEn. White cedar bark is flowing down from the rear part of his ring."

Now people were heard singing outside, but before they entered some blankets were distributed. Three or four speakers who carried lances stepped into the doorway. Then a dancer entered singing; his whole face was blackened. The speaker closed his mouth with his hands, compelling him to stop singing, and spoke to him. The dancer replied: "Nothing is heard." The speaker left him. He continued his song. Then he danced forward and raised his hands alternately. His song was not accompanied by any beating of time. His head ring had a horn in front. During this time the speakers were talking. Finally the dancer was taken to the rear of the fire by the speaker who held the lance. Now the singers began to sing again. QE'ldētsEm and another old man performed a dance, and blankets were given away. Some blankets were held around the fire while the distribution was going on. During this time the speaker who carried the lances went to the door and four women went out.

Now the speaker ordered the people to sing, and a hā'mats'a, accompanied by one assistant, entered. The beating of time continued for some time before the singing began. When the hā'mats'a had reached the rear of the house, seven women entered dancing. One of them remained standing near the door, while the others danced around the fire. In the dances of the Koskimo, one woman, whose duty it is to sing all the secret songs, remains standing in the doorway during the whole ceremony. At the end of the second dance of the hā'mats'a some of the women danced out of the house again. After his first circuit the hā'mats'a danced once to the right and once to the left, in the rear of the house, and disappeared behind the curtain.

Now blankets were again distributed in honor of the preceding dance. Again the women were heard singing outside. They entered, dressed in blankets, and imitating the motions of birds, and thus they danced to the rear of the house, where they remained standing. They were followed by the speaker, who carried the lance. One of them sang, while the others danced in the rear of the house. Then blankets were distributed among the Nā'q'oaqtôq. Next a speaker whose face was blackened went out.

Then the mā'maq'a entered, wearing a blanket. Men and women were talking to him. He put his hands on a baby that was sitting in the lap of its mother, and blew on it. Then he spoke in front of the curtain, and the people replied "wō." Next QE'ldētsEm appeared from behind the curtain, dancing. He was followed by the speaker carrying a lance and a man who carried his child on his arms. The child wore a hā'mats'a head mask. After they had gone around the fire once, the singers began their song and the women danced. Some speeches followed.

Now the arrival of new dancers was announced. A hā'mats'a entered

with his assistants. The people sang for him. After he had danced around the fire once in a squatting position, he danced a second circuit standing. He wore a short blanket and dancing apron, a thin round neck ring, and a flat head ring with small white rings on the front and sides. During his dance he squatted down every now and then and danced a few steps in long leaps. Finally he disappeared behind the curtain. His mother remained standing in the doorway and danced for him. Again the speaker delivered a speech and began to distribute blankets. By this time it was half past eleven.

The women had become hungry, and were eating in the rear of the house, and uttering the calls of their societies every now and then.

A new dancer was announced. The singers began to beat time, and a woman, a t'ō'X'uît, entered dancing, her palms stretched forward and upward. A second woman, and two men who carried guns and blankets, followed her. She was painted black in the following manner: Her right cheek was all black, while on the left cheek two vertical lines extended down the whole face near the nose. Two horizontal lines ran from the lips to the ear, one a little above, the other a little below, the mouth. A long conversation developed between herself and the speaker. The people beat time twice. They divided into two parties and discussed how they would try her. One party went to the door and fetched weapons, saying that they would kill her, to see if her guardian spirit would protect her. Others said they would much rather split her. Then the mother-in-law of the t'ō'X'uît stepped between the two parties and asked them rather to kill her; but when she was beginning to strip off her blanket and shirt they ridiculed her, asking if she was not ashamed to strip in front of so many people, and led her away. The young woman spoke again. Then the men went out. The speakers who held their lances talked, and after a short time the three men returned. Some men holding paddles and staffs were standing in the front row in the rear of the house. Then a woman and a girl ran out of the door and great excitement prevailed among the people in the rear of the house. One man cried: "I am the sī'siuL." Now the t'ō'X'uît took off her blanket and shirt and sat down. Then they led a girl around the fire to the rear of the house. The girl carried a knife. During this time one of the Koskimo women was singing. Now the speaker, whose face was blackened, took a paddle out of the hands of one of the men. The woman sat down in the rear of the fire, in front of the singers. He stepped up to her while the other woman was dancing, her hands raised and trembling. Four times the man went around the woman. Every time he stood behind her he raised his paddle as though he was going to strike her. The fourth time he really struck her and the paddle entered deeply into her shoulder and blood was seen to flow down. Now grease was poured into the fire, so that the house was lit up, and the woman arose and turned slowly, that everybody might see the paddle sticking in her

shoulder. The singers were beating time, and she sat down again. The paddle was pulled out, apparently with great difficulty. The shamans stepped up to her and cried "hōî, hōî, hōîfff," and blew upon her. Now the people began a song, during which the shamans continued to sing over her. Qe'ldētsem also put his hands on her head and chest and shoulders, crying "hōî, hōî, hōîfff." While this was going on, some of the women arose from their places and danced. Then the two shamans who had been working over her, raised her to her feet, and led her around the fire. The blood had ceased to flow, but a deep cut, beginning at the right breast and going across her shoulder far down the back, was clearly visible. Then all the people cried "hū," and she went out. Now a Nā'q'oaqtôq spoke, and blankets were distributed.

At 12.30 a new dance began. The girl who in the preceding dance had carried a knife came from behind the curtain and danced. A number of women danced in her honor, and the same old woman who had stayed in the doorway continued dancing there. One old woman was dancing, holding her pipe in her mouth. A song was sung, and then one of the Koskimo delivered another speech, holding a short staff in his hands. Whenever a name was called, he raised the staff high and held it so that the ends rested against his palms.

As the people became hungry by this time, a woman threw dried salmon among the people, first to the members of the secret society of the Koskimo, then to the others. When they were eating, the societies again uttered their calls.

Now a new dance was announced. A woman entered, wearing a flat ring, the front of which was set with feathers. She carried a bundle of red cedar bark in her hands. Her eyes and cheeks were painted black. When she was shaking the bundle of bark, it gave a rattling noise. The people gave her a pipe, a stick, and other things, and whatever she carried gave a rattling noise. The people took it from her again, but were unable to produce the same sound. Then they beat time again. She went once around the fire, looking upward and shaking her bundle of bark, and holding it as though she was going to throw it. Then she stood in the rear of the fire and sang her song. She gave her cedar bark to one of the messengers and took a staff in its place, which she carried around the fire and made it rattle; another person tried it, but it did not give a sound. Next she took a pipe of one of the Nā'q'oaqtôq and made it rattle in the same manner. Then she disappeared behind the curtain.[1] After some speeches, four young men went out, and several old people followed them, bringing food.

Then members of the Wā'tanem danced. After their dance more blankets were distributed. While the people were still eating, whistles imitating the raven's cry were heard outside. This was about 1.30 a. m. The speaker asked the people to beat time. Then the hā'mats'a entered

[1] See page 492.

with four assistants, who, however, had no rattles. Two women danced in his honor. During the second song a great many women were dancing for him. Two bloody lines were painted on each cheek, running in a wide circle downward from the corners of the mouth to the eyebrows. He came in, in a great state of excitement, and attacked his assistants, who were in front of him. After three songs he was led out of the house. This dance ended at 2 o'clock, and more blankets were distributed.

A new dance was announced, and a hā'mats'a entered, his face painted all black. A hemlock branch was fastened in front of his head ring. The front of his blanket was adorned with small white rings. QE'ldētsEm pointed out the blanket and said that it was the blanket of G·ē'xdEn. He danced four times. At his third dance he wore a blanket which showed the sī'siuL around its border. In the middle of the back was painted a squatting man whose palms were represented by carved wooden skulls which were sewed onto the blanket. The knees and the head were represented in the same way. One carved skull was also sewed onto the blanket on each side, outside the figures. He also wore a carved skull in front and one in the back of his cedar bark head ring. When he came in, five old hā'mats'as danced for him, while three stood in the door in order to prevent people from going out. Six songs were sung for him. During the first and second songs one woman was dancing for him. After his dances he was led out of the house. The speaker addressed the people, who beat time and said "hū."

Now the sound of whistles and the cries of a hā'mats'a were heard outside. The same hā'mats'a reentered, and danced one circuit and a half around the fire, while the women were dancing in his honor. His k·î'nqalaLala danced in front of him. When they stopped in the rear of the house, both squatted down, and their attendants stood around them. After the fourth dance they disappeared behind the curtain. Then more blankets were distributed.

At 3.15 women were heard singing outside. A man entered singing, followed by a woman. Two pairs of bloody lines were drawn on her cheeks, running downward in a wide circle from the mouth to the ear. She sang her secret song. She danced as t'ō'X'uît, trying to catch her supernatural power. As soon as she moved her hands upward, trying to catch it, the women began to dance in her honor. Now she caught it between her hands and threw it forward. At once a flying sī'siuL was seen in the rear of the house, moving rapidly to the right and to the left and trembling all the time. As soon as the sī'siuL disappeared again, all the dancing women put their palms together as though they had caught the supernatural power. Then blankets were distributed.

At 4 o'clock a woman came from behind the curtain, singing. She was followed by a ghost dancer, who had a large thick ring of cedar bark with an enormous horn in front, set with feathers, which were

waving to and fro on long shafts. It had a long trail behind. The speaker followed her. The people sang and women danced in her honor. She disappeared behind the curtain, and blankets were distributed again.

Now a song was heard outside. The speaker asked the singers to beat time. A man entered singing. His body was naked, but he wore a dancing apron and had cedar bark rings around his arms and wrists. He was a Bā′bakuaūɬa, a t'ō′X'uît. After some speeches there was singing, and a woman and a man danced. They held their elbows close to their sides, stretched their hands forward, the palms upward, and moved the hands up and down in jerky motions. The Bā′bakuaūɬa was then placed on a seat behind the fire in front of the singers and the speaker was asked to pierce him with his lance. The singers beat time, the speaker took up the lance and threw its point against the floor, to show that the lance was solid, and showed it around among the people. Then he took up the lance and walked around the Bā′bakuaūɬa. After each circuit he put the point against the left side of Bā′bakuaūɬa, and then continued his circuit. After he had gone around him four times, he once more put the lance against his left side and began to push it in. Apparently the point entered the body, blood was streaming out of his side, and as the point penetrated farther the Bā′bakuaūɬa apparently collapsed. Finally the whole length of the lance had pierced the body and the point was seen to come out on the right side a little below the arm pit.[1] He was raised so that the people could see his body. Then the lance was pulled out again slowly. The shamans were called, and blew and sang over his body, while the singers continued their song. Then he was led behind the curtain. After this, cloths were distributed among the women; the singers beat time and cried "hū."

This was the last dance of the night. The Koskimo did not allow their guests to go home, but invited them to stay for a feast. The hā′mats'a still remained sitting in front of the door, preventing anyone from going out. They continued to eat and to make speeches until 10 o'clock, when everybody went home to take a rest.

On the 26th of November everything was quiet, as the people were exhausted by the preceding festivals.

In the afternoon of the 27th, the Kwakiutl held a secret meeting in order to determine what to do. The seal society was still confined to the dancing house. K·ēx·, whose mask had broken a few days ago during the dance, was going to initiate his son in atonement for this mishap. His elder son had died a few years before, after he had been made a member of the hā′mats'a society. Referring to this, he spoke

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[1]The Bā′bakuaūɬa had a small hook attached to his right arm ring by means of which he pulled up the skin of his chest below the right arm pit, piercing at the same time a small bag filled with blood which was fastened to the skin, so that the blood was seen flowing down his side. This scene seems to be the same as that of the dance described on p. 575.

in the secret meeting about as follows: "Kwakiutl, give my son long life! Once I tried to make my son a hā'mats'a, but the deadly Bax-bakuālanuXsī'waē struck him and he died. When he died, I resolved not to make another child hā'mats'a, but now since the mask broke you all request me to initiate my younger son. I shall do so, but do give him long life." At this point Sī'witē, an old blind man, interrupted him, saying: "Don't be overbearing and don't let him have more than two songs," meaning that if he gave him four songs the boy should die. Then all the people scolded and blamed him on account of his merciless words. Now it was arranged what dances were to be shown and who was to pay for them. In the evening of this day, K·ēx·'s wife disappeared all of a sudden. Her clothing was found on the beach, and it was announced that she was to return as q'ō'minōqa on the following day. In the evening the Kwakiutl held their k·ik·î'lnala in order to bring back their novices. I will give only a brief description of their festival, as the details resemble that of the Koskimo. In the beginning the societies came in one after the other—first the killer whales, then the birds, etc. One man came in alone carrying a staff as though he was shooting with it, and crying "hū." The people sang when he came in. Then they tore blankets and distributed the strips. About 11 o'clock in the evening K·ēx· appeared carrying several spread tongs, while others followed him carrying staffs which they held stretched forward. They wore plain head rings. The spread tongs were given away. They designated gifts of canoes. At this time Lā'g·us delivered a speech. Now all had assembled except the members of the seal society. They came in last and stepped to the rear of the house, while Hō'LElitē made a speech.

Now began the dances. The fool dancers were heard outside, and they entered wearing masks and enormous noses. One of them had his face painted black and red. The people sang and the women danced. After this dance Hä'misilakᵘ gave away a gun and blanket. A man carrying a rattle was stationed in the doorway, and announced with his rattle the arrival of every new dancer. After every dance, blankets were distributed or other presents were made, but I shall not describe this every time. The distribution of blankets occupied by far the greater portion of the night.

The next dancer was an old woman, bent by age, who came in. Her face was painted red and black.

After a speech, made by Lā'g·us, a bear dancer came in. His face was all black. He wore an enormous head ring. Two men followed him and carried the blankets which were given away after his dance. As soon as these blankets were distributed, a young bear dancer appeared from the corner of the house and scratched the ground while the people were singing and women were dancing for him. Then he disappeared again.

About midnight a new fool dancer entered, led by a blanket which

was tied around his waist, and the people sang. After his circuit he disappeared behind the curtain. Hä′masaqa delivered a speech for him. He said: "The time of fighting has passed. The fool dancer represents the warriors, but we do not fight now with weapons; we fight with property." These words referred to the fact that the man whose place this dancer had taken had killed a chief of the Nanai′mo and many others. Then Hä′masaqa turned to the Koskimo and said: "It is not right that in your k·ik·î′lnala you distributed many blankets. It is not customary to do so, but now I will show you what we can do."[1]

Next a bear dancer entered, wearing a copper around his neck. He was followed by two men who carried blankets. Women danced for him. Now Ē′wanuXts'ē took the copper and spoke. He gave it to the Nā′q'oaqtôq. This copper had been given by a Nā′q'oaqtôq to his Kwakiutl wife. Now the Nā′q'oaqtôq had to redeem it by a payment of 700 blankets. In his speech Ē′wanuXts'ē held it by its lower end, thus indicating that he was going to take not more than half the price of the copper as payment in full. After this Lā′g·us, who was now standing in the doorway, delivered a speech. He said: "What is the matter with our house? It is shaking."[2]

Next another bear entered. Ho was caught by K·ēx· and led to the rear of the house while the people were singing. After a speech made by Hä′masaqa, another bear dancer entered, followed by a woman who carried a copper. Her mother danced, and during her dance a fool dancer was heard outside. Lā′g·us spoke, holding the copper. Then he gave it to Hō′LElitē, who replied. K·ēx· handed a number of bundles of sticks to Hō′LElitē, who spoke about them and distributed them. Then he returned the copper to Lā′g·us, who took it to a fool dancer.

About 1 o'clock another fool dancer entered, who was brought to the rear of the house by K·ēx·.

By this time a man carrying his baby appeared as fool dancer, coming from the rear corner of the house.

Next another fool dancer entered, and then a bear, who was led by a blanket which was tied around his waist. The man who led him wore a large neck ring of hemlock branches, which represented a copper that was to be given away for the bear dancer. A speech was made, and the ring was thrown into the fire.

At this moment the whistles of the hā′mats'a were heard. All of a sudden Yā′qoîs became excited and jumped down from his seat. His assistants and two k·î′nqalaLala rushed after him, and after he had danced around the fire once they all went out of the house.

At 2 a. m. another fool dancer wearing a large nose entered. After one circuit he ran out and came back without a mask while the people were singing.

Next a boy who was to be a pa′xala dancer was brought forward

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[1] Meaning that the Kwakiutl were going to distribute still more property.

[2] Meaning that the weight of the blankets which were piled up in it made it shake.

from the rear of the house. The man who carried him turned once in the rear of the house, and once in front. The boy was said to see something supernatural coming, and was carried out of the house.

After blankets were distributed the hā′mats'a reentered, the k·î′nqalaLala dancing before him.

Next a bear dancer entered, dressed in a complete bear skin, to which a mask was attached. The women danced for him, holding their hands close to the body, not raised, as is usually the case. After one circuit the bear left the house again.

About 3.30 a. m. two women entered, the first wearing a wide ring of cedar bark. The following dancer was a ha′mshamtsEs, who danced with short, quick steps without moving her body. She wore a head ring set with ermine, and a button blanket ornamented with a thunder bird and a killer whale. She had two heavy black lines running down her face, and two horizontal ones crossing them. She left the house after one circuit.

The next dancer was a girl, who was ushered in by her father. The people were singing and the girl's mother stepped up to her, encouraging her to dance, but as she could not induce the child to do so, she danced herself, wearing a red blanket. Now Hä′masaqa made a speech.

About 5 oclock in the morning two ha′mshamtsEs entered. They were followed by the hā′mats'a, accompanied by four assistants.

The next dancer was hai′alik·ilaL. She cried "sh, hōîp, hōîp." She wore a large ring of red cedar bark having four vertical horns, which extended downward in long tassels of bark. She had a large round neck ring. Her blanket was set with tassels made of red and white bark. Attached to the back part of her rings was a tie looking like a cross. The two messengers who stood at the door led her around the fire once. Then she went out again. After a short time she reentered.

At 5.15 a. m. a ha′mshamtsEs, wearing a round neck ring set with four tassels, danced. The two messengers led her around the fire, then she went out again. They returned and spoke to Hō′LElitē. After this the people beat time and the dancers disappeared.

At 5.30 a new dancer appeared, wearing hemlock branches around his head and neck. He danced with short, quick steps, and was led by the two messengers to the rear of the house. He wore a blue blanket and a dancing apron set with shells. He was the pa′xalalaL. He danced in the rear of the house without moving from his place; his whole body was shaking. Two songs were sung for him and the women danced. After a speech made by Hō′LElitē he left the house again.

The next dancer was a Ts'ō′nōqoa, who entered dressed in a bearskin, which was attached to her mask. She rubbed her eyes and shouted "ou, ou." Then the people sang, and she went out again.

A new song which was heard at the door, was taken up by the

singers in the rear of the house. A t'o'X'uît woman, wearing a head ring of hemlock branches, but no neck ring, appeared. She held her elbows to her sides, and her hands forward, palms upward. She raised them and lowered them alternately. The song was in a three-part rhythm, and she walked limping, one step being on the quarter mora of the rhythm, the second step on the half mora of the rhythm, while she was singing her secret song. After each line of her song the chorus continued it. She sang: "Yā, yā, yē."

Now Hō'LElitē stepped up to her and spoke. She replied with the exclamation "up, up," pointing to her chest, meaning that the people should split her. Then she moved her hands in the same way along her neck, meaning that they should cut off her head. Hō'LElitē proposed to throw her into the fire, but after some talk this idea was abandoned. The people beat time again. She began to dance, and caught her supernatural power between her palms. After she had done so twice, she said again "up, up," touching her stomach with her palms several times, meaning "take out my intestines." Then she tried again to catch her supernatural power, and during this time Hō'LElitē walked around her, shouting "up." Now she tried the fourth time to catch her supernatural power. At once whistles were heard. A bird was seen flying down from the roof, and a nō'nLEmg·ila figure arose from underground. The fourth time a feather, which represents the horn of the sī'siuL, came up from underground and moved trembling along the rear of the house. She went up to it, and all of a sudden she began to disappear in the ground. One man took hold of her, trying to rescue her, but his hands and forearms disappeared in the ground down to his elbows. Several men took hold of him in order to rescue him. Then he was apparently dragged through the whole house by the t'ō'X'uît, who had disappeared underground. He passed by circuitous movements through the whole house, plowing up the ground. Finally he seemed to lose the woman, and fell backward.[1]

After the t'ō'X'uît had disappeared in the ground, a second one commenced to dance. The underground motions of the first were led by the dancing woman, who, with the movements of her hands, tried to bring her up again. This second t'ō'X'uît was followed by one man. Finally she left the house, and blankets were distributed while Hō'LElitē delivered a speech. Now a song was heard on the beach outside

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[1] This performance had been prepared during the preceding days, when the members of the seal society kept everybody away from the house. A deep ditch had been dug in the rear of the house, in which the t'ō'X'uît disappeared. A shallow ditch had been dug all through the house. A heavy rope had been placed in this ditch, which was filled with loose dirt. The man who seemed to hold the t'ō'X'uît pulled himself along this rope. Unfortunately the rope had been laid too near the fireplace and was burnt. Thus it happened that the man had to let go. The original plan was to pursue the t'ō'X'uît to the front right corner of the house, where she was to appear again from out of another ditch which was connected with the ditch in the rear of the house where she had disappeared.

the house. A messenger ran around the fire, went out of the house, and returned.

Next Lā′g·us entered, holding a broken copper in his teeth. He was followed by a girl. Then one man entered who wore a neck ring. He had two companions who carried rattles. Another man carrying a copper plate, and two more men, followed. The people sang a hā′mats'a song. The girl wore a head ring with ermine trimmings and large abalone shells. She moved her hands like a hā′mats'a. She was clad in a button blanket with ermine trimmings. Now Lā′g·us broke off a piece of the copper and threw blankets into the fire. All this time her mother carried the rattle. The girl went out again.

Next Hō′LElitē took a rattle, turned, and went around the fire twice. Then he listened to see if the new hā′mats'a was coming back. He listened three times. Now whistles were heard, and the noise of a man running round the roof of the house. Suddenly the roof boards were pushed aside. A boy jumped down with a head ring of hemlock and quartz crystals attached along the median line of his head. He had an apron of hemlock branches. He jumped first upon the roof of the bedrooms in the rear of the house, and from there down to the floor. He danced, his hands close to the rear side of his thighs, running with short quick steps and bending rhythmically. Then he ran out. He was the Mā′tEm. As soon as he left the house the ha′mats'a cried "hāp." Nu′xnēmîs then made a speech. The whistles of the hā′mats'a were heard in the door, where the k·înqalaLala appeared singing. The assistants surrounded the hā′mats'a and ran with him around the fire. Then they went out. Now blankets were carried into the house, and the new hā′mats'a appeared naked, and danced. His kî′nqalaLala were singing and dancing before him. This ended the festival.

December 3.—The Kwakiutl gave the dance Walas'axa′. The people assembled in the evening in the dancing house of the Kwakiutl. A curtain was drawn right across the rear of the house, behind which the members of the seal society first disappeared. After one of the Koskimo had given away some blankets, a fool dancer came out at the rear right-hand corner of the curtain and danced around the fire. A few women danced for him. Then he disappeared again behind the curtain. Ē′wanuXts'ē and his speaker remained standing during this dance and the following ones, facing the curtain in front of which the singers were sitting. The next dancer was a bear, who also appeared from behind the curtain. Then the people sang and an old woman danced for him.

After some blankets had been distributed, a ha′mshamtsEs song was struck up, and a woman, accompanied by two assistants, appeared from behind the curtain. She wore the ha′mshamtsEs head ring and neck ring. The same old woman who had danced before and several others danced for her. Her movements were similar to those of the hā′mats'a, but she did not tremble. During the first line of the song

she raised her hands and danced in the same manner as the other women do. She disappeared, and after some speeches a new song was sung and she came out again with three assistants.

Now the Walas'axa', the dance of the clan G·ī'g·ilqam, commenced. Nu'xnēmîs and two messengers stood at the right-hand rear entrance of the curtain. He gave a signal for the singers to beat time and to sing, and out came a great many of the members of the Kwakiutl tribe, wearing wolf headdresses. They were about fifty in all, and as soon as they had stepped out from behind the curtain they turned around and began a procession around the fire. In front of the fire they turned again and continued their circuit. They held their fists in front of their bodies, the thumbs turned upward. While they were walking, they cried "yōu, hōu." After they had gone around the fire they disappeared again behind the left entrance of the curtain. Lā'g·us made a speech, and then they began a second circuit in the same manner as before. When they had made their fourth circuit, they stopped before entering the partition again. They kneeled around the fire, resting on their fists and knees. Now Nu'xnēmîs began a song, which was accompanied by rhythmical motions. They made another circuit and disappeared behind the curtain (Plate 36).

XI. Ceremonials of the other Tribes of Kwakiutl Lineage.

The winter dance of the Koskimo begins in the month of November. In the evening, before the ceremonies are to begin, a number of boys are sent out to gather kelp. They return during the night and enter the village at the south end, blowing on the tubes of kelp, and producing a noise like that of large horns. At the same time a drum is placed in the river so that the wooden band is in the water while the skin is held just above the surface. The beating of this drum produces a very loud sound. As soon as the young men have passed through the village, they stop blowing their kelp horns and the drum stops at the same time. Then all the people in the houses begin to sing their secret songs, and continue to sing until the morning, when they come out of the houses. Then the chiefs go from house to house and ask the people if they know what produced the noise of the preceding night. Some will reply that they did not hear it, others that they heard it, and still others that they had seen one of their dead relatives, who told them that he and the other ghosts came to take the son or the daughter of one of the inhabitants away. The chiefs continue to go from house to house until they come to that of the young man or young woman who is to be initiated during the following ceremonies. When they enter his room, they see that he has disappeared. Only his shirt and blanket remain. These are covered with blood. The chief seizes the garments, takes them out of the house, and calls all the people together, asking for the murderer of the youth. A great commotion ensues, all the people running about. At

last they begin to blacken their faces and take their weapons, ready to fight among themselves.

Now all of a sudden a person is heard to cry on the point of land at the west end of the village, "hamamamama." The people at once go to see who is there. Now the master of ceremonies of the winter dance, whose name is Amā'k, rises, and begins to call all the people by their winter names. The people are surprised at his doing so, and object. He, however, does not listen to them, and merely warns them not to be bitten by the Hā'maa. Then he calls four men whose names are Lōakwaxstaôk, WalkaLtsumt, Ā'Labala, and Henā'wa, and asks them to go in a canoe to the point of land where the sound was heard, in order to ascertain what produced it. The four men rise and enter the house, in which the hā'mats'a assemble at the same time. Soon they come out again, their faces blackened, rings of red cedar bark around their heads and around their necks, and paddles in their hands. The people inquire why they are dressed up in this manner, to which they reply that it is a protection against the lurking danger at the point of land to which they are going. They go down to a canoe and paddle slowly to the point of land. As soon as they approach it, the sound "hamamamama" is heard again. The men pretend to be scared, and paddle back to the beach. They ask some of the lōlō'LalaL, or ghost dancers, to go with them.

Then the master of ceremonies asks four of the lōlō'LalaL to accompany the four men. The lōlō'LalaL dress up and sit close together in the middle of the canoe while the four men are paddling toward the point. As soon as they approach it the same sound is heard. Then the men in the bow of the canoe paddle backward while the steersman paddles forward and brings the canoe up to the point of land. As soon as they touch the land the four lōlō'LalaL jump ashore and run into the woods, where they stay for a few minutes. Then they come back to the canoe and sit down in the same place as before. The other four men appear to be scared, but not a word is said. They paddle back to the village, and when they come to the shore, they inform the master of ceremonies that they shall not go back again, because they are too much scared. Upon a question of the master of ceremonies they say that they did not see anything, but that the sound scared them. He compels them to return and to investigate the cause of the noise. The lōlō'LalaL have stayed in the canoe all this time, waiting for the other four men to return. They paddle back to the point of land, and the four lōlō'LalaL jump ashore again and run into the woods, where they stay a few minutes. They come back, sit down in the middle of the canoe, and the four men paddle back again to the village. Now the four lōlō'LalaL jump ashore and go into the house of the father of the young man who had disappeared. The four paddlers rise and say that they have seen the missing youth among the ghosts at the point. The people all go into the house of the master of ceremonies

and take their seats. The master addresses them, asking them to get ready to fight the ghosts. He calls four yā′lakuēnôx (men who have secret songs), and bids them to stand in their places—that is, one in each corner of the house. Now the master of ceremonies takes a raven rattle and steps to the singer standing in the right-hand front corner of the house. He gives him the rattle and asks him to sing the ghost song: "Lo ho ho ho lo ho ho ho hē hama ma." When he has finished this song, the singer turns to the right, says "hamamamama," and returns the rattle to the master of ceremonies, who goes diagonally across the house to the left-hand rear corner. He gives the rattle to the man standing there, who repeats the same song, turns around, says "hamamamama," and returns the rattle to the master of ceremonies, who goes to the left-hand front corner of the house and repeats the same ceremony there. Last he goes across to the right-hand rear corner of the house and gives the rattle to the fourth singer, who repeats the same song, singing, however, louder and turning faster than the others. After this has been done, the four men sit down again. Now the master of ceremonies requests the people to get their ornaments of red cedar bark and to dress up. The people take them out from under their blankets and put them on. Then he asks the father of the novice to get some eagle down and to strew it on the heads of the people. After this has been done, he orders the lōlō′LalaL to assemble in one place in the house. He makes the hā′mats'a assemble in another place; the hai′alik·ilaL, pa′xalalaL, ya′yatalaL, na′naualaq, sē′ilis, ts'ē′koîs, xoē′LxoēLawatala, hā′winalaL, lō′kwasōla (or lālaxsōla) all assemble.

Then he asks the people to prepare to fight the ghosts. All of them leave the house and go down to the canoes, each society in a canoe by themselves. Only the hā′mats'a and the hē′lig·a stay ashore. They paddle toward the point where the cry of the ghosts was heard, and as soon as they reach there, they hear again somebody calling "hamamamama." The people look frightened. Some jump into the water, others faint, and all pretend not to know what they are doing. Only the canoe in which the lōlō′LalaL are assembled goes on undisturbed. They go ashore and take the novice, who had disappeared, from among the ghosts. They bring him down to their canoe and paddle slowly back toward the village. During this time all the other canoes are drifting with the tide, as the people have not recovered from their fright. As soon as the lōlō′LalaL land, the hā′mats'as, who are expecting them, begin to get excited and run down to the beach. Then the master of ceremonies orders a man, whose name is LāliLqōtsastala, to bring the other canoes back. He takes a small canoe, paddles out toward the canoes, and brings them back one by one. As soon as they land, the lōlō′LalaL go down and carry the people up to the house as though they were dead. Then the lōlō′LalaL shamans try to restore them to life, while at the same time the hā′mats'as are running from house to house excited, driving the people out as soon as they have

been restored by the efforts of the shamans. This continues until the mā′maq'a rises and sings his song, dancing around the fire. He is considered more powerful than the hā′mats'a, and by his song compels him to leave the house.

Then all the people go to their houses and have their breakfast. In the evening the yē′wix·ila invites the tribe to his house. Then they begin to sing the song of the ghosts, as follows: "Lo ho ho ū, lo ho ho ū, lō ho ho a hu omama." This song is repeated four times. As soon as they stop, the master of ceremonies addresses the people, saying that they will try to restore the youth who had been taken away by the ghosts. While he is talking, somebody is heard to cry "hamamamama" outside the house. They look about as though they were frightened, and ask each other what may be the cause of the noise. The sound is heard four times; then an old man jumps into the door and informs the people that the lōlō′LalaL are approaching, and requests the people to have their batons ready to beat time. As soon as he has finished speaking, the door opens and the lōlō′LalaL enter crying "hamamamama." The people repeat the cry and begin to beat time. The ghost dancers enter and dance in a stooping position. They wear rings of cedar bark on their heads, from which a veil of split white bark is hanging down over their faces. They go around the fire until they come to the left-hand corner of the house. Here they sit down in a circle crying again "hamamamama." When they become silent, the master of ceremonies asks Lā′liLqōtsastala to see if the ghosts have come with the dancers. As soon as he approaches them, they begin to cry again "hamamamama," but he does not stop. He steps up to them, sits down among them and looks for the ghosts. After a short while, he returns to the master of ceremonies and says that he has seen some of his dead relatives in a hole in the ground, and that the lōlō′LalaL were sitting around the hole and talking to the ghosts. He asks the master of ceremonies for a strong rope. The latter calls a man whose name is Tsakstâ′laqoals to get the rope which his grandfather left him. This means that this office is hereditary. Tsakstâ′laqoals goes and brings the rope into the house. He also brings twenty blankets, which are called the weight of the rope of the ghosts. The master of ceremonies gives one end of the rope to one of the lōlō′LalaL. The latter pretends to tie the end of the rope around the waist of the new lōlō′LalaL in order to prevent his being taken away by the ghosts.

As soon as this is done, the tribe divide into two groups, the clan of the yē′wix·ila and their rivals. The latter sit close to the door. Then the master of ceremonies gives the twenty blankets to the rivals. After this he calls up all the bā′akwas—i. e., those who belong to the clan of the yē′wix·ila. As soon as they take hold of the rope, the yē′wix·ila distributes blankets among his rival clan. Then he calls upon the people of his clan to touch the rope. They come one after the other and distribute blankets among the other clan. Last of all the

chief comes, who gives away twenty blankets. The blankets which are given away are supposed to be a weight attached to the rope, and the last gift of twenty blankets breaks the rope.

Then one of the members of the rival clan jumps up. He takes hold of the broken rope, and while he is holding it calls the chief of his own clan to fetch the rope which he inherited from his grandfather. The chief returns with the rope and twenty blankets. He ties the two broken ends together with his rope and says that he will be able to bring the ghost out of the ground. He calls his clan to leave the door and to come to the rear of the house. Now the yē′wix·ila's clan take their seat near the door. The other clan goes through the same ceremony, and last of all the chief brings forty blankets, which cause the rope to break. This means that the clan whose rope did not break until forty blankets were attached to it is more powerful than the other one. After the rope breaks, the whole tribe sings as follows:[1]

Look up to our world, look up to our world! Chief! Procurer of wealth!

This song is repeated four times. The yē′wix·ila distributes more blankets among the people, who then go home. On the following day the lōlō′LalaL are seen to walk about the village with rough rings of cedar bark on their heads, the latter being strewn with down, and their faces blackened. About midnight of this day a number of men secretly climb the roofs of the houses of the village and begin to whirl the whirring sticks"[2] (fig. 189). The noise of these sticks is supposed to be the voice of Hai′aLilaqas or Wīnā′lag·ilîs, who comes to take away another novice. This noise is repeated four times, each time for about ten minutes. Then the people must sing their secret songs in the houses. When the noise stops, a hā′mats'a is heard to shout in the bush, and on the next morning a blanket is found in front of one of the houses. The people gather around it and try to discover whose blanket it is. After they have ascertained the owner of the blanket, they say, "It was certainly he whom we heard in the woods," and his father adds that Hai′aLilaqas probably came and has taken his son to BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē. The people request him to clean his house and prepare for the return of the novice. The man goes into his house at once, cleans it, and as soon as he is ready, the people enter. He asks them to be ready for the return of the hā′mats'a, as he might come back unexpectedly. The master of ceremonies asks the singing master to sing the new songs for the hā′mats'a, of which there are four. After the singing master has sung these songs, the master of ceremonies requests the new yē′wix·ila to prepare a feast. The people take their places and begin to sing the four songs of the old hā′mats'a. After these are sung, the feast is spread. When the people have entered, the old hā′mats'a comes out of his room and drives them out of the house

[1] Appendix, page 728.

[2] These are used for the hā′mats'a, mā′maq'a, hai′alik·ala, t'ō′X'uît, and hā′winalaL. The kelp trumpets are used for the lōlo′LalaL only.

and into the water, where he keeps them until the mā′maq'a appears and drives the hā′mats'a back into the house.

During these days the second yē′wix·ila is collecting all the debts which are due him, and on the following morning the new hā′mats'a is seen on the same point of land where the first one was recovered. The people go up to him, catch him, and bring him to the singing house (kekoalela′tsē). Then they all begin to sing the four new songs, the first two accompanied by fast beating, the last two by slow beating. After these songs the hā′mats'a is led back into his bedroom. About 8 o'clock in the evening he leaves the house, returns to the woods, and stays there until his father has invited all the people to his house to sing for him. As soon as they are assembled they begin to beat time. After they have done so for about five minutes, one man cries "yaū." The people repeat this cry four times. They have hardly done so when the hā′mats'a enters and they begin to sing. The hā′mats'a dances around the fire and at the end of the last song disappears in his bedroom. This night all the dances are shown in a festival similar to the k·ik·î′lnala of the Kwakiutl.[1]

On the following morning the yē′wix·ila invites all the people to his house, and gives a feast to the men, women, and children. At the end of the feast everybody receives a blanket "to wipe the mouth with." After this the hā′mats'a is allowed to bite four times, once every fourth day. During this time he is purified in a way similar to that of the hā′mats'a of the Kwakiutl.

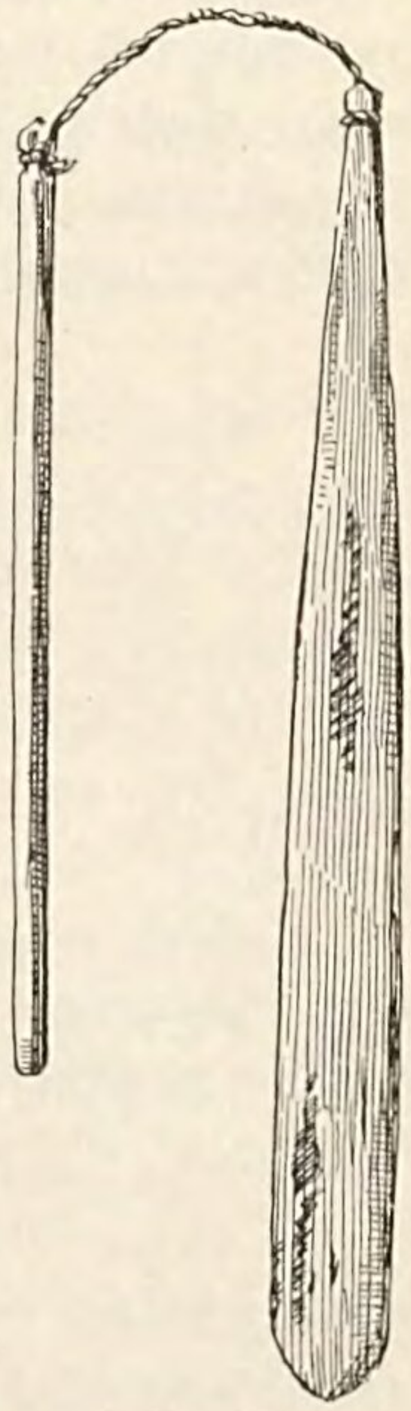

Fig. 189.
KOSKIMO WHIRRING STICK.
Length, 23½ inches.
IV A, No. 1488, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

After the last night of the winter dance, the yē′wix·ila calls all the people to his house and asks them who is willing to keep the red cedar bark until the next year. No one responds. All of a sudden the door is opened and about twenty men rush into the house. They are covered with balsam pine branches, and blood is dripping from their bodies. They are called the Wīnā′lag·ilîs or qumqu′mx·dē (land otters). They run around the fire and suddenly take the cedar bark rings from the heads of several men. They then leave the house again as suddenly as they entered. The men whose cedar bark rings they have taken will give a winter dance the following year. After this, the rest of the people take off their cedar bark ornaments, tie handkerchiefs around their heads, and begin to sing summer songs.

The following is a description of the ceremonies corresponding to the kuē′xalakᵘ of the Kwakiutl, called by the La′Lasiqoala, Lē′xalakᵘ.

[1] See page 595.

During a feast the young man who is to be initiated suddenly faints. At once a number of newly initiated shamans are called to investigate the cause of his sickness. They are unable to ascertain what ails the young man, and send for the older shamans. They feel all over the body of the youth, and finally declare that the spirit Wīnā′lag·ilîs has taken possession of him. Then a sail is stretched across the rear of the house and the patient is placed behind it. The house is cleaned, and everybody is invited—men, women, and children. Henceforth this house will be the dancing house. The q'ā′qanas, who correspond to the mē′êmqoat of the Kwakiutl, must stay in this house after they have once entered it until the end of the whole ceremonial. The profane are not allowed to pass the front of the house above high-water mark.

The master of ceremonies asks the people to sing the following song, which is supposed to have the power of restoring the patient to life:

Hayas âhōnô lalä ya honô hanä häu.
Do not cry, you will come back safely.[1]

An old shaman stands by the patient, feeling his body. The song has no effect upon the young man, and the master of ceremonies requests the people to try another means of restoring him to life. Boxes are placed in front of all the assembled people, and at a signal they beat time rapidly with their batons, ending with a loud rap. This is repeated four times.

The above song belongs to the clan Naa′nqaēnôx (always staying at home), while the beating of time belongs to the clan La′lauiLEla, who obtained it from the Awī′k·'ēnôx. The shaman says that the beating of time had the desired effect upon the patient. After this the people assume their winter names and rearrange themselves in groups as enumerated on page 419.

On the same night the festival called qap'ē′kᵘ is celebrated. In the morning of this day a number of young men were sent out to collect alder bark and to make red cedar bark, which is distributed among the people in the evening. In payment for their services they receive a special allotment of food. When the people assemble for the qap'ē′kᵘ, the highest hā′mats'a is first led to his seat. The other hā′mats'as are placed at his side. They are followed by the ts'ē′koîs and by the hai′alik·alaL. The quē′qutsa take their seats last. They sit on each side near the door. As many quē′qutsa as there are hā′mats'as are charged with the making of the head rings of the latter. These quē′qutsa all stand on the right-hand side of the door, each holding his ring. They have a leader, whose office is hereditary. They walk around the fire four times, singing. Then they step in front of the hā′mats'as, and on a signal they all put the neck rings around them. At a second signal they put the head rings on the heads of the hā′mats'as, and finally they strew their heads with down. Then the hā′mats'a's whistle is heard, and the people distribute quickly the red cedar bark

[1] Appendix, page 728.

among the others. The quē′qutsa blacken their faces. The hā′mats'a begins to get excited and bites the people. He must bite a certain man first, whose duty it is to offer himself to the hā′mats'a when he gets excited for the first time. This office or duty is hereditary. The hā′mats'a carries a stick and drives the people around the fire. During the ensuing excitement another novice disappears, leaving his blood-covered blanket behind. It is found, and under great excitement inquiries are made as to who is missing, until finally the father exclaims that his child has disappeared. Then the ha′mshamtsEs dances.

Sometimes the disappearance of the novice takes place in a different way. Four men go on the roof of the house during the night and, running about, cry "hm hm hm." This noise is taken by the people to signify the approach of Wīnā′lag·ilîs. On the following morning it is found that one of the young men has disappeared, leaving his blanket behind, which is covered with blood.

Still another way of beginning the LĒ′xalakᵘ is the following: The mā′maq'a dances in his house, and suddenly throws his magic stick, which is believed to fly through the walls of the house and to hit the person who is to be initiated and who lives in another house. The youth falls down, and then the parents call the shaman to cure him. The ceremony continues as described above.

To return to the festival. After the ha′mshamtsEs has finished his dance and has bitten a person, the people begin eating. They do not feed the hā′mats'a first, as is done by the Kwakiutl. Then they sing four times the song of the Naa′nqaēnôx;[1] three times they sing the burden only, the fourth time they sing the words:

Do not cry, you will come back safely.

This is the end of the ceremonies of the first night. On the second and third night the same songs are repeated. Every night the shaman visits the novice, who is hidden behind the curtain. He reports that he is feeling better, and the third night he says that he is shaking violently.

The fourth night the same songs are repeated. The shaman visits the novice again, and when he returns, he says, "Listen; he is singing his secret song." Now nobody is allowed to speak or to cough. Then they hear, as though from a great distance, the sound of a new song, which is growing louder and louder. The secret song is sung four times. The singing master must listen attentively, because after the fourth time he must repeat it. Two new songs are heard that night. On the following night the same ceremony is repeated, and two more songs are learned by the people. Twelve quē′qutsa women dance this night. Their faces are blackened and they wear red cedar bark. Their dance is accompanied by the beating of batons. One man and one woman are stationed at the entrance to the secret room in which the novice is lying, in order to watch it. Their offices are hereditary.

[1] See page 612.

When the twelve women are about to finish their dance, the novice is seen to come out of his secret room. He does not wear any ornaments of red cedar bark.

He dances on the four following nights. On the following day there is an intermission of the ceremonies. The next day the yē′wix·ila invites all the people to his house and asks them to prepare for the purification of the novice, which will take place on the fourth day. He also requests three officers whose offices are hereditary to prepare themselves for this ceremony. These officers are the man who makes the tongs, his name is Q'aqiâ′s; the one who uses the tongs, his name is NE′msqEmg·ala; and the one who calls the people to the washing. Early in the morning of the fourth day the last-named officer must go to every house, and, beating the doors with his baton, he must cry, "Yau, yau, listen, listen. There is food for you from (Qoā′yukolax·ilîs), from (ʟā′xus'EmL)."[1] The first is the q'ā′q'anas name, the second the quē′qutsa name, of the novice. In the evening all the people assemble in the dancing house. Then the first of these men makes a pair of tongs, which are wound with red and white cedar bark and put up on the west side of the house. A ladder which has only four steps is placed against one of the rafters on the left-hand side of the fire (that is, to the left when facing the rear of the house). The man who made the ladder climbs it, and puts his head through the roof. When he comes down, the people beat the boards and the drum. At midnight he ascends the ladder again. He goes up a third time between midnight and dawn, and the fourth time when the day begins to dawn. This is to secure good weather. Every time when he comes back, he sings:

> Ha, ha! you do not give me a favorable answer, you who are to bring the southeast wind by washing our novice.[2]

The officer who made the ladder is given a dish in payment for his work. The one who made the tongs receives a knife and a hammer. The one who carries the tongs receives a belt; another belt is given to the officer who invited the people. Sometimes paddles, canoes, or blankets are given to them, but these are always called dish, knife, or belt, as the case may be.

After the man has come down the ladder the fourth time, NE′msqEmg·ala takes the tongs down and goes around the fire four times, holding the tongs stretched forward. He calls a man to open the door, and strikes the stick which is spreading the tongs four times. The fourth time he hits it so that it flies out of the door. Then he takes two stones out of the fire, one after the other, repeating the motion three times in each case before actually taking them up. He throws them into the water in the same way, and dips them up also after having repeated the motion

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[1] Yau, yau, yauxtaxoLai′ yauxtaxoLai′, hamāyiLaai qa (Qoā′yūkōlax·ilisa:′) LE (ʟāxus'EmLai′).

[2] Appendix, page 729.

three times, really dipping up the water the fourth time. The novice sits right next to the bucket in which the water is kept. He has no rings of red cedar bark. Then he is washed.

Then NE'msqEmg·ala places the tongs vertically into the fire, the open end downward. The cedar bark with which they are wound catches fire, and then he lets them go. It is expected that the wind will blow in whichever direction they fall. Then the officer who made the tongs makes head rings of red cedar bark for all the people, who put them on. The singing master makes a new song, and singing it they go around the fire, and leave the house, led by the yiai'atalaL, who carries a small rattle. This office is also hereditary. They go through the whole village, and inform the people that the purification of the novice has been performed that morning. The people put their masks in order, and gather the property which they are going to give away at the festival which is to be held that evening. This night the people are not arranged according to the groups described above, but according to their clans. In the morning a man is sent around to call the people. He says, "Let us go into the house and beat the boards, for we have purified him. Let us go at once."[1]

First the boys enter the house and begin to beat time. Then the various groups enter one after the other, each carrying the property which they are going to give away during the festival. Whenever a group enters, the boys beat time. They imitate the movements of the animals which they represent. Then each group gives presents to the others, and at this time the hā'mats'a, mā'maq'a, and the other q'ā'q'anas, pay for the damage they have done. Next, three men are called up,—ME'lxmEkᵘ, a Naqô'mg·ilisala; Ts'E'lē, a G·ē'xsEm; and Tsau'xstâlag·îlis, a G·ī'g·îlqam,—who each sing a song, accompanied by the people. ME'lxmEkᵘ's song is as follows:[2]

I will listen to the old tale to which this refers.
I will listen to what is told about it.

After they have finished their songs, a man named Wīyō'tsEm is called up. He puts on a canoe sail like a blanket, and goes around the fire dragging the sail behind him. This means that he is sweeping the house for the dancers, who will enter next. The first dancer to enter is the wā'tanEm. He is followed by the ghost dancer, the ō'lala, hai'alik·auē, ts'e'koîs, wī'x·sâ hā'mats'a (=hamtsEtsōē), and hā'mats'a.

While the hā'mats'a is biting the people, the mā'maq'a enters and drives the hā'mats'a away. Then the new dancer comes out of his secret room. If he has a mask, he returns to his secret room and dances again. Four women dance with him, two in each corner in the rear of

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[1] La mEns lāg·aaLtsâLai', g·îns kuēxalēLg·ai', xg·îns kuēsasōxtEg·ai'. Halag·i-
We will go in, we will beat boards, for we have washed him. We will
liLEnsai'! nā'xua Laa'mLEnsai'!
go at once all we will go!

[2] Appendix, page 729.

the house, while the novice is dancing in the middle of the rear of the house. The dance is accompanied by two new songs and by the two songs that were used at the ceremonial of purification. While he is dancing, the yē′wix·ila distributes his presents among the people. On the following day another man gives a feast in the house of the yē′wix·ila. When all the people have entered the house, the novice is called to come out of his secret room. The people sing one song, and he dances alone and sits down. Again his father distributes presents among the other clans. The novice is allowed to take part in the feast. During the four following days the novice wears head rings of red cedar bark. After four days, another man gives a feast in the same house. When all have entered, the novice is called out of his secret room. He wears a smaller head ring now. Two more feasts are given in the same way at intervals of four days. Every time the dancer wears a smaller head ring.

At the end of the last night the q'ā′q'anas, who have stayed in the dancing house right through the whole ceremonial, are led home by their wives.

It will be noticed that in these ceremonials the festival corresponding to the k·ik·î′lnala of the Kwakiutl is celebrated after the return of the novice. Among the La′Lasiqoala when the novice has disappeared in the woods (being a lā′xsâ), his whistles are suddenly heard on the roof of the house or behind the houses. At night, while the people are assembled, he is heard on the roof of the house, but disappears again. On the following morning he is seen on a point of land. Four canoes are lashed together and connected by planks. Thus the people paddle up to him and bring him back. The same night all the dances are performed.

The winter dance ceremonies of the Ts'ā′watEēnôx differ from those described heretofore. I have received from Mr. Hunt detailed information only in regard to the closing ceremonies, while the progress of the ceremonial seems to be much like that of the Kwakiutl. The beginning is as follows:

The yē′wix·ila invites all the people to his house, where they sit down according to their clans. Then he asks his wife to bring food. While the food is being prepared, the people sing. In the middle of the third song the whistles are heard on the roof of the house. The people stop singing. They group themselves at once according to their dances and societies. They burn the salmon, because it was prepared before the beginning of the winter dance. That night they begin their ceremonies.

On March 14, 1895, they concluded their ceremonies as follows:

Pa′xalats'ē, chief of the T'Ena′xtax, gave away blankets during the winter ceremonial. At night two men went into every house, and said at the door: "Now we will tame your dancer, Ts'a′mqoagaLē. Now

we will tame your dancer, Na′nts'ē. Now we will see the dance of Laqoasalag·ilîs. Now we will see the dance of Yakamansa′lag·ilîs."

Then the otner one said, "Be quick now, dancers! We will assemble, friends, while it is day," and they went back to the dancing house.

After some time the two men went again to every house, and the first one said: "We come back to call you." The second one said: "Now let us go to the house, dancers. It is late in the evening. We have no fuel, friends. Let us all go together." Thus they said at every house, and went back to the dancing house.

Then the two men went again and looked about in the house and said: "Now all our friends are in;" and when they discovered that some one was missing they went to him and said: "You are the only one who is still missing."

When they were all in, Pa′xalats'ē arose and spoke: "I thank you, my great friends, that you have come to our dancing house. Remain here in the dancing house of ƓA′mtalaL, the great shaman, who vanquished our Master, Q'aniqilak^{u}, at Ts'ā′watē. This is the winter dancing house of Nau′alagumqa, the great shaman at Ts'ā′watē. This is the winter dancing house of Bā′Lalag·ilak^{u}, who gained victory over Wē′qaē of the Lē′kwiltôq (see p. 416). Those whom I named had large cedar bark ornaments. Thus we say, La′mgal; thus we say, Nu′xnēmîs. Therefore I gain the victory over the chiefs of all the tribes, for in the beginning they were vanquished by ƓA′mtalaL and Nau′alagumqa and BaLā′lag·ilak^{u}. Now take care, my friends!" He turned to his tribe and said to them, "I say so, Tā′mXuak·as; I say so, Xū′gamsila; I say so, P'a′lxalasqam; I say so, Lē′na; I say so, my friends. Now take care, my great friends; give me my rattle that I may call the spirit of the ceremonial. Therefore I tell you to be careful, friends." They gave him the rattle; he shook it and sang "hoîp, ôp, ôp, ôp." He stopped and looked upward as though he was expecting the spirit. The chiefs said: "Take care, friend, else you might not get the spirit of the winter ceremonial." Again he shook his rattle and sang the secret song of Ts'awatā′lalîs:

1. Now listen! ya, ya, ya, greatest of all dancers! Hawō.
2. Now sing! ya, ya, ya, greatest of all dancers! Hawō.
3. Now sing your song, ya, ya, ya, greatest of all dancers! Hawō.
4. Now he comes to me, ya, ya, ya, greatest of all dancers! Hawō.

Then he ended his song, and the cries of many hā′mats'as were heard among the trees. They cried "wîp, wîp, wîp, wîp," like the ha′mshamtsEs.

As soon as the cries ceased, Tā′mXuak·as spoke: "Friends on the other side of the house, did you hear what we obtained from our grandfathers? You heard that it belongs to the earliest legends of the world. Now take care, friends, we do not need to be frightened of anything, because, as you heard, my great cedar bark ring came to me from my grandfather." Then Pa′xalats'ē shook his rattle again and

sang the same song as before. When he stopped singing, the cry of the ha′mshamtsEs was heard again near the house.

Now Pa′xalats'ē shook his rattle again and sang his secret song. When he stopped, the cry "wîp, wîp, wîp" was heard just behind the dancing house. He sang his secret song a fourth time. Then the cry "wîp, wîp, wîp" was heard at the door of the house. The first of the dancers entered and sang his secret song. They were all dressed in hemlock branches, which were wound around their heads and necks. This is the secret song of their leader:

1. Now listen, anā′ anā′ to my shaman's song. Anā′, anā′ hamāmamā, hamāmamā′.
2. Now listen to the cry of the hā′mat'sa, because I am a cannibal, because I am a shaman, anā, anā, hamāmamā, hamāmamā, hamāmamā.

Then the leader, Ts'ē′koa by name, stopped singing. When he came near the fire, to the middle of the house, he turned, and at the same time said "hoî′p, hoî′p, hoî′p." Thus forty men came into the house, while the old men who were sitting in the rear of the house began to beat time. They went around the fire in a squatting position. Next, a woman came. Her name was Yā′kusElag·ilîs. She had hemlock branches around her neck. She sang the secret song of Nau′alagumqa:

1. Hamā! I was made a magician by the greatest of the dancers.
2. Hamā! I was filled with magic by the greatest of the dancers.

When she stopped singing, she turned and all cried "wîp, wîp, wîp." Forty women were standing in the house. The old men began to sing the song of ƉaʹmtalaL, which he sang in his contest with Qā′niqilakᵘ at Ts'ā′watē, according to the tradition, when he gained the victory over Qā′niqilakᵘ, at the time when they tried each other. This is the song which he made against Qā′niqilakᵘ:

1. A small magician was he as compared to me.
2. The small magician was afraid of me.
3. I called his name, the name of the small magician.
4. And he tried to tame this greatest of all dancers.

When she stopped singing, Ts'ē′koa repeated his secret song. After this song all the men and women turned to the left and cried "wîp, wîp, wîp." Then the old men repeated ƉaʹmtalaL's song. When they stopped, Ts'ē′koa repeated the song of Bā′LālagʹilaK, the same which he had sung when entering the house. When he had finished his song, all the men and women turned to the left and said "hōî′p, wîp, wîp, wîp." Once more the old men sang the song of ƉaʹmtalaL. After their song, Ts'ē′koa repeated Bā′Lalag·ilakᵘ's song. All the men turned to the left. The old men repeated the song which ƉaʹmtalaL sang in his contest with Qā′niqilakᵘ.

Then all the men and women who had danced went out of the house, and Ta′mXuak·as spoke: "Wā, wā, friends. Did you see this? What you have seen, friends, on the other side of the house, that is what we are afraid of; that is what makes life short; that is our Lord; that

is what we inherited from our grandfathers; that is our history; that is the great magician; that is ƛa′mtalaL, the great magician; the woman is Nau′alagumqa. That is Bā′Lalag·ilakᵘ; that is ƛa′mtalaL, who gained the victory over Qā′niqilakᵘ at Ts'ā′watē, and that is the cause why all the tribes are vanquished by us, wā, wā. That is what I say, friends, for Pā′xalats'ē. The songs which you have heard are those of ƛa′mtalaL. That is his dance. The secret song of the leader is the secret song of Bā′Lalag·ilakᵘ, and the secret song of the woman is that of Nau′alagumqa. I do not use new ways. The other tribes may invent new things, wā, wā."

Now the boards of the house front were struck, and the people said: "The cormorants are going to dive!" Then Xū′gamsila entered the house and said: "Beat the boards, friends." The old men beat the boards, and the young chiefs entered. As soon as they had come in, Xū′gamsila spoke: "These are the cormorants of Ts'ā′watē. That is the only place where they eat nothing but oulachon. Therefore they are fat.[1] Now beat the boards, friends." The old men beat the boards, and the women came in, spreading their blankets. They had red cedar bark ornaments on their heads, the same as the men. Then Xū′gamsila spoke: "They are the sawbill ducks; they dive for property." Now Ta′mXuak·as spoke: "Friends, what do you think? Shall we discard the use of the red cedar bark which makes us happy? We shall only be downhearted if we should discard it. We shall be asleep all the time. Now, friends, we will finish this night. We will have the last dance of this season. You, Pa′xalats'ē, shall change our names this night. That is what I say, P'alxalasqEm.

Now Hō′LElitē arose and spoke: "This is your speech, Ta′mXuak·as. You said we would finish this night. Did you hear the speech of our friend La′mg·ala? He says they will take off the red cedar bark. I will not take it off. That is what I say, KuLE′m; that is what I say, Ts'a′lgaxsta. I must accept the words of all our friends."

Then arose Yu′x·yukwamas, chief of the Nimkish: "These are your speeches, friends. You wish to throw away the red cedar bark. Now answer my speech, Ta′mXuak·as."

Then the latter answered: "It is true. I said so because our friends here do not treat in the right way the cedar bark of which we are afraid, which we inherited from our grandfathers. It is our master, it makes our life short. It is true I said we would finish to-night."

Then Yu′x·yukwamas spoke again: "Did you hear, friends? Did you hear it, Lā′qoasqEm? Let them finish now. You finish to-night. But I am waiting for the repayment of the marriage money to my friends. Therefore I do not want to take off the cedar bark to-night. You may change your names to-night, wā, wā. I say this, Nu′xnēmîs; I say this, Hō′LElitē; I say this, La′mg·ala; wā. It is a great thing that

[1] That means that they had each given a grease feast.

we are talking about, my tribe." Then Nu'xnēmîs arose and spoke: "That is your speech, Ta'mXuak·as; we are all afraid of your speech, great tribe! It is better that you finish to-night. Keep on in the old ways of our grandfathers! I thank you, great tribe, keep on in this way, my children! Do not abuse what we inherited from our grandfathers. Your words are true. This cedar bark will make life short if it is not used in the right way. Now take care, friends! I say this, Kwakiutl, Ma'malēleqala, Nimkish, Ts'a'mas." Then all the chiefs said "wā, wā."

Now Ta'mXuak·as arose again and spoke: "Thank you, friends, for your words. Now I will take off the red cedar bark to-night. Come, friends, and you women, and let us dance. Let the tribes listen to us and watch our customs." Then the men and the women assembled and sang the old song. Xū'gamsila carried a long notched pole about 7 feet long. This is his song:

1. Now dance! take off by means of your dance the great head ornament, the head ornament that you inherited from the mask of the winter ceremonial worn by the first of our tribe. Wō, ō, ō, ō, ō, hūwaia, hūwaia, wō, ō, ō, ō, ō. (Here all the people lifted their cedar bark ornaments.)
2. O let us now put away our great head ornaments. The head ornament that you inherited from the mask of the winter ceremonial worn by the first of our tribe. ·Wō, ō, ō, ō, ō, hūwaia, hūwaia, wō, ō, ō, ō, ō. (Here the people lifted the head ornaments again.)
3. O let us now put down our great head ornaments, the head ornaments that you inherited from the mask of the winter ceremonial worn by the first of our tribe. Wō, ō, ō, ō, hūwaia, hūwaia, wō, ō, ō, ō. (Here they lifted the ornaments again.)
4. O now dance and take off this our great head ornament, the head ornament that you inherited from the mask of the winter ceremonial worn by the first of our tribe. Wō, ō, ō, ō, hūwaia, hūwaia, wō, ō, ō, ō.

With this they lifted the ornaments again and put them in the notch of the staff which Xū'gamsila was carrying. The song is the same as the one which ƛa'mtalaL used when taking off his cedar bark ornaments. As soon as they had finished their song, they changed their names. Now he whose name had been Xū'gamsila was called Ha'mts'it. Then NEg·ē', whose name had been Pa'xalats'ē, spoke: "My tribe, now let some one rise who wants to take these red cedar bark ornaments for next winter."

Then Yā'qōLas arose and spoke: "I come, NEg·ē', in answer to your speech. I will take this red cedar bark." Then he spread his blanket, the cedar bark ornaments were thrown into it, and he hid them in his bedroom. Then all the members of the T'Ena'xtax tribe tied handkerchiefs around their heads. They had finished their winter dance. Walas NEg·ē' distributed blankets. They did not give first to the hā'mats'a, but to the head chief.

XII. The Laō'laxa.

I pointed out at a former place that the La'Lasiqoala group the dances in two classes—the ts'ē'ts'aēqa and the nō'nLEm. The nō'nLEm dances are closely connected with the clans, and during their performance the ordinary social system remains in full force. The Kwakiutl have only a few of these dances which they call Laō'laxa, which name is also sometimes used by the La'Lasiqoala. It is difficult to establish any fundamental difference between a Laō'laxa dance and a ts'ē'ts'aēqa dance, as in both cases a hereditary genius initiates the novice, and as in both ceremonials membership is obtained in the same manner—through marriage, or by killing a person who is entitled to the ceremonial. The distinction is comparatively clear among the La'Lasiqoala and the affiliated tribes. Only those dances which derive their origin from BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē and his following, or from Wīnā'lag·ilîs, are ts'ē'ts'aēqa; all others are nō'nLEm. To this class belong all the animals, and we find that they are much more clearly clan deities than the former class. At the same time it is stated distinctly that the whole ceremonial was introduced through intermarriage with the northern tribes, particularly the Hē'iltsuq. This consciousness of an entirely foreign origin of all the Laō'laxa dances is still stronger among the Kwakiutl, while many dances which undoubtedly had the same origin have been incorporated by them in the ts'ē'ts'aēqa.

The La'Lasiqoala use in the nō'nLEm ceremonial cormorant down in place of eagle down, white cedar bark in place of red cedar bark, red paint in place of black paint. They sing both profane songs and ts'ē'ts'aēqa songs. The celebration takes place in November and December.

Among the Kwakiutl the Laō'laxa may be celebrated at any time of the year. The man who desires to give the festival calls his clan or tribe to his house and informs them of his plans. I am obliged to Mr. George Hunt for the following description of such a meeting:

Ots'ēstalîs, a man whose mother was a Hē'iltsuq, was about to give a Laō'laxa. He invited his clan and spoke as follows:

"Now come, my tribe, come Ha'mts'it, come Yē'qawitē, come G·ē'soyag·ilîs, come Lā'qoag·ila, come Tsō'palîs; come to hear the words of our chief. Come Guē'tEla, come Q'ō'moyuē, Walas Kwakiutl, Q'ō'mk·utîs. Thank you, my tribe, for coming. I must tell you about my plans. I will show the dance which came down from heaven, the Laō'laxa, the coming night. Take care, my tribe, take care all of you, you second class chiefs. I do not mean you, Chief Ha'mts'it. I mean Mā'Xua and Wā'nuk^{u} and Ō'ts'ēstalîs and Mā'mXua and Lā'lak·uts'a and you third class young chiefs. Now take care, the supernatural power will come to dwell among the tribes that are assembled at our camp, great Kwakiutl! Now I will tell you what I carry in my hands. I will give away my copper Wā'numg·ila to the Nā'q'oaqtôq, Koskimo, G·ō'p'ēnôx,

and L'ā'sq'ēnôx. Its price is 800 blankets. I think that will be enough for these eight tribes here, and my other copper Mā'mukoalila shall fall on the Ma'malēlēqala, Qoē'xsōt'ēnôx, and Nimkish, and the Lau'itsîs and Matilpē and T'Enā'xtax and A'wa-iLala and Ts'ā'watEēnôx and Hā'xuamîs. I think that is enough! Mā'mukoalila's price is 6,000 blankets. This will be enough for the nine tribes, and I will sell for food my copper Māu'aga, for which I paid 2,400 blankets at the time when Lalak·uts'a wanted to sell it quickly at Mē'mk·umlîs. Else the tribe might say that they are starving in this great country. But this way they can find no fault when they come." Sometimes one or the other of the old men said "yes, yes," during his speech, and he continued: "Furthermore, such is my pride, that I will kill on this fire this my copper, Dandalāyū, which is groaning in my house. You all know how much I paid for it. I bought it for 4,000 blankets. Now I will break it in order to vanquish our rival. I will make my house a fighting place for you, my tribe, wā. Now you know it all, my tribe; be happy, chiefs! for this is the first time that so great an invitation has been issued. There are 9,200 blankets, besides the 4,000 blankets for the copper that I am going to break. Now count all that the invitation will cost. It is 13,200 blankets, and besides 250 button blankets, 270 silver bracelets, and 7,000 brass bracelets, 240 wash basins, and I do not count the spoons, abalone shells, and the Laō'laxa head mask, and the numerous kettles which I am expecting from my wife. Now you know all my plans!"

Then Wā'k·as arose and spoke: "Wa, my tribe! Did you hear what our chief counted up? Are you not afraid of the various kinds of property which he is expecting? Now long life to you, O'ts'ēstalîs, you who were made a chief by your fathers. Take care of our chief, my tribe. Take care, Guē'tEla, Q'ō'moyuē, Walas Kwakiutl, and Q'ō'mk·utîs. He is vomiting everything that he has in his mind. My tribe, are you not also glad of our chief? I think you are proud in your hearts. Thank you, Ō'ts'ēstalîs. Thank you from my heart, chief. I wish you long life. You will be the first of all the chiefs of all tribes. So I say, Ts'ō'palîs, thus I say, Hä'masaqa, G·ēsoyag·ilīs, Ma'koayalisamē, Dā'dants'it, Lā'lakanx·it, wā, wā. So we say, our whole tribe."

Then arose Mā'mXua: "That is your speech, Chief O'ts'ēstalîs; that is your speech, Wā'k·as. Thank you, chief. How pretty is my chief! Thank you, friend. Now my heart is alive, for I was afraid when I heard the news of our rival. Ho, ho, ho. Now I lift the heavy weight of your speech, chief. Thank you, brother. So I say for my whole tribe." Then Ō'mx·'it arose and said: "Thank you for your speech, Ō'ts'ēstalîs. Long life to you for your speech. How well you stand on our earth. You will be the only post of our world. The chiefs of all the tribes will be jealous of you, you overhanging mountain, you chief who can not be equaled. You do not need to fear anything. How

great is your name, chief. Now you made my back strong. Take care, my tribe, and wish long life to our chiefs." Everybody applauded his speech. Then O'mx·'it sat down.

Next Hâ'mEsk·inîs arose and spoke. He said: "My tribe, are you not ashamed of this young man? He will be your chief, Kwakiutl! I am half ashamed myself on account of the amounts counted. Go on, my son, be proud of what you said." Then he lifted his right hand and shouted: "Hide yourselves, tribes! never was seen such an amount of property as our chief has called. Ya, ya, my tribe, do you not consider the great mountain of property of O'ts'ēstalîs dreadful? He is still a young man. Take care, my children, that you may have two men who will give away blankets to the whole world. That is what I say to the chiefs of the Kwakiutl, wā, wā."

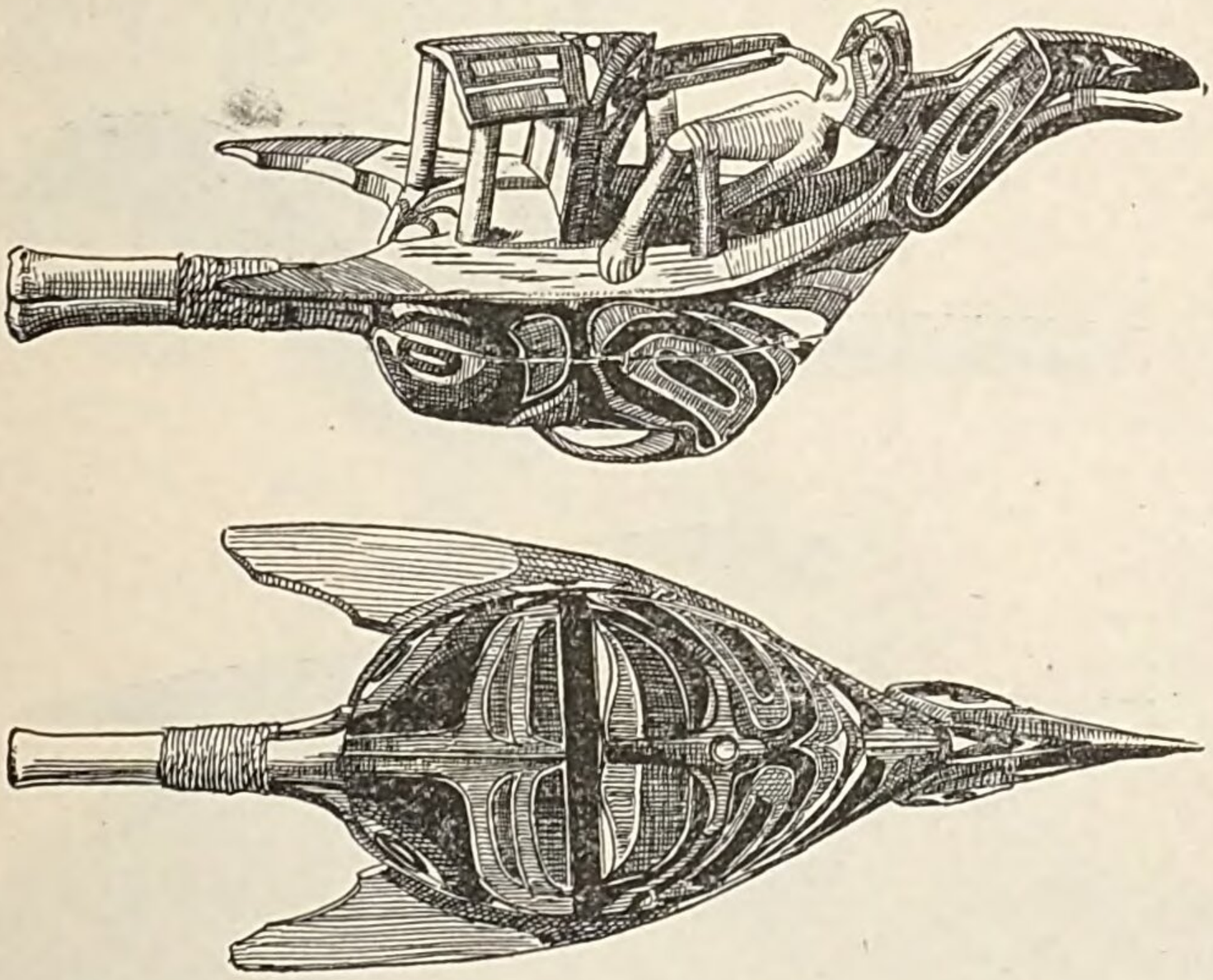

Fig. 190.

RAVEN RATTLE.

Length, 13 inches; blue, black, red.

IV A, No. 427, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

Now it was growing dark, and Ō'ts'ēstalîs arose and spoke: "Look at me, my tribe! Pretty is this young man; he is growing up well. Now I will sing the secret song and try to call the spirit of my dance."

The people said: "Go on." And he sung his secret song, calling down the spirit of the Laō'laxa:

1. I am the greatest magician, O hihihi, i, the greatest magician.
2. I alone am full of magic, O hihihi, i, the greatest magic.
3. I am the only one who makes life short by means of his magic, the greatest magic.
4. I am the only one who knows to call down the magical power, the greatest magic.
   Come now, magical power, O hihihi, i, greatest magic.

As soon as he had finished his song the noise of whistles came down to the roof of the house. Then they called all the women and children. They came to the dancing house for the Laō'laxa. Ō'ts'ēstalîs arose. He

was glad that the people had come quickly, and said: "Yes, my tribe, you have done right that you have come to this large house. Make yourselves comfortable. Don't be in a hurry to go home to your houses. Thus I say, Wā'k·as. Thus I say, Ōm'x·'it, wā, wā." Then the songmakers sang, and the people sat around them learning the songs of the dancer. When all knew the song, Ō'ts'ēstalîs arose and sang:

Ya, I am the first, hei, ya, ha.
Ya, my speech is the highest, hei, ya, ha.

He stopped singing and said: "Ho, ho, ho! Yes, my tribe. Thus I lift the heavy weight of my wealth. Now we will call all the tribes that they may come in the morning. Now go to sleep. That is all, friends." Then all the people, men, women, and children, left the house. The following morning the Kwakiutl went out in their canoes to invite all the tribes.

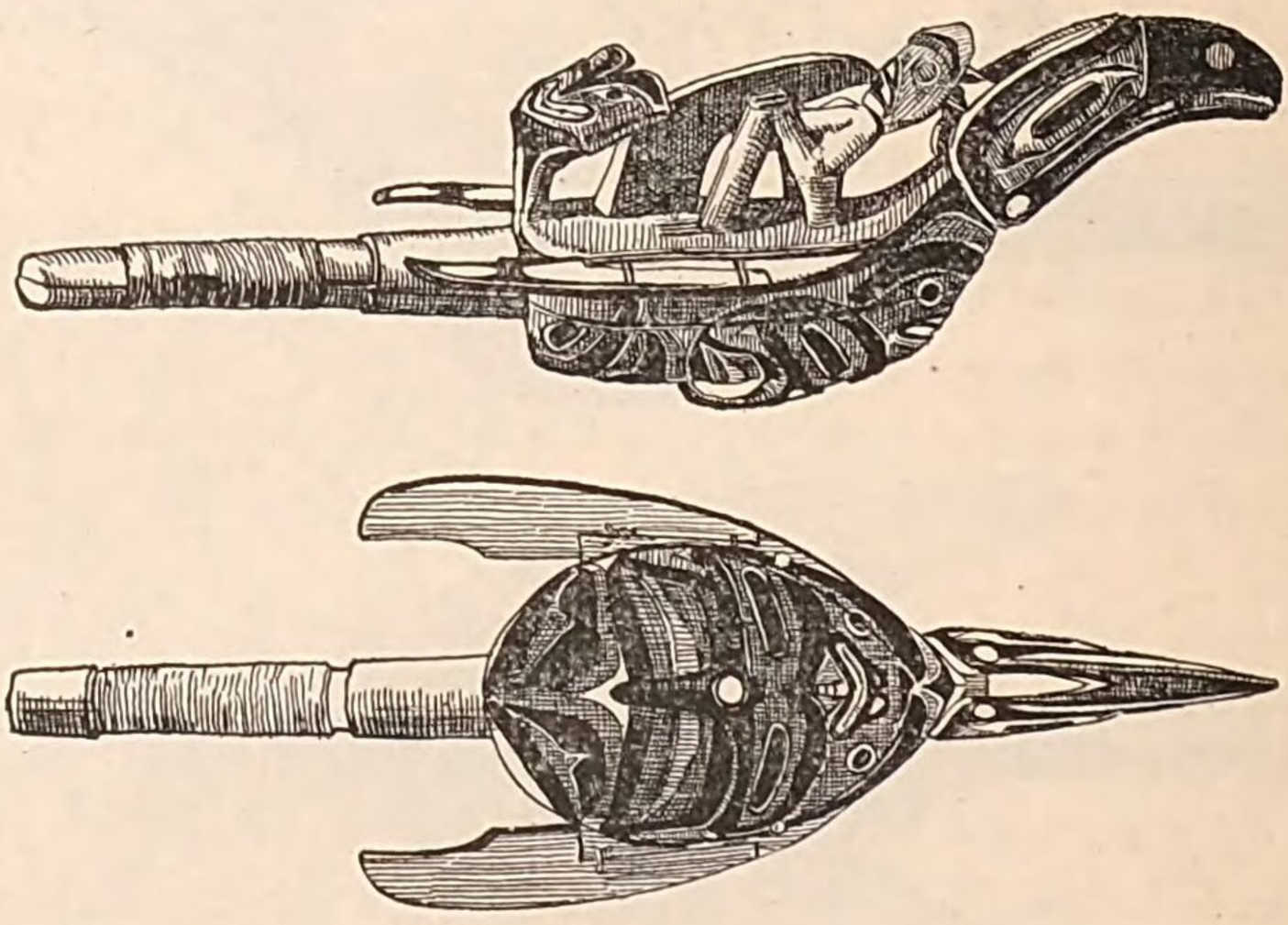

Fig. 191.

RAVEN RATTLE.

Length, 13 inches; blue, black, red.

IV A, No. 1366, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

As this festival was to be given to a number of tribes, all the Kwakiutl took part in this meeting. When only the Kwakiutl are to be present, the host announces his intention to his clan alone. Then, after the meeting is over, he sends word to the chiefs of all the clans, advising them that the Laō'laxa whistles will be heard that night. Then all those who have celebrated a Laō'laxa before may go to ask him what masks he intends to show, in order to make sure that he will not infringe upon their rights. In the evening the whistles are heard to blow behind the house of the man who is going to give the Laō'laxa. After about ten minutes they stop, and then blow again. This is repeated four times. For four nights the whistles are heard in the woods behind the house. The fourth night, after they have been blown in the woods three times, they are heard on the roof, and finally in the bedroom. Then the man begins to sing his secret song.

After finishing his songs he steps out of the door and calls all the people, the Guē′tEla first, then the Q'o′moyuē, Walas Kwakiutl, and Q'ō′mk·utîs, in the order of their rank. He informs them that the spirit of the Laō′laxa has come to his house, and requests them to wash and to

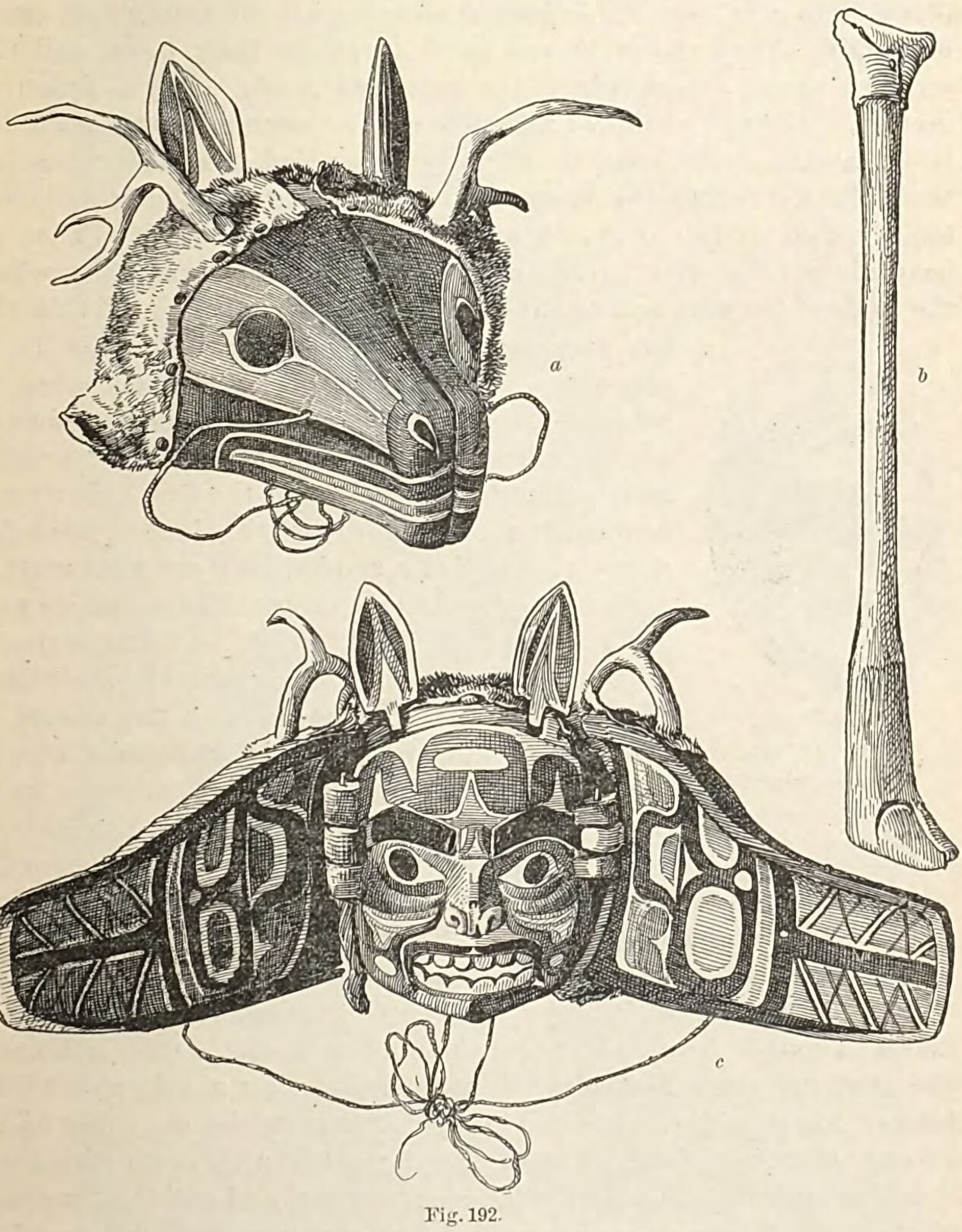

Fig. 192.

LAŌ′LAXA MASK REPRESENTING THE DEER.

a, mask closed; *b*, bone of the foreleg of the deer, carried in the hands of the dancer; *c*, mask opened, showing figure of a human face. Length, 16 inches. Width, 13 inches.

IV A, No. 891, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

keep clean. At the same time he invites all the young men to come to his house and sing. Then the young men enter the house and sing, and some of them dance, one after another. After the dance a feast is given by the Laō′laxa dancer, who distributes about one hundred

blankets among these young men. This signifies a promise to distribute food to all the people.

The young men put on the blankets and go from house to house saying: "This is food which you will receive to-morrow. It belongs to ————————.[1]" They go back to the host's house and return the blankets to him. On the following morning all the young men assemble again. They are given red paint to adorn their faces, and they are sent to call the people to the promised feast. Only the men are invited. After two calls all assemble and arrange in groups according to their clans. As soon as all have assembled, the messengers join their clans. Before the feast begins, four songs are sung, as is customary, two by the Guē'tEla and two by the Q'ō'moyuē. Then the host fills a ladle with grease and sends it to Hâwaxalag·ilîs, who is the highest in rank, and to the others in order. During all this time the Laō'laxa whistles are heard to blow in the bedroom. When the grease has been eaten, the relative of the host who is to be initiated comes out of the bedroom in which the whistles are sounding and begins to dance around the fire. He wears a beautiful carved headdress with long ermine trail (Plate 47). All of a sudden he throws his mask off and runs out. After a short while a dancer wearing the Laō'laxa mask comes in. His arrival is announced by a relative of the host who is stationed at the door, and who as soon as the dancer approaches shouts "wōî!" It is supposed that when the first dancer threw down his headdress, he became possessed by the spirit of the Laō'laxa and was transformed into the spirit which is personated by the mask. Actually another dancer wears the mask. After one circuit of the fire the mask disappears again, and the novice, for so we may call him, comes forward and continues the dance which was interrupted before. The people accompany the dance by the Laō'laxa song. After he has finished, a few women dance in honor of the new Laō'laxa. The host joins them, carrying a pole about 6 feet long on his shoulder. The pole indicates that on the next day he will give another feast, to which he invites the people, after ending his dance.

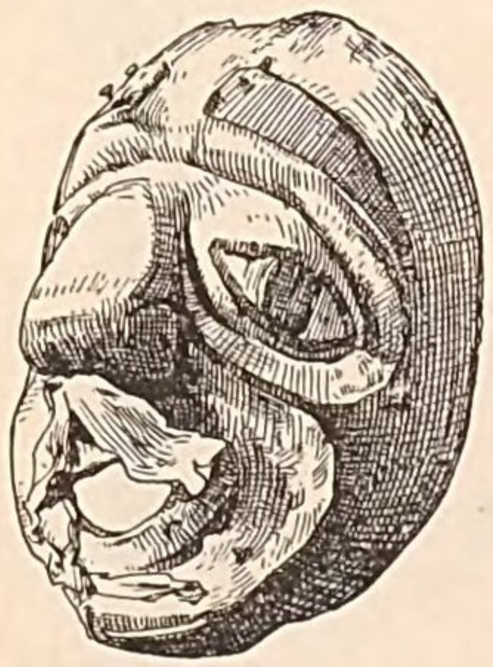

Fig. 193.
MASK OF NŌ'MAS.
La'Lasiqoala.
Height, 12 inches.
IV A, No. 6893, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by F. Boas.

In the evening the whole tribe, men, women, and children, assemble in the host's house to witness the dance, and the performance of the morning is then repeated.

On the following morning the messengers go out again, dressed up and having their faces painted red, to call the people to the second feast. The ceremony of the preceding day is repeated, but another Laō'laxa dance may be shown. This is repeated again in the evening, when the

[1]Hamē'Laqasā' LE nsLa qasēx (WālasLāla). (Here they introduce the name of that relative of the host who is made Laō'laxa.)

LAŌ'LAXA DANCE.

From a photograph.

whole tribe witness the performance. At the end of the performance the host announces that on the following day he will distribute his blankets.

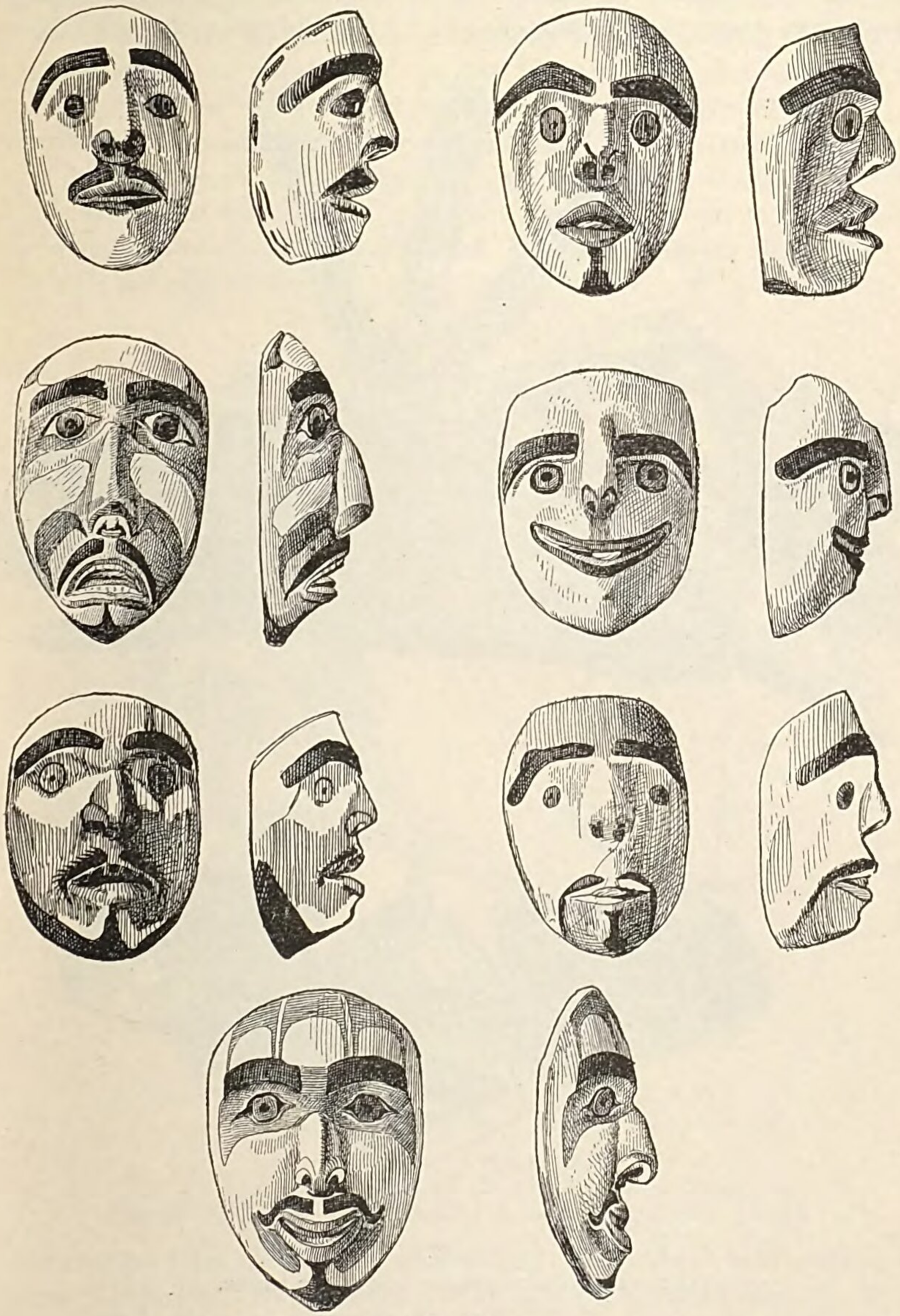

Fig. 194.

LAŌ'LAXA MASKS REPRESENTING SEVEN DIFFERENT SPEAKERS.

La'Lasiqoala. Scale $\frac{1}{3}$.

IV A, Nos. 6882-6888, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by F. Boas.

The next morning the nâ'qatē (the counter and tally keeper) arranges the blankets in piles, one for each clan, placing those intended for the chief of the clan on top. Thus the bundles are tied up. In the evening

the whole tribe assembles, and when all are seated in the house, the host sings his secret Laō'laxa song. He is followed by the novice, who also sings a secret song, and dances, wearing the headdress with ermine trail. Again he throws off his headdress, runs out, and a dancer appears who wears the Laō'laxa mask. After his dance the novice reap-

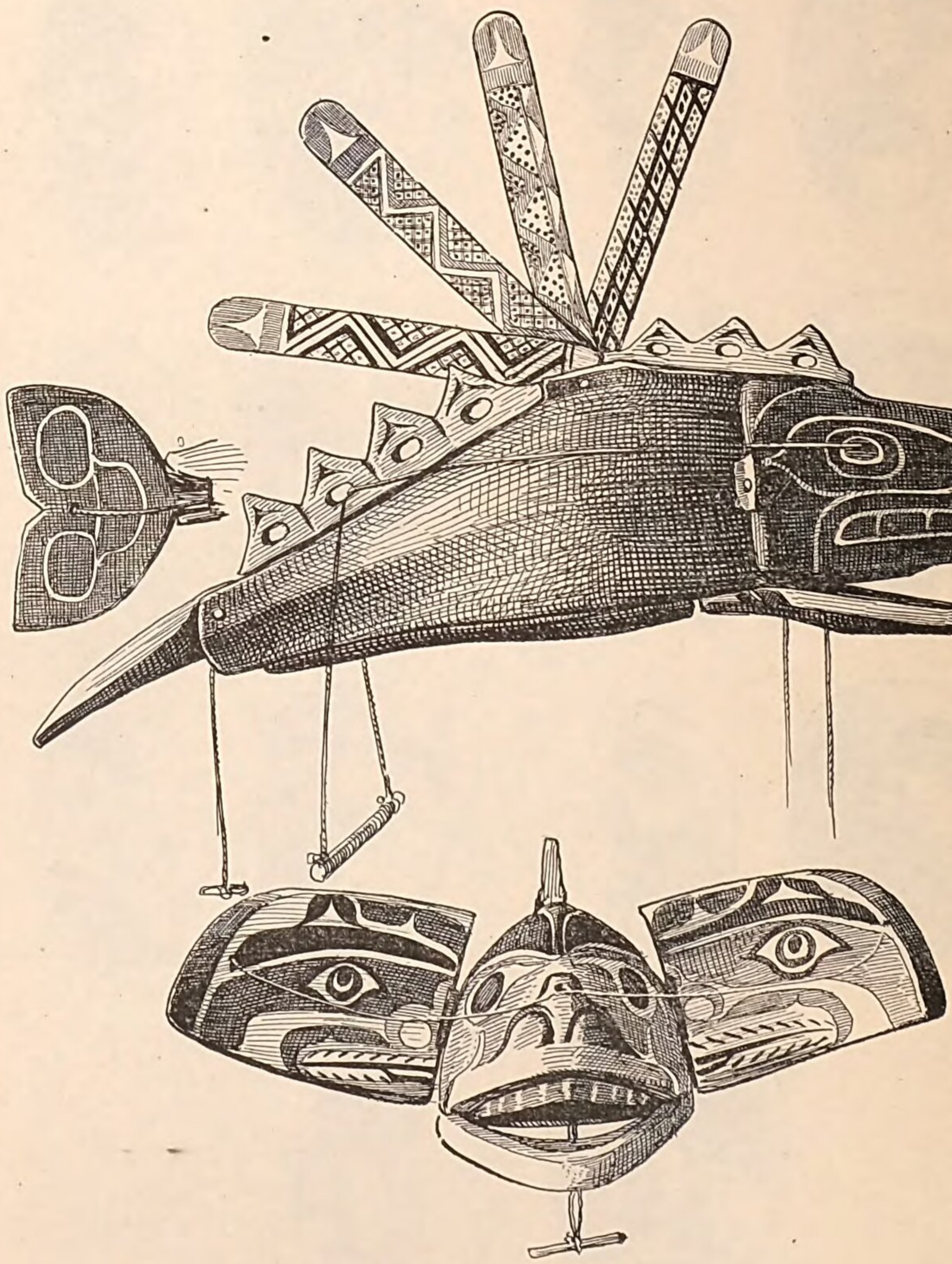

Fig. 195.

LAŌ'LAXA MASK REPRESENTING THE KILLER WHALE.

Scale $\frac{1}{8}$; black, red, white.

IV A, No. 1025, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

pears and continues his dance. Then the host steps forward, and in a speech gives the dancer the name belonging to the mask. This is the end of the Laō'laxa proper, and the whistles are heard no longer. At some festivals a number of masked persons, who represent speakers, come in at this moment and take hold of the host. Upon being asked

what they want, they praise his liberality, saying that he made all the tribes fat by the amount of grease he had given. Finally they are taken out of the house. Then the blankets are placed on top of a drum, which is laid down on its side. The man whose office it is to distribute blankets in the potlatch (dā′qɛmayaēnôx = taking the blanket at its top edge), of whom there is one in each clan, sits on top of the drum. His office is hereditary in the male line and considered as very important. He calls the people's names, and throws the blankets upon a mat lying in front of the drum. A man standing next to him carries the blankets to those who are to receive them. As soon as the blankets intended for one clan are distributed, he calls, "Let us change!"

This is the end of the Laō′laxa.

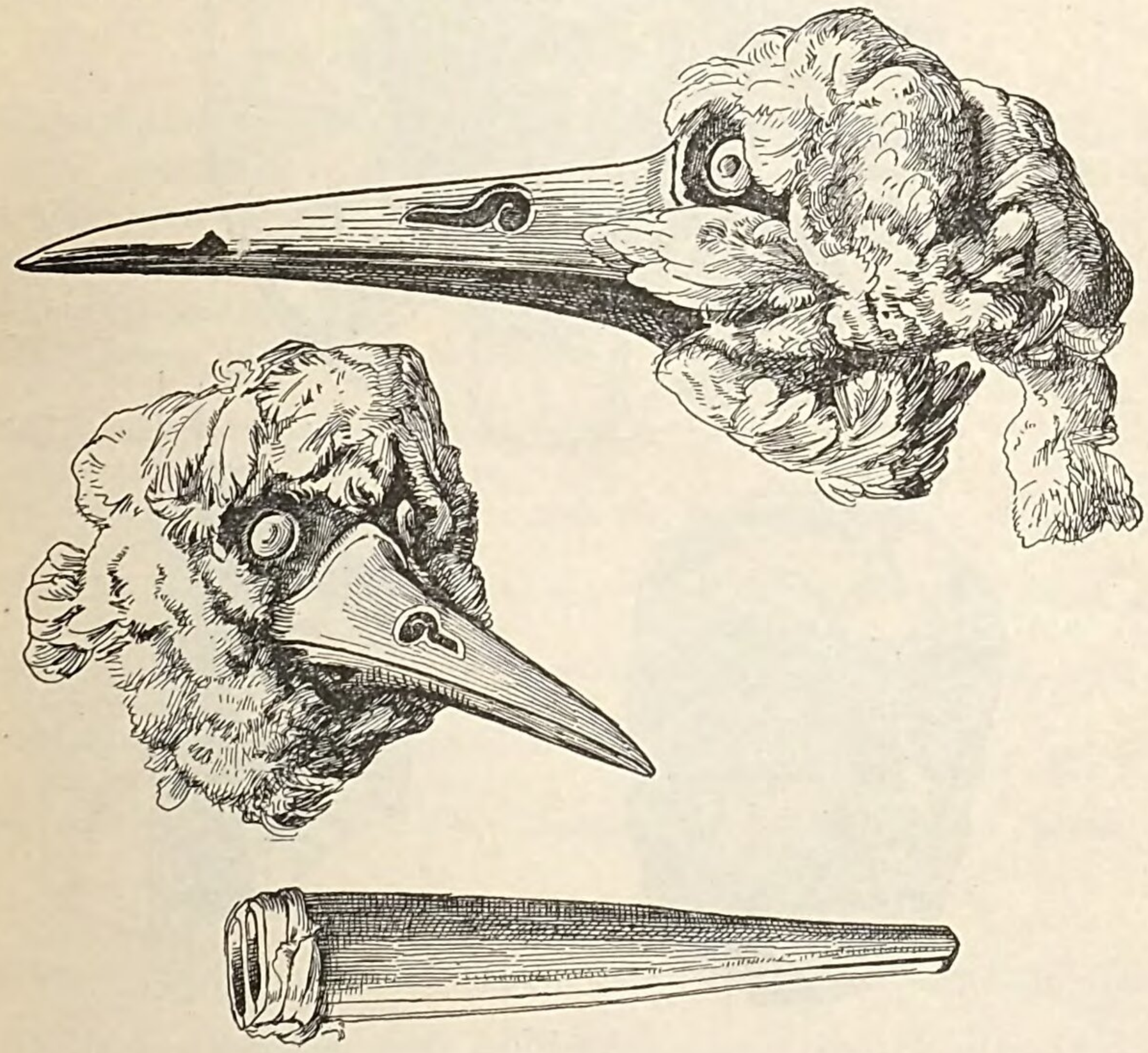

Fig. 196.

RAVEN MASK AND WHISTLE.

Mask, IV A, No. 550, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Scale $\frac{1}{6}$. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

Whistle, IV A, No. 6897, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$. Collected by F. Boas.

The rattles used by the Laō′laxa dancer differ from those used in the winter ceremonial. While most of the latter are round (figs. 51–60, pp. 435–440), the former have the shape of birds which carry a number of figures on their backs (figs. 190, 191, pp. 623, 624). Most of these rattles represent the raven with upturned tail. The face of a hawk is carved on the belly of the raven. A reclining figure is placed on its back. The knees of this figure are raised and grasped by the hands. A bird's head is represented on the tail of the raven. These rattles are undoubtedly copies of similar ones that are used by the Haida and

Tsimshian. The primary idea underlying the form of rattle seems to have been lost, since the only explanation that has ever been given by the northern Indians is to the effect that it was given to their ancestors by a supernatural being. The Kwakiutl state that they obtained these rattles, with the Laō′laxa ceremonies, from the Hē′iltsuq.

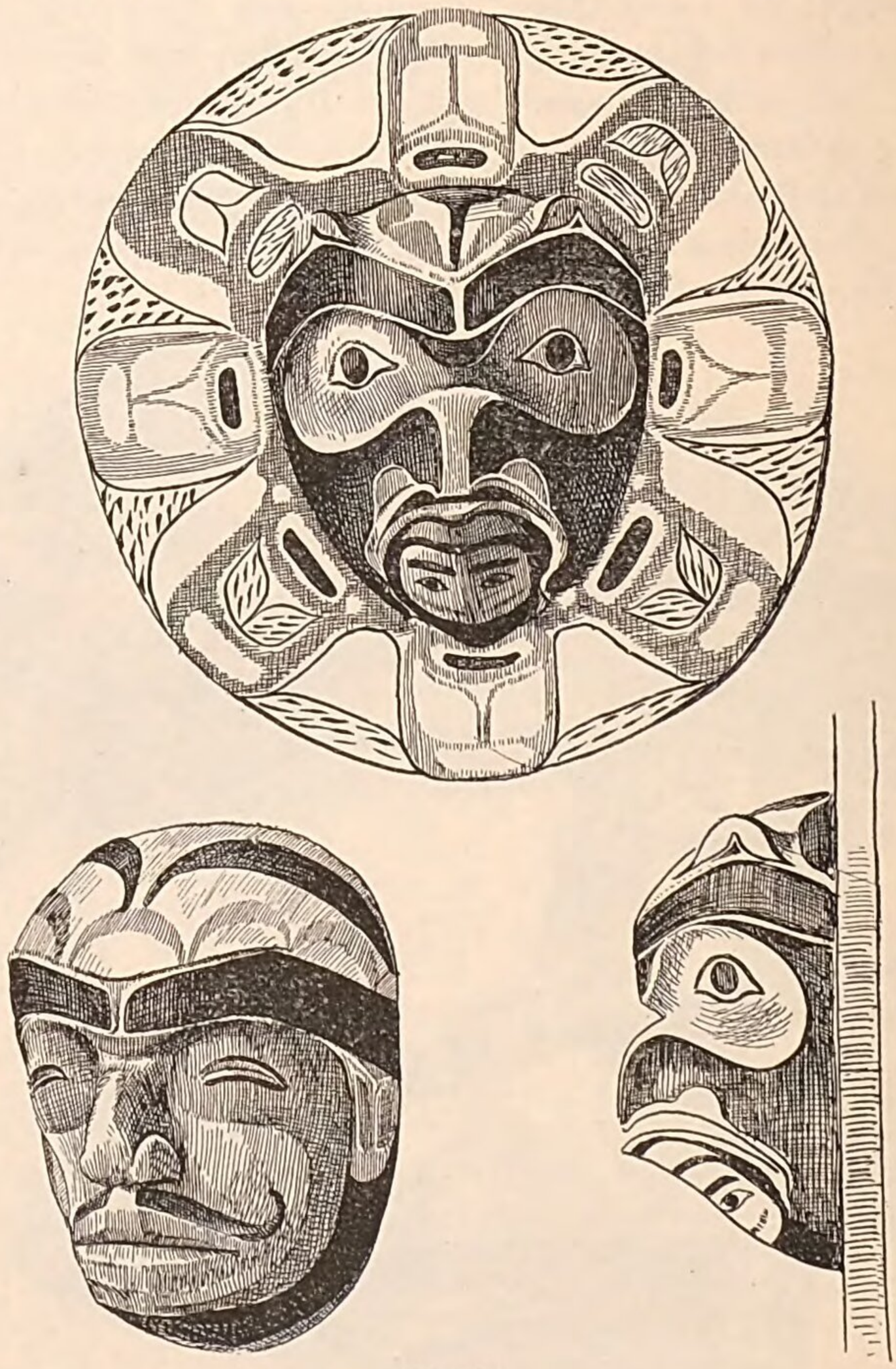

Fig. 197.

LAŌ′LAXA DOUBLE MASK REPRESENTING THE SUN.

Outer mask, clouded sun; inner mask (front and profile), clear sun. Scale $\frac{1}{8}$.

IV A, No. 885, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

A few Laō′laxa masks are shown in the illustrations on pp. 625 to 630 (figs. 192–197). Following are some of the songs:

SONG OF THE DEER, BELONGING TO THE LA′LAUILELA OF THE LA′LASIQOALA.[1]

1. We will drive away the great deer, who comes standing on his forelegs overtowering all the people, covering the tribes, the great deer, said by all to be foolish.
2. We shall all be thin-faced, and dry in our mouths.[2] We will go and cause him bad luck staring at him, staring at him until he gets sleepy, the great deer, said by all to be foolish.

[1] Fig. 192, page 625. Appendix, page 729.

[2] Because he gives away blankets all the time so that the people have no time to eat.

3. He was the first to make everything beautiful again, lighting the world by his glare, by the highness of his body, by the copper of his body. His antlers are pure, unbroken, solid copper. The speakers (chiefs) of all the tribes take off his antlers. Now let us drive him away. Let him jump far over the highest chief, the one who is famous among all the tribes, the great deer, said by all to be foolish.

SONG OF NŪ'NEMASEQÂLÎS OR QÔA'LYAKOLĀL, BELONGING TO THE G·Ē'XSEM OF THE NAQÔ'MG·ILISALA.[1]

1. Long life to you, Nō'mas.
2. For you will give a feast, Nō'mas.
3. For you will build a fire and heat stones in it, Nō'mas.

This mask and song are used in both LAŌ'LAXA (viz, NŌ'NLEM) and BĀ'XUS feasts.

MASKS AND SONG OF AYÎ'LKOA (SPEAKERS).[2]

These masks are used in the dance called ADIXANĒ'SE‡AL (Tongass dance). According to the legend, a LA'LASIQOALA canoe drifted ashore in the north and they received the masks as presents (LŌ'KUĒ) from the Tongass. They are used by the LA'LA-UILELA in the NŌ'NLEM. The masks represent speakers; all sing and dance together. The names of the individual masks are not known.

1. Slowly we walk a race through the world.
2. Slowly we walk a race through the world.
3. Ha! I am the one who made the sky cloudy, when I came from the north end of the world.
4. Ha! I am the one who brought the fog, when I came from the north end of the world.
5. Ha! I am the one who brought the aurora, when I came from the great copper bringer.
6. Ha! I am the one who brought the warmth, when I came from the great one who brightens the world (the sun).
7. Ha! And then he will dance like a Tongass, your sûccessor whom we praise.

SONG OF THE KILLER WHALE.[3]

A mask of the Kwakiutl, obtained by marriage from the Hē'iltsuq.

1. Praise the great killer whale, the great chief, when he emerges in our house.

SONG OF THE RAVEN.[4]

1. Qaqā'm qa qau. You are soaring through the world, great raven.
2. Qaqā'm qa qau. You know how to obtain property, great raven.

SECRET SONG OF A LAŌ'LAXA DANCER.[5]

1. O, you small chiefs, yiyaha.
2. You small ones are speaking to me, yiyaha.

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[1] Fig. 193, page 626; Appendix, page 729.
[2] Fig. 194, page 627; Appendix, page 730.
[3] Fig. 195, page 628; Appendix, page 730.
[4] Fig. 196, page 629; Appendix, page 731.
[5] Appendix, page 731.

The Ts'ō'noqoa is also used in Laō'laxa dances. When she enters, she wears a large basket on her back, in which she carries coppers. These are given to the host, who gives them away. In the legend, she carries a basket into which she puts children, whom she takes to her house.

As stated before, a number of the songs given in Chapter VIII, so far as they belong to the La'Lasiqoala, must be counted in this group.

In another dance the sun mask (fig. 197, p. 630) is used. The outer mask represents the cloudy sky, while the inner mask represents the clear sunshine.

XIII. The Religious Ceremonials of other Tribes of the North Pacific Coast.

THE NOOTKA.

The Nootka speak a dialect distantly related to the Kwakiutl. They have two ceremonials, which are analogous to the winter ceremonial of the Kwakiutl. Good descriptions of the customs connected with these ceremonials have been given by Sproat, Swan, Jewitt, and Knipping. I will repeat here what I have said on this subject in another place.[1] The name of the ceremonial among the Nootka is Lō'koala, a Kwakiutl word, which designates the finding of a manitou. The ceremonial corresponds very nearly to the Walas'axa' and to the Lō'koala of the Kwakiutl (pp. 477, 478). Certain features are, however, embodied in it, which correspond to other dances, mainly to the mā'tEm and the hā'mats'a. The Lō'koala are a secret society who celebrate their festivals in winter only. They have a chief whose name is Yaqsyaqstē'itq. Anyone who wishes to join the Lō'koala can do so, or the society may invite a man to become a member. Then the friends of this man make a collection in his behalf and turn over the property collected to the chief of the Lō'koala, who distributes it during a feast among the members. Those who are not Lō'koala are called wīcta'k·ū, i. e., not being shamans. The Lō'koala is believed to have been instituted by the wolves, the tradition being that a chief's son was taken away by the wolves, who tried to kill him, but, being unsuccessful in their attempts, became his friends and taught him the Lō'koala. They ordered him to teach his people the ceremonies on his return home. They carried the youth back to his village. They also asked him to leave some red cedar bark for their own Lō'koala behind, whenever he moved from one place to another; a custom to which the Nootka tribes still adhere. Every new member of the Lō'koala must be initiated by the wolves. At night a pack of wolves—that is, Indians dressed in wolf skins and wearing wolf masks—make their appearance, seize the novice, and carry him into the woods. When the wolves are heard outside the village coming, in order to fetch the novice,

[1] Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1890, page 47.

the members of the Lō′koala blacken their faces and sing the following song:[1]

Among all the tribes is great excitement because I am Lō′koala.

On the following day the wolves return the novice dead. Then the Lō′koala must revive him. The wolves are supposed to have put the magic stone häina[2] into his body, which must be removed in order to restore him to life. The body is left outside the house and two shamans go to remove the häina. It seems that this stone is quartz. The idea is the same as that found among the Kwakiutl, where the Mā′tEm is initiated by means of quartz, which is put into his body by the spirit of his dance. The returning novice is called ū′cīnak.

After the novices have been restored to life, they are painted red and black. Blood is seen to stream from their mouths, and they run at once down to the beach and jump into the water. Soon they are found to drift lifeless on the water. A canoe is sent out and the bodies are gathered in it. As soon as the canoe lands, they all return to life, resort to the dancing house, to which none but the initiated are admitted, and stay there for four days. At night, dances are performed in the house, which the whole population is allowed to witness. After the four days are over, the novices leave the house, their heads being wound with wreaths of hemlock (?) branches. They go to the river, in which they swim, and after some time are fetched back by a canoe. They are almost exhausted from the exertions they have undergone during the foregoing days. Novices must eat nothing but dried fish and dried berries.

Each Lō′koala lasts four days. It is only celebrated when some member of the tribe gives away a large amount of property to the Lō′koala, the most frequently occurring occasion being the initiation of new members. Sometimes it is celebrated at the time of the ceremonies which are practiced when a girl reaches maturity. The house of the man who pays for the Lō′koala seems to be the taboo house of the society. As soon as the Lō′koala begins, the ordinary social organization of the tribe is suspended, as is also the case among the Kwakiutl. The people arrange themselves in companies or societies, which bear the names of the various Nootka tribes, no matter to which tribe and sept the persons actually belong. Each society has festivals of its own, to which members of the other societies are not admitted, although they may be invited. These societies are called ū′paL. Each has a certain song, which is sung during their festivities.[3]

At night, when the whole tribe assemble in the taboo house, the societies still keep together. They are hostile to each other, and railleries between the various groups are continually going on. It

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[1] Appendix, page 731.

[2] Xuē′la, Kwakiutl. The x of the Kwakiutl is, in the Ts'Eciā′ath dialect of the Nootka, from whom I obtained the word, always changed into h; n and l alternate constantly, for instance, Lō′kualē and Lō′kuanē.

[3] Appendix, pages 731, 732.

seems that there are no separate societies for men and women, but a certain division must exist, as they seem to have separate feasts. When a man, during a Lō′koala, brings in any game, and he does not give half of it to the women, but retains the whole for the use of the men, the former will attack him and wrest the share due to them from the men. In the same way the women must share all they get or cook with the men.

Originally each dance belonged to one family, and was transmitted from generation to generation. Mother as well as father had the right to transfer their dances to their children. Thus dances which belonged to one tribe were transmitted to others. The dance was given to the novice at the time of his or her initiation, and no more than one dance could be given at a time. At present these restrictions are becoming extinct. Whoever is rich enough to distribute a sufficient amount of property may take any dance he likes. I was even told that the chief of the Lō′koala at the beginning of the dancing season distributes the various dances among the members of the order, and that he may redistribute them at the beginning of the following season.

It is a peculiarity of the dances of the Nootka that two masks of the same kind always dance together.

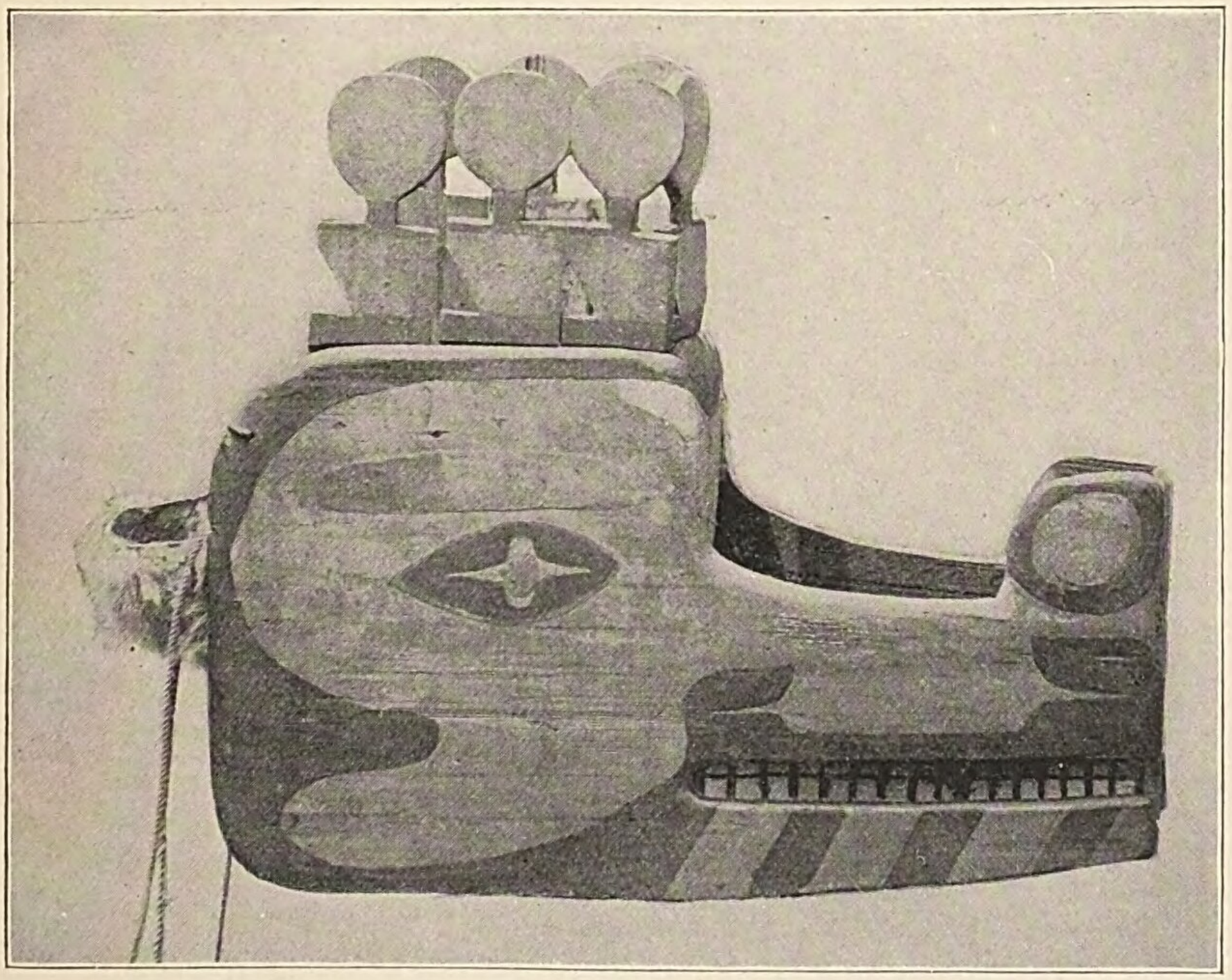
Among the dances belonging to the Lō′koala I mention the aai′Lqē (feathers on head). He is supposed to be a being living in the woods. The dancer wears no mask, but a head ornament of cedar bark dyed red, which is the badge of the Lō′koala. His badge consists of a ring from which four feathers wound with red cedar bark rise, three over the forehead, one in the back. The face of the dancer is smeared with tallow and then strewn with down. The ornaments of each dancer of the aai′Lqē, as well as of all others, must be their personal property. They must not be loaned or borrowed. The song of the aai′Lqē will be found in the Appendix (p. 732).

Another dance is that of the hî′nEmîx·, a fabulous bird-like being. The dancer wears the head mask shown in Plate 48. In the top of the mask there is a hole in which a stick is fastened, which is greased and covered with down. When the dancer moves, the down becomes loose, and whoever among the spectators catches a feather receives a blanket from the chief of the Lō′koala. The song of the hî′nEmix· is given in the Appendix (p. 732).

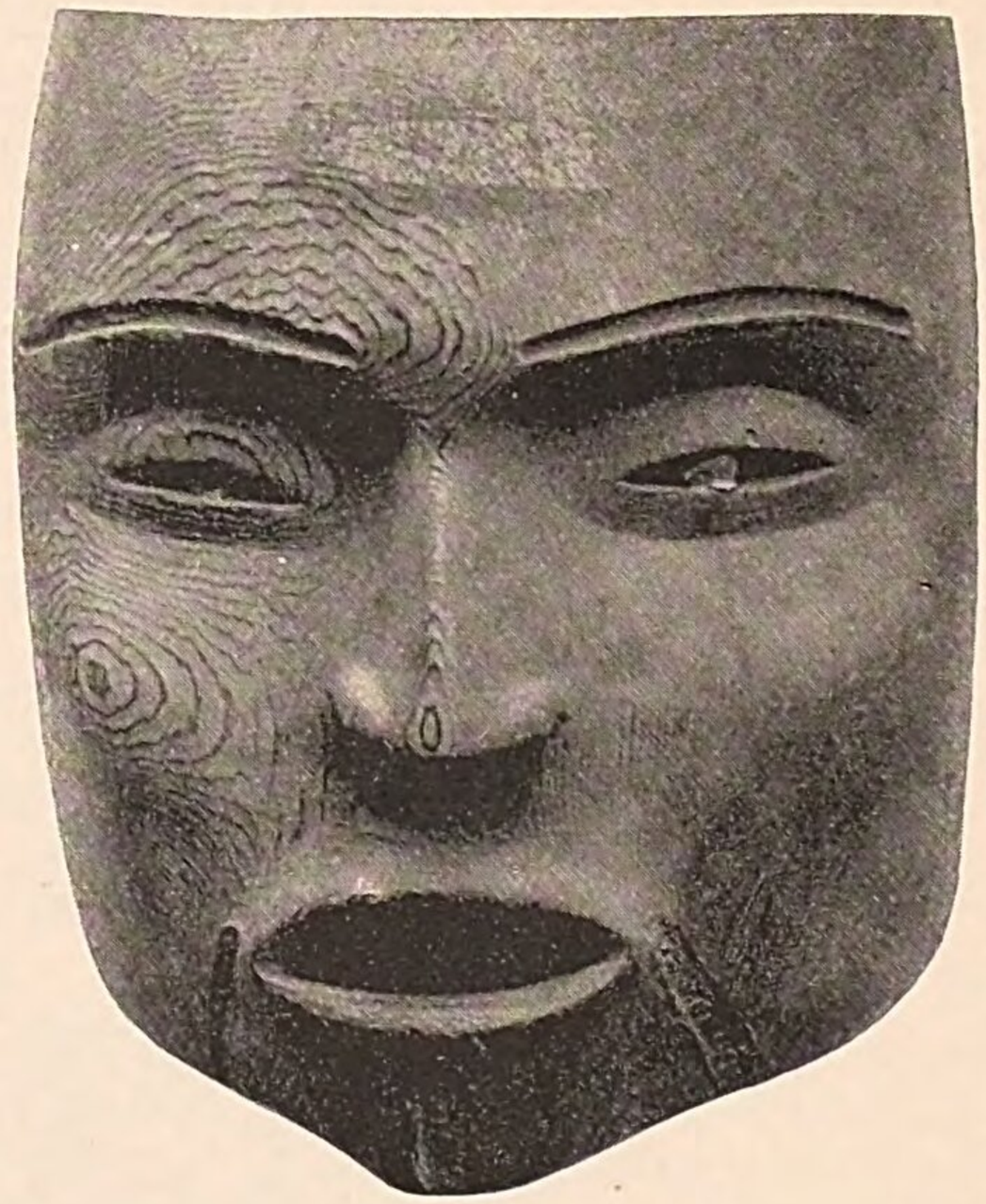
The A′Lmaxkō is a dance in which two men wearing two human masks appear. The masks are called A′Lmaxkō. When they appear, the spectators sing:

I. e., Back out, back out, A′Lmaxkō.

Then they leave the house and run about in the village. The A′Lmaxkō is a being living in the woods. The first to see him was a Netcumu′asath, and ever since this sept dances the A′Lmaxkō dance.

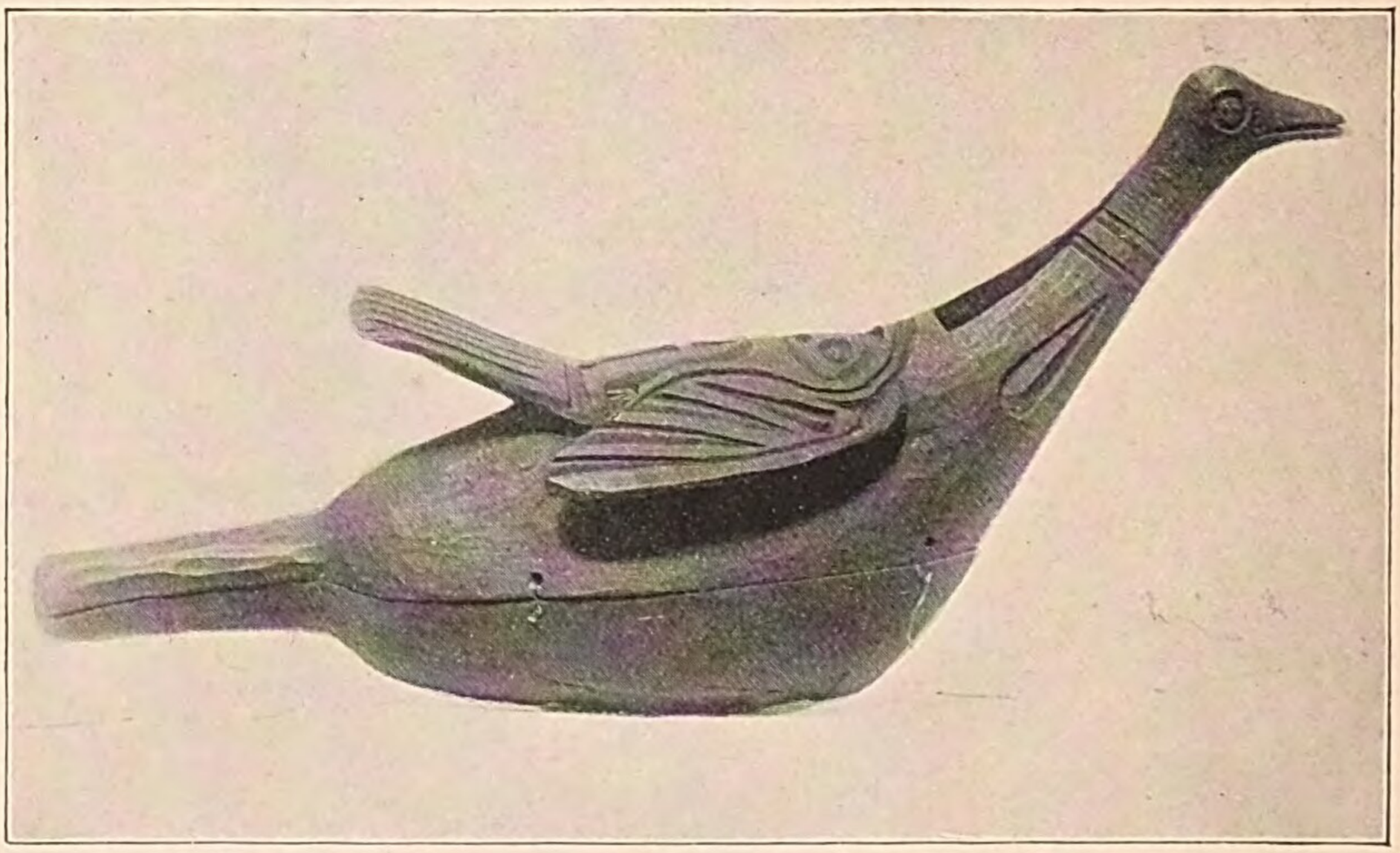


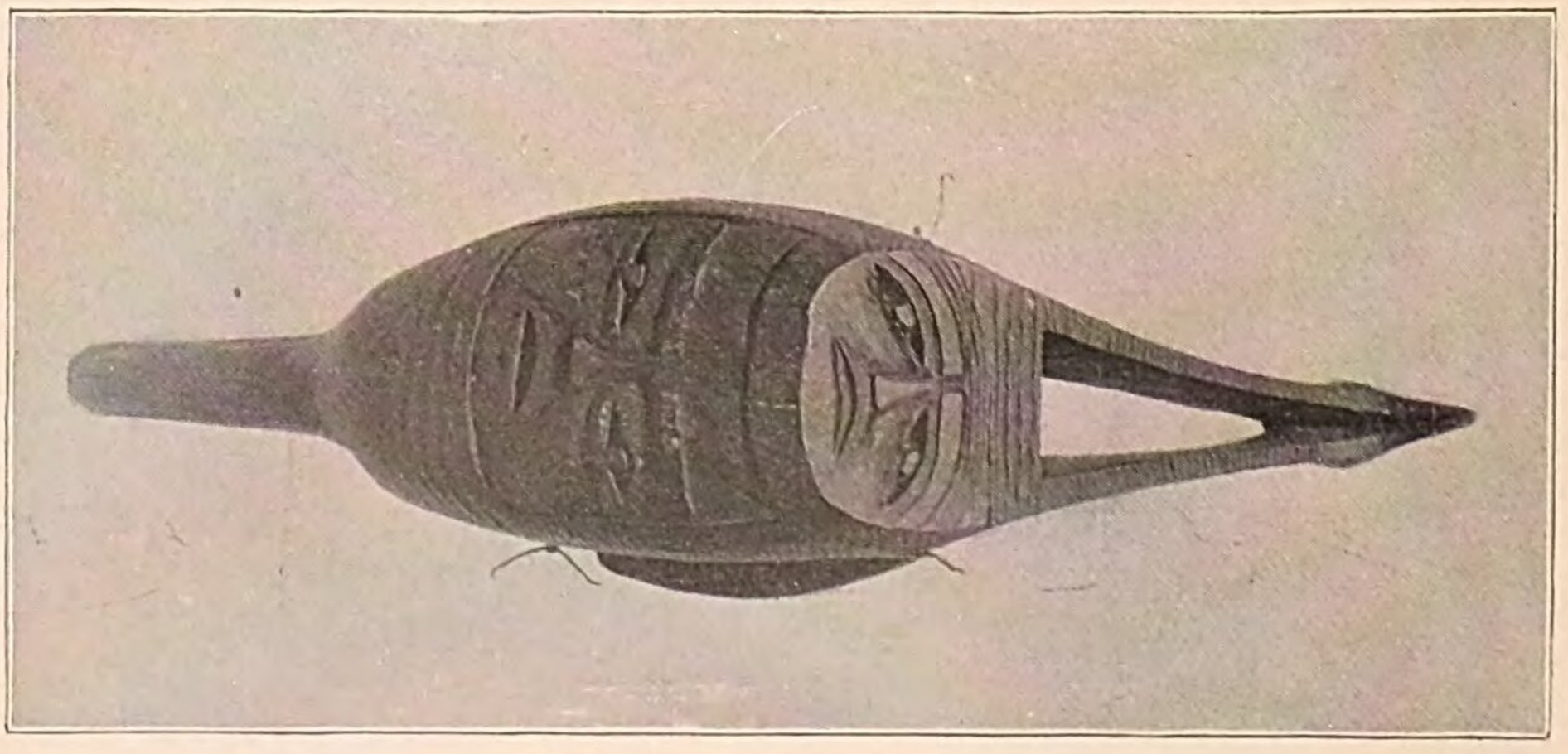
MASK OF THE NOOTKA, REPRESENTING THE HI'NEMIX.
Museum of the Geological Survey of Canada, Ottawa. Collected by F. Boas.



MASKS OF THE NOOTKA.

Nos. 222 and 223, K. K. Hofmuseum, Vienna.





RATTLE OF THE NOOTKA.
British Museum.

The sā′nEk (panther) corresponds nearly to the nūLmaL of the Kwakiutl. The dancer wears a large head mask, like that of the hî′nE-mîx·, and a bearskin. He knocks everything to pieces, pours water into the fire, and tears dogs to pieces and devours them. Two canine teeth in the mouth of the mask are its most characteristic feature. A rope is tied around his waist, by which he is led by some attendants.

The hī′Ltaq, self-torture, corresponds to the hāwī′nalaL of the Kwakiutl. The dancers rub their bodies with the juice of certain herbs, and push small lances through the flesh of the arms, the back, and the flanks.

Other dances are the pu′kmîs dance, in which the dancer is covered all over with pipeclay; the hu′Lmîs dance—the hu′Lmîs is another being which lives in the woods and is always dancing—performed by women only, who wear ornaments of red cedar bark and birds' down and who dance with one hand extended upward, the other hanging downward; the ā′yeq dance, in which the dancer knocks to pieces and destroys in other ways household utensils, canoes, and other kinds of property; and dances representing a great variety of animals, particularly birds. The masks are all much alike in type (fig. 198). Head rings made of red cedar bark are worn in these dances.

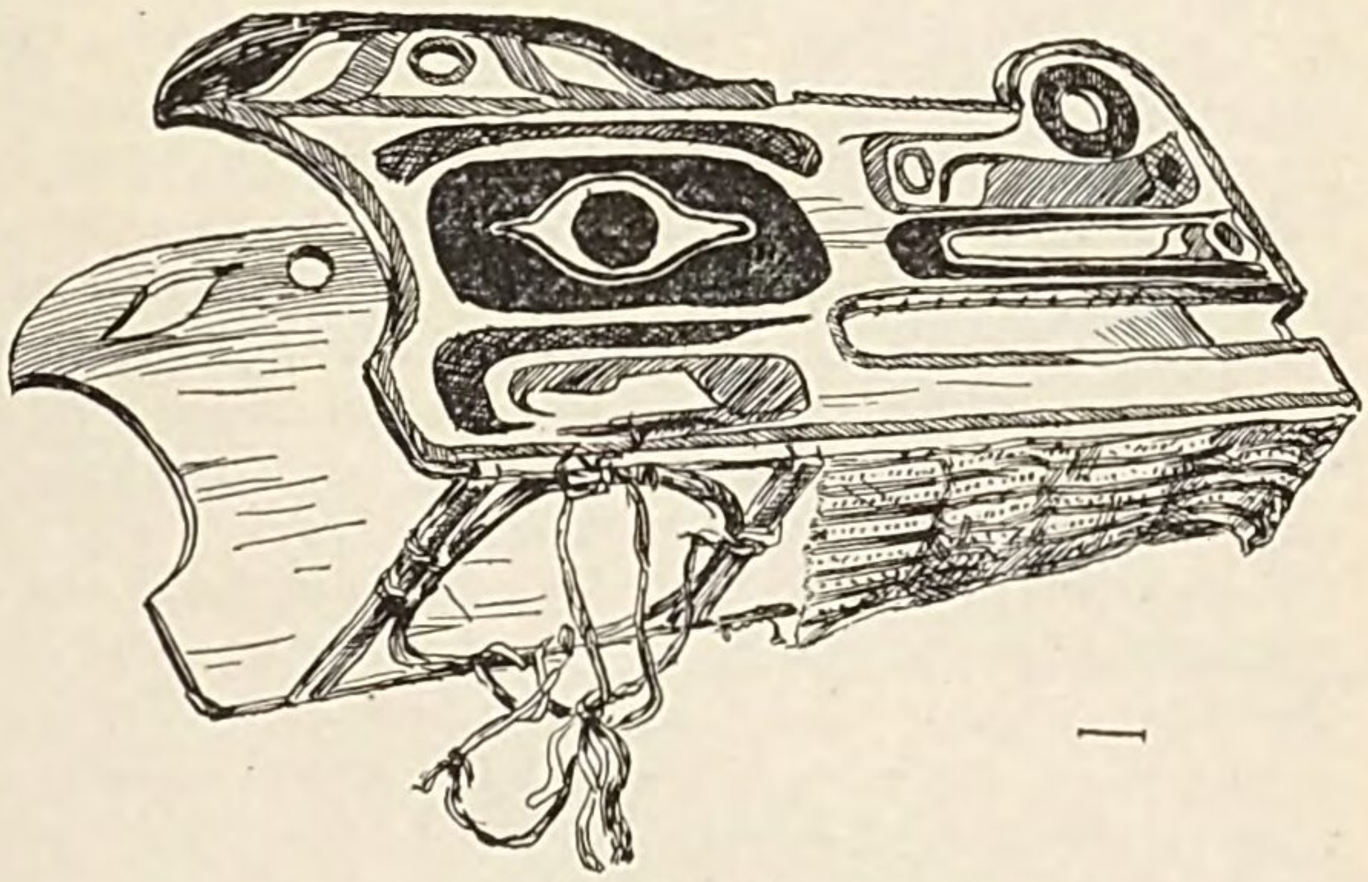


Fig. 198.

MASK OF THE NOOTKA.

Neeah Bay.

Cat. No. 23439, U. S. N. M. Collected by J. G. Swan.

Plate 49 shows an old bird mask and an old mask representing a human face. They are from the west coast of Vancouver Island, and were probably made before the beginning of this century. Plate 50 represents the type of rattle used by the Nootka. The present specimen was probably collected on Cook's journey around the world.

The tribes north of Barclay Sound have a dance in which the performer cuts long parallel gashes into his breast and arms. The hā′mats'a dance, which has been obtained by intermarriage from the Kwakiutl, has spread as far south as Nutcā′lath. The killing of slaves, which has been described by Sproat[1] and Knipping, may belong to this part of the Lō′koala.

Sproat describes the following events:

In December, 1864, the Seshaht Indians, then occupying their village close to Alberni, put one of their women to a violent death. The day before they commenced

[1] "Scenes and Studies of Savage Life," page 155.

a celebration of a peculiar character, which was to last several days, and the murder of the woman formed, no doubt, a part of this celebration. The woman was stabbed to death by an old man in whose house she lived, and who probably owned her as a slave, and offered her for a victim. The body was then laid out, without a covering, by the water side, about 150 yards from the houses. There appeared to be no inclination to bury the body, and it was only after the chief had been strongly remonstrated with that the poor victim's remains were removed, after two days' exposure. I observed that, even after this removal, certain furious rites took place over the very spot where the body had been exposed. The chief feature of the celebration, apart from the murder, was a pretended attack upon the Indian settlement by wolves, which were represented by Indians, while the rest of the population, painted, armed, and with furious shouts, defended their houses from attack. The horrid practice of sacrificing a victim is not annual, but only occurs either once in three years, or else (which is more probable) at uncertain intervals; always, however, when it does happen, the sacrifice takes place during the Klooh-quahn-nah (Lō'koala) season, which lasts from about the middle of November to the middle of January. The Klooh-quahn-nah or Klooh-quel-lah is a great festival, observed annually by all the Aht tribes, after their return from their fishing grounds to the winter encampment. It is generally a time of mirth and feasting, during which tribal rank is conferred and homage done to the chief, in a multitude of observances which have now lost their meaning, and can not be explained by the natives themselves. I was not aware, until this murder was committed under our eyes, that human sacrifices formed any part of the Klooh-quahn-nah celebration. I should think it likely that old worn-out slaves are generally the victims. The Seshaht Indians at Alberni represent the practice as most ancient, and the fact that the other tribes of the Aht nation (about twenty in number) observe it, favors this supposition. Their legends somewhat differ as to this practice, some saying that it was instituted by the creator of the world; others that it arose from the sons of a chief of former times having really been seized by wolves.[1] To some extent it is a secret institution, the young children not being acquainted with it until formally initiated. Many of them during the horrid rite are much alarmed; the exhibition of ferocity, the firing of guns and shouting being calculated, and probably intended, to excite their fears. Part of a day is given up to an instruction of those children who are to be initiated, and it is impressed upon them that the Klooh-quahn-nah must always be kept up, or evil will happen to the tribe. The tendency, no doubt, and probably the intention of this human sacrifice, and the whole celebration, is to destroy the natural human feeling against murder, and to form in the people generally, and especially in the rising generation, hardened and fierce hearts. They themselves say that their "hearts are bad," as long as it goes on. In the attendant ceremonies their children are taught to look, without any sign of feeling, upon savage preparations for war, strange dances performed in hideous masks and accompanied by unearthly noises, and occasionally, at least, upon the cruel destruction of human life. Although I have no direct evidence of the fact, I believe that part of the course of those to be initiated would be to view, howl over, and perhaps handle or even stick their knives into the dead body of the victim, without showing any sign of pity or of horror.

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[1]These Indians imitate animals and birds extremely well, such as wolves or crows. At this Klooh-quahn-nah celebration they had their hair tied out from their heads, so as to represent a wolf's head and snout, and the blanket was arranged to show a tail. The motion of the wolf in running was closely imitated. More extraordinary still was their acting as crows; they had a large wooden bill, and blankets arranged so like wings that, in the dusk, the Indians really seemed like large crows hopping about, particularly when, after the manner of these birds, they went into the shallow water, and shook their wings and "dabbed" with their long bills.

The following description may also refer to part of this ceremonial:[1]

During the song and dance, which at first seemed to present nothing peculiar, a well-known slave (one, however, who was in a comparatively independent position, being employed as a sailor on board the steamer *Thames*), suddenly ceased dancing, and fell down on the ground, apparently in a dying state, and having his face covered with blood. He did not move or speak, his head fell on one side, his limbs were drawn up, and he certainly presented a ghastly spectacle. While the dance raged furiously around the fallen man, the doctor, with some others, seized and dragged him to the other side of the fire round which they were dancing, placing his naked feet very near the flames. After this a pail of water was brought in, and the doctor, who supported the dying man on his arm, washed the blood from his face; the people beat drums, danced, and sang, and suddenly the patient sprang to his feet and joined in the dance, none the worse for the apparently hopeless condition of the moment before. While all this was going on, I asked the giver of the feast whether it was real blood upon the man's face, and if he were really wounded. He told me so seriously that it was, that I was at first inclined to believe him, until he began to explain that the blood which came from the nose and mouth was owing to the incantations of the medicine man, and that all the people would be very angry if he did not afterwards restore him. I then recalled to mind that in the early part of the day, before the feast, I had seen the doctor and the slave holding very friendly conferences; and the former had used his influence to get a pass for the latter to be present at the entertainment, to which, probably, he had no right to come.

In Jewett's narrative[2] the following description of part of the LŌ'KO-ALA occurs:

On the morning of December 13, another strange ceremony began, by the king's firing a pistol, apparently, without a moment's warning, close to the ear of Satsat, who dropped down instantly as if shot dead on the spot.

Upon this all the women set up a most terrible yelling, tearing out their hair by handfuls, and crying out that the prince was dead, when the men rushed in, armed with guns and daggers, inquiring into the cause of the alarm, followed by two of the natives covered with wolf skins, with masks representing the wolf's head.

These two came in on all fours, and taking up the prince on their back, carried him out, retiring as they had entered. * * *

The celebration terminated with a shocking and distressing show of deliberate self-torment.

These men, each with two bayonets run through their sides, between the ribs, walked up and down in the room, singing war songs, and exulting in their firmness and triumph over pain (p. 187). * * *

The religious ceremonies (in another village) were concluded by 20 men who entered the house, with arrows run through their sides and arms, having strings fastened to them, by which the spectators twisted, or pulled them back, as the men walked round the room, singing and boasting of their power to endure suffering (p. 192).

Another description of the ceremonial has been given by James G. Swan:[3]

The Dukwally (i. e., LŌ'KOALA) and other tama'nawas performances are exhibitions intended to represent incidents connected with their mythological legends. There

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[1] Sproat, "Scenes and Studies of Savage Life," page 68.

[2] "The Captive of Nootka, or the Adventures of John R. Jewett," Philadelphia, 1841, page 184.

[3] "The Indians of Cape Flattery," page 66.

are a great variety, and they seem to take the place, in a measure, of theatrical performances or games during the season of the religious festivals. There are no persons especially set apart as priests for the performance of these ceremonies, although some, who seem more expert than others, are usually hired to give life to the scenes, but these performers are quite as often found among the slaves or common people as among the chiefs, and excepting during the continuance of the festivities are not looked on as of any particular importance. On inquiring the origin of these ceremonies, I was informed that they did not originate with the Indians, but were revelations of the guardian spirits, who made known what they wished to be performed. An Indian, for instance, who has been consulting with his guardian spirit, which is done by going through the washing and fasting process before described, will imagine or think he is called upon to represent the owl. He arranges in his mind the style of dress, the number of performers, the songs and dances or other movements, and, having the plan perfected, announces at a tama'nawas meeting that he has had a revelation which he will impart to a select few. These are then taught and drilled in strict secrecy, and when they have perfected themselves, will suddenly make their appearance and perform before the astonished tribe. Another Indian gets up the representation of the whale, others do the same of birds, and in fact of everything that they can think of. If any performance is a success, it is repeated, and gradually comes to be looked upon as one of the regular order in the ceremonies; if it does not satisfy the audience, it is laid aside. Thus they have performances that have been handed down from remote ages, while others are of a more recent date. * * *

The ceremony of the great Dukwally or the thunder bird originated with the Hesh-kwi-et Indians, a band of Nittinats living near Barclay Sound, Vancouver Island, and is ascribed to the following legend:

Two men had fallen in love with one woman, and as she would give neither the preference, at last they came to a quarrel. But one of them, who had better sense than the other, said: "Don't let us fight about that squaw; I will go out and see the chief of the wolves, and he will tell me what is to be done. But I can not get to his lodge except by stratagem. Now they know we are at variance, so do you take me by the hair, and drag me over these sharp rocks which are covered with barnacles, and I shall bleed, and I will pretend to be dead, and the wolves will come and carry me away to their house." The other agreed, and dragged him over the rocks till he was lacerated from head to foot, and then left him out of reach of the tide. The wolves came, and, supposing him dead, carried him to the lodge of their chief, but when they got ready to eat him, he jumped up and astonished them at his boldness. The chief wolf was so much pleased with his bravery that he imparted to him all the mysteries of the thunder-bird performance, and on his return home he instructed his friends, and the Dukwally was the result. The laceration of the arms and legs among the Makahs, during the performance to be described, is to represent the laceration of the founder of the ceremony from being dragged over the sharp stones.

A person intending to give one of these performances first gathers together as much property as he can obtain, in blankets, guns, brass kettles, beads, tin pans, and other articles intended as presents for his guests, and procures a sufficient quantity of food, which of late years consists of flour, biscuit, rice, potatoes, molasses, dried fish, and roots. He keeps his intention a secret until he is nearly ready, and then imparts it to a few of his friends, who, if need be, assist him by adding to his stock of presents of food. The first intimation the village has of the intended ceremonies is on the night previous to the first day's performance. After the community have retired for the night, which is usually between 9 and 10 o'clock, the performers commence by hooting like owls, howling like wolves, and uttering a sharp whistling sound intended to represent the blowing and whistling of the wind. Guns are then fired, and all the initiated collect in the lodge where the ceremonies

are to be performed, and drum with their heels on boxes or boards, producing a sound resembling thunder. The torches of pitch wood are flashed through the roof of the house, and at each flash the thunder rolls, and then the whole assemblage whistles like the wind. As soon as the noise of the performers commences, the uninitiated fly in terror and hide themselves, so great being their superstitious belief in the supernatural powers of the Dukwally that they have frequently fled to my house for protection, knowing very well that the tama'nawas performers would not come near a white man. They then visit every house in the village, and extend an invitation for all to attend the ceremonies. This having been done, the crowd retire to the lodge of ceremonies, where the drumming and singing are kept up till near daylight, when they are quiet for a short time, and at sunrise begin again. The first five days are usually devoted to secret ceremonies, such as initiating candidates, and a variety of performances, which consist chiefly in songs and chorus and drumming to imitate thunder. They do this part very well, and their imitation of thunder is quite equal to that produced in the best equipped theatre.

What the ceremony of initiation is I have never learned. That of the Clallams, which I have witnessed, consists in putting the initiates into a mesmeric sleep; but if the Makahs use mesmerism, or any such influence, they do not keep the candidates under it for any great length of time, as I saw them every day during the ceremonies, walking out during the intervals. The first outdoor performance usually commences on the fifth day, and this consists of the procession of males and females, with their legs and arms, and sometimes their bodies, scarified with knives, and every wound bleeding freely. The men are entirely naked, but the women have on a short petticoat. * * * [The wounds are made as follows:] A bucket of water was placed in the center of the lodge, and the candidates squatting around it washed their arms and legs. The persons who did the cutting, and who appeared to be any one who had sharp knives, butcher knives being preferred, grasped them firmly in the right hand with the thumb placed along the blade, so as to leave but an eighth or quarter of an inch of the edge bare; then, taking hold of the arm or leg of the candidate, made gashes 5 or 6 inches long transversally, and parallel with the limb, four or five gashes being cut each way. Cuts were thus made on each arm above and below the elbow, on each thigh, and the calves of the legs; some, but not all, were likewise cut on their backs. The wounds were then washed with water to make the blood run freely. * * * When all was ready, the procession left the lodge and marched in single file down to the beach, their naked bodies streaming with blood, presenting a barbarous spectacle. A circle was formed at the water's edge, round which this bloody procession marched slowly, making gesticulations and uttering howling cries.

Five men now came out of the lodge carrying the principal performer. One held him by the hair, and the others by the arms and legs. He, too, was cut and bleeding profusely. They laid him down on the beach on the wet sand, and left him, while they marched off and visited every lodge in the village, making a circuit in each lodge. At last the man on the beach jumped up, and seizing a club laid about him in a violent manner, hitting everything in his way. He, too, went the same round as the others, and after every lodge had been visited, they all returned to the lodge from which they had issued, and the performances outdoor were closed for that day. In the meanwhile a deputation of fifteen or twenty men, with faces painted black and sprigs of evergreen in their hair, had been sent to the other villages with invitations for guests to come and receive presents. They went in a body to each lodge, and after a song and a chorus the spokesman of the party, in a loud voice, announced the object of their visit, and called the names of the invited persons. Anyone has a right to be present at the distribution, but only those specially invited will receive any presents.

Every evening during the ceremonies, excepting those of the first few days, is devoted to masquerade and other amusements, when each lodge is visited and a

performance enacted. * * * The masks are made principally by the Clyoquot and Nittinat Indians, and sold to the Makahs, who paint them to suit their own fancies. They are made of alder, maple, and cottonwood; some are very ingeniously executed, having the eyes and lower jaw movable. By means of a string the performer can make the eyes roll about, and the jaws gnash together with a fearful clatter. As these masks are kept strictly concealed until the time of the performances, and as they are generally produced at night, they are viewed with awe by the spectators; and certainly the scene in one of these lodges, dimly lighted by the fires which show the faces of the assembled spectators and illuminate the performers, presents a most weird and savage spectacle when the masked dancers issue forth from behind a screen of mats, and go through their barbarous pantomimes. The Indians themselves, even accustomed as they are to these masks, feel very much afraid of them, and a white man, viewing the scene for the first time, can only liken it to a carnival of demons.

Among the masquerade performances that I have seen was a representation of mice. This was performed by a dozen or more young men who were entirely naked. Their bodies, limbs, and faces were painted with stripes of red, blue, and black; red bark wreaths were twisted around their heads, and bows and arrows in their hands. They made a squealing noise, but otherwise they did nothing that reminded me of mice in the least. Another party was composed of naked boys, with bark fringes, like veils, covering their faces, and armed with sticks having needles in one end; they made a buzzing noise and stuck the needles into any of the spectators who came in their way. This was a representation of hornets. These processions followed each other at an interval of half an hour, and each made a circuit round the lodge, performed some antics, sang some songs, shouted, and left. Another party then came in, composed of men with frightful masks, bearskins on their backs, and heads covered with down. They had clubs in their hands, and as they danced around a big fire blazing in the center of the lodge, they struck wildly with them, caring little whom or what they hit. One of their number was naked, with a rope round his waist, a knife in each hand, and making a fearful howling. Two others had hold of the end of the rope, as if to keep him from doing any harm. This was the most ferocious exhibition I had seen, and the spectators got out of their reach as far as they could. They did no harm, however, excepting that one with his club knocked a hole through a brass kettle; after which they left and went to the other lodges, where I learned that they smashed boxes and did much mischief. After they had gone, the owner examined his kettle, and quaintly remarked that it was worth more to him than the pleasure he had experienced by their visit, and he should look to the man who broke it for remuneration.

On a subsequent evening I was present at another performance. This consisted of dancing, jumping, firing of guns, etc. A large fire was first built in the center of the lodge, and the performers, with painted faces, and many with masks resembling owls, wolves, and bears, crouched down with their arms clasped about their knees, their blankets trailing on the ground and fastened around the neck with a single pin. After forming in a circle with their faces toward the fire, they commenced jumping sideways round the blaze, their arms still about their knees. In this manner they whirled around for several minutes, producing a most remarkable appearance. These performers, who were male, were succeeded by some thirty women with blackened faces, their heads covered with down, and a girdle around their blankets, drawing them in tight at the waist. These danced around the fire with a shuffling, ungainly gait, singing a song as loud as they could scream, which was accompanied by everyone in the lodge, and beating time with sticks on boards placed before them for the purpose. When the dance was over, some five or six men, with wreaths of seaweed around their heads, blackened faces, and bearskins over their shoulders, rushed in and fired a volley of musketry through the roof. One of them then made a speech, the purport of which was that the ceremonies had progressed favorably thus far; that their hearts had become strong, and that they felt ready to attack their

enemies or to repel any attack upon themselves. Their guns having in the meanwhile been loaded, another volley was fired, and the whole assembly uttered a shout to signify approval. The performances during the daytime consisted of representations on the beach of various kinds. There was one representing a whaling scene. An Indian on all fours, covered with a bearskin, imitated the motion of a whale while blowing. He was followed by a party of eight men armed with harpoons and lances, and carrying all the implements of whaling. Two boys, naked, with bodies rubbed over with flour, and white cloths around their heads, represented cold weather; others represented cranes moving slowly at the water's edge and occasionally dipping their heads down as if seizing a fish. They wore masks resembling a bird's beak, and bunches of eagles' feathers stuck in their hair. During all of these scenes the spectators kept up a continual singing and drumming. Every day during these performances feasts were given at different lodges to those Indians who had come from the other villages, at which great quantities of food were eaten and many cords of wood burned, the giver of the feast being very prodigal of his winter's supply of food and fuel. The latter, however, is procured quite easily from the forest, and only causes a little extra labor to obtain a sufficiency.

The final exhibition of the ceremonies was the T'hlūkloots representation, after which the presents were distributed. From daylight in the morning till about 11 o'clock in the forenoon was occupied by indoor performances, consisting of singing and drumming, and occasional speeches. When these were over, some twenty performers, dressed up in masks and feathers, some with naked bodies, others covered with bearskins, and accompanied by the whole assembly, went down on the beach and danced and howled in the most frightful manner. After making as much uproar as they could, they returned to the lodge, and shortly after every one mounted on the roofs of the houses to see the performance of the T'hlūkloots. First, a young girl came out upon the roof of a lodge, wearing a mask representing the head of the thunderbird, which was surmounted by a topknot of cedar bark dyed red and stuck full of white feathers from eagles' tails. Over her shoulders she wore a red blanket covered with a profusion of white buttons, brass thimbles, and blue beads; her hair hung down her back, covered with white down. The upper half of her face was painted black, and the lower red. Another girl, with a similar headdress, was naked except a skirt about her hips. Her arms and legs had rings of blue beads, and she wore bracelets of brass wire around her wrists; her face being painted like the other. A smaller girl had a black mask to resemble the ha-he'k-to-ak. The masks did not cover the face, but were on the forehead, from which they projected like horns. The last girl's face was also painted black and red. From her ears hung large ornaments made of the haikwa or dentalium, and blue and red beads, and around her neck was an immense necklace of blue beads. Her skirt was also covered with strings of beads, giving her quite a picturesque appearance. A little boy, with a black mask and headband of red bark, the ends of which hung down over his shoulders, and eagles' feathers in a topknot, was the remaining performer. They moved around in a slow and stately manner, occasionally spreading out their arms to represent flying, and uttering a sound to imitate thunder, but which resembled the noise made by the nighthawk when swooping for its prey, the spectators meanwhile beating drums, pounding the roofs with sticks, and rattling with shells. This show lasted half an hour, when all again went into the lodge to witness the distribution of presents and the grand finale. The company all being arranged, the performers at one end of the lodge and the women, children, and spectators at the other, they commenced by putting out the fires and removing the brands and cinders. A quantity of feathers were strewed over the ground floor of the lodge, and a dance and song commenced, every one joining in the latter, each seeming to try to make as much noise as possible. A large box, suspended by a rope from the roof, served as a bass drum, and other drums were improvised from the brass and sheet-iron kettles and tin pans belonging to the domestic furniture of the house, while those who had no kettles, pans, or boxes banged with their clubs on the roof and sides of the house till the noise was

almost deafening. In this uproar there was a pause; then the din commenced anew. This time the dancers brought out blankets, and with them beat the feathers on the floor till the whole air was filled with down, like flakes of snow during a heavy winter's storm. Another lull succeeded, then another dance, and another shaking up of feathers, till I was half choked with dust and down. Next the presents were distributed, consisting of blankets, guns, shirts, beads, and a variety of trinkets, and the whole affair wound up with a feast.

I presume the following custom belongs here as well. When the incantations and practices of the shaman are of no avail, the patient is initiated in a secret society called tsa'yēq. Evidently this name is derived from the Kwakiutl word ts'ā'eqa, thus suggesting that this ceremony also was borrowed from the winter ceremonial of the Kwakiutl. I obtained the following description of these ceremonies: The members of the tsa'yēq assemble and make a circuit through the whole village, walking in Indian file and in a circle, so that their left hand is on the inner side (opposite the hands of a clock). Nobody is allowed to laugh while they are making their circuit. The tsa'yēq of the Hopetcisā'th and Ts'ecā'ath sing as follows during this circuit:

Ha, hä, hä', he is not a shaman.[1]

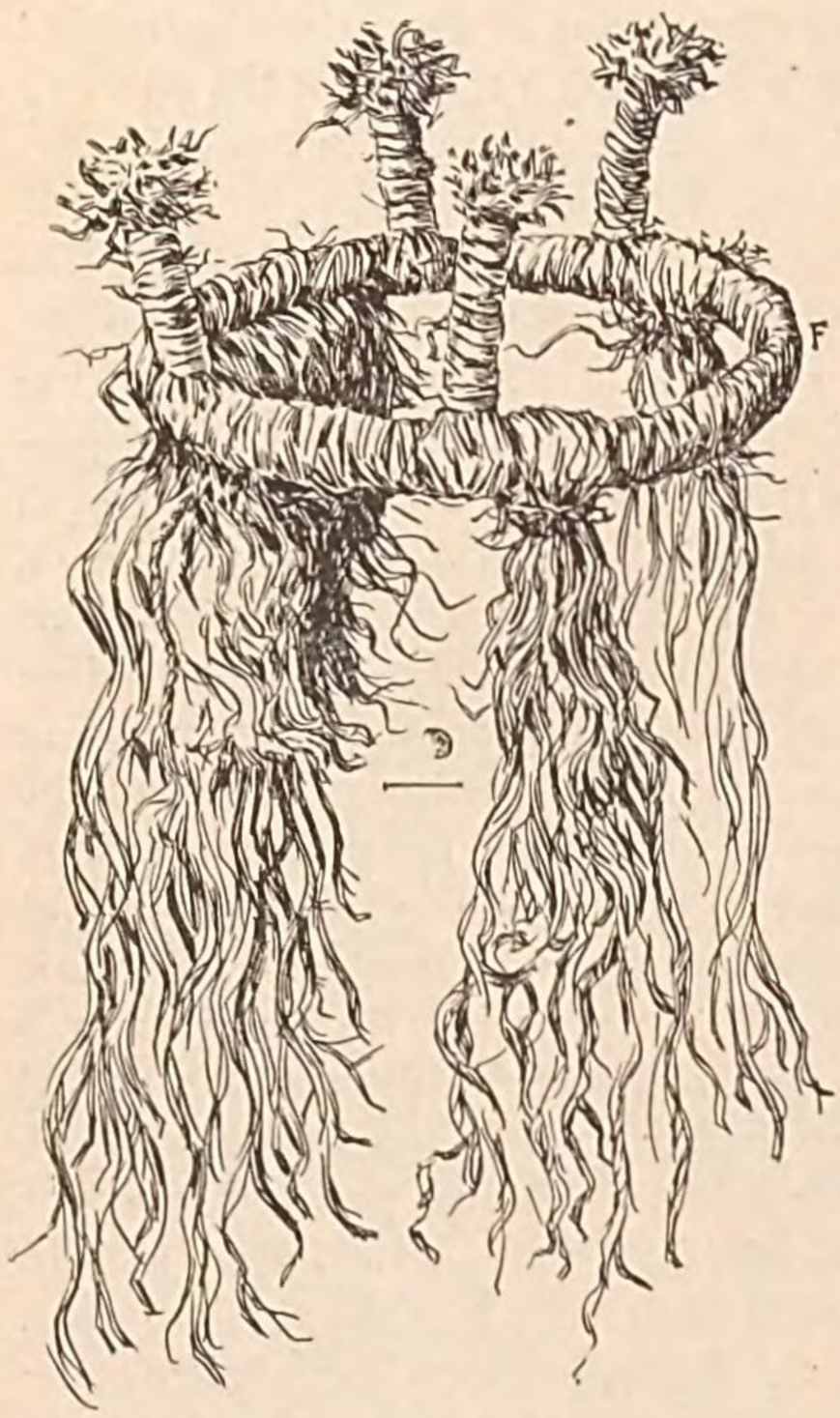


Fig. 199.

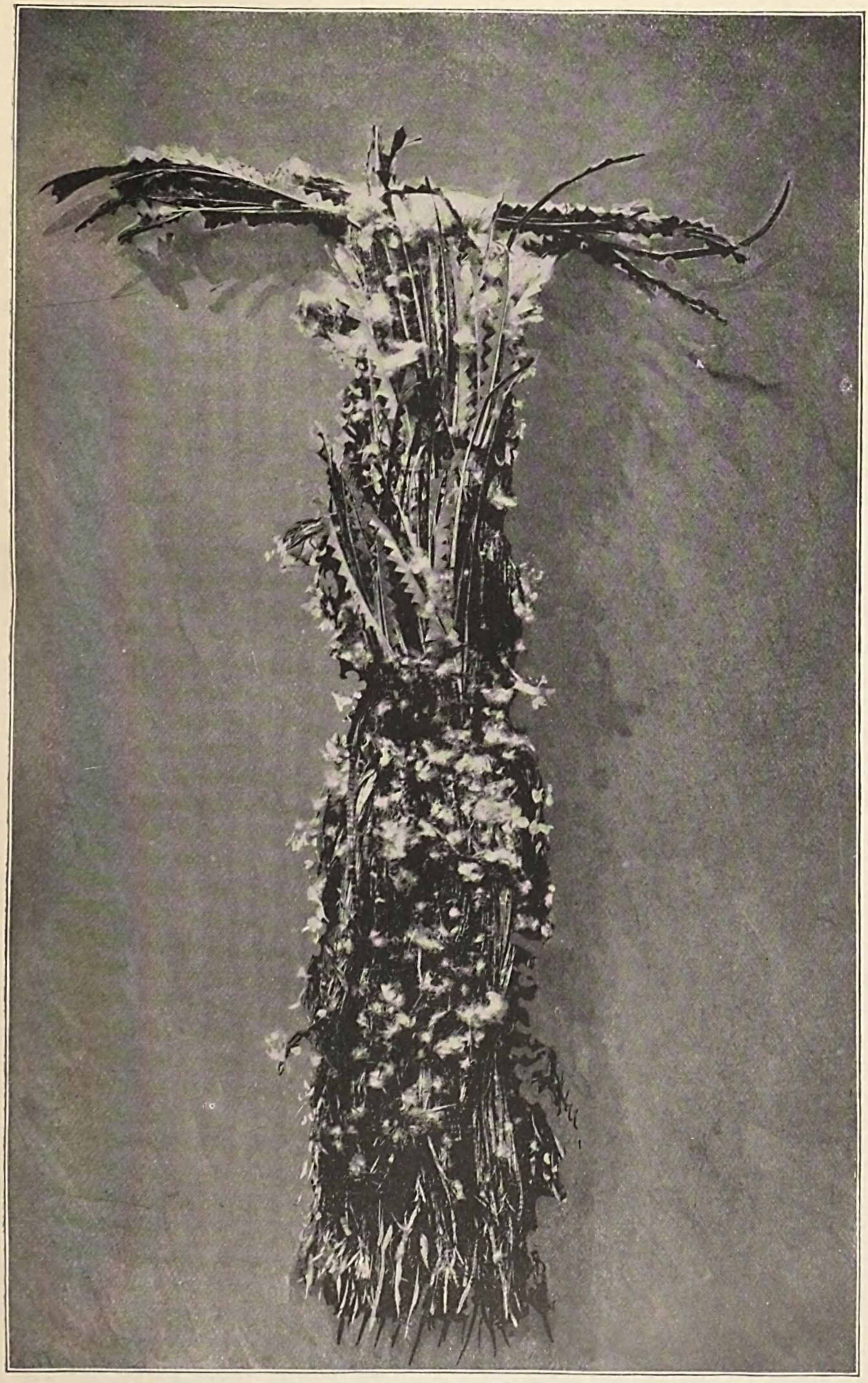
HEAD RING OF THE TSA'YĒQ.

Neeah Bay.

Cat. No. 4776, U. S. N. M. Collected by J. G. Swan.

When dancing, they hold the first fingers of both hands up, trembling violently. They enter all houses and take the patients and all the other people who desire to become members of the tsa'yēq along, two members of the society taking each novice between them and holding him by his hair, while they continue to shake their free hands. The novice must incline his head forward and shake it while the society are continuing their circuit. Thus they go from house to house, and all those who desire to become members of the society join the procession. The circuit finished, they assemble in a house in which during the following days none but members of the tsa'yēq are allowed. They sing and dance for four days. After these days the novice obtains his cedar bark ornament (fig. 199 and Plate 51). Small carvings representing the crest of his sept are attached to the front part of the head ring. The dress of the uctā'qyū, the shaman, who is the most important member of the society, is larger than that of the other members.

[1] Appendix, page 733.



HEAD RING OF THE TSA'YĒQ, ALBERNI.

Museum of the Geological Survey of Canada, Ottawa. Collected by F. Boas.

Swan[1] has described the ceremony as follows:

The other performance is termed Tsiahk, and is a medicine performance, quite as interesting, but not as savage in its detail. It is only occasionally performed, when some person, either a chief or a member of his family, is sick. The Makahs believe in the existence of a supernatural being, who is represented to be an Indian of a dwarfish size, with long hair of a yellowish color flowing down his back and covering his shoulders. From his head grow four perpendicular horns, two at the temple and two back of the ears. When people are sick of any chronic complaint and much debilitated, they imagine they see this being in the night, who promises relief if the ceremonies he prescribes are well performed. The principal performer is a doctor, whose duties are to manipulate the patient, who is first initiated by secret rites into the mysteries of the ceremony. What these secret rites consist of I have not ascertained, but there is a continual singing and drumming during the day and evening for three days before spectators are admitted. From the haggard and feeble appearance of some patients I have seen, I judge the ordeal must have been severe. The peculiarity of this ceremony consists in the dress worn alike by patients, novitiates, and performers. Both men and women assist, but the proportion of females is greater than of males. On the head of the female performer is worn a sort of coronet made of bark, surmounted by four upright bunches or little pillars made of bark wound round with the same material, and sometimes threads from red blankets, to give a variety of color. From the top of each of the four pillars, which represent the horns of the tsiahk, are bunches of eagles' quills, which have been notched and one side of the feather edge stripped off. In front is a band which is variously decorated, according to the taste of the wearer, with beads, brass buttons, or any trinkets they may have. From each side of this band project bunches of quills similar to those on the top of the head. The long hair of the tsiahk is represented by a heavy and thick fringe of bark, which covers the back and shoulders to the elbow. Necklaces composed of a great many strings of beads of all sizes and colors, and strung in various forms, are also worn, and serve to add to the effect of the costume. The paint for the face is red for the forehead and for the lower part, from the root of the nose to the ears; the portion between the forehead and the lower part is black, with two or three red marks on each cheek. The dress of the novitiate females is similar, with the exception of there being no feathers or ornaments on the bark headdress, and with the addition of black or blue stripes on the red paint covering the forehead and lower portion of the face. The headdress of the men consists of a circular band of bark and colored worsted, from the back part of which are two bunches of bark, like horses' tails. Two upright sticks are fastened to the band behind the ears, and on top of these sticks are two white feathers tipped with red; the quill portion is inserted into a piece of elder stick with the pith extracted and then put on the band sticks. These sockets give the feathers the charm of vibrating as the wearer moves his head; when dancing or moving in procession, the hands are raised as high as the face and the fingers spread out.

The doctor or principal performer has on his head a dress of plain bark similar to the female novitiate. He is naked except a piece of blanket about his loins, and his body is covered with stripes of red paint. The outdoor performance consists of a procession which moves from the lodge to the beach; the principal actor or conductor being at the head, followed by all the males in single file, the last one being the doctor. Immediately behind the doctor the patient follows, supported on each side by a female assistant. The females close up the procession. All parties, male and female, have their hands raised as high as their faces, and the motion of the procession is a sort of shuffling dance. They move in a circle which gradually closes around the patient, who, with the novitiate, is left seated on the ground in the centre; songs with choruses by the whole of the spectators, drumming, shaking rattles, and firing of guns wind up the performance, and all retire to the lodge, where

[1] "The Indians of Cape Flattery," page 73.

dancing and singing are kept up for several days. Finally, presents are distributed, a feast is held, and the friends retire. The patient and novitiates are obliged to wear their dress for one month. It consists of the bark headdress, having instead of feathers, two thin strips of wood, feather-shaped, but differently painted. Those of the patient are red at each end and white in the center, with narrow transverse bars of blue. Those of the novitiate have blue ends and the center unpainted. The patient's face is painted red, with perpendicular marks of blue on the forehead and the lower part of the face. The novitiate's forehead and lower portion of face is painted with alternate stripes of red and blue, the remainder of the face blue; the head band is also wound with blue yarn and yellow bark. The head band of the patient is wound with red. The tails of bark of both headdresses are dyed red. The patient carries in his hand a staff which can be used as a support while walking; this has red bark tied at each end and around the middle.

The Dukwally and Tsiahk are the performances more frequently exhibited among the Makahs than any others, although they have several different ones. The ancient tama'nawas is termed Do-t'hlub or Do-t'hlum,[1] and was formerly the favorite one. But after they had learned the T'hūlkoots, or Thunder bird, they laid aside the Do-t'hlub, as its performance, from the great number of ceremonies, was attended with too much trouble and expense. The origin of the Do-t'hlub was, as stated to me by the Indians, in this manner: Many years ago an Indian, while fishing in deep water for codfish, hauled up on his hook an immense haliotis shell. He had scarcely got it into his canoe when he fell into a trance, which lasted a few minutes, and on his recovery he commenced paddling home, but before reaching land he had several of these trances, and on reaching the shore his friends took him up for dead, and carried him into his house, where he presently recovered, and stated that while in the state of stupor he had a vision of Do-t'hlub, one of their mythological beings, and that he must be dressed as Do-t'hlub was and then he would have revelations. He described the appearance, as he saw it in his vision, in which Do-t'hlub presented himself with hands like deer's feet. He was naked to his hips, around which was a petticoat of cedar bark dyed red, which reached to his knees. His body and arms were red; his face painted red and black; his hair tied up in bunches with cedar twigs, and cedar twigs reaching down his back. When his friends had dressed him according to his direction, he fell into another trance, in which he saw the dances which were to be performed, heard the songs which were to be sung, and learned all the secret ceremonies to be observed. It was also revealed that each performer must have a piece of the haliotis shell in his nose, and pieces in his ears. He taught the rites to certain of his friends, and then performed before the tribe, who were so well pleased that they adopted the ceremony as their tama'nawas, and retained its observance for many years, till it was superseded by the Dukwally. The haliotis shell worn by the Makahs in their noses is a custom originating from the Do-t'hlub. Other ceremonies are occasionally gone through with, but the description above given will serve to illustrate all those observed by the Makahs. Different tribes have some peculiar to themselves, the general character of which is, however, the same. It will be seen that the public part of these performances are rather in the nature of amusements akin to our theatrical pantomimes than of religious observances, though they are religiously observed.

THE LKU'ÑGEN.

My information on the ceremonials of the Coast Salish is very meager. I obtained the following information from the Lku'ñgEn, the tribe which occupies the territory near Victoria, British Columbia. They have two secret societies, the tcyiyī'wan and the xEnxanī'tEl (dog howlers).

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[1] This is clearly the Kwakiutl word nō'nLEm.

Any member of the tribe may join the tcyiyī′wan. When desiring to do so, he retires into the woods and stays there for some time, bathing in ponds and washing his body with cedar branches. The intending novice is called xausā′lokuL. Finally he dreams of the dance which he will perform and the song which he will sing. In his dream his soul is led all over the world by the spirit who gives him his dance and his song. Then he returns to the village. According to what he has dreamed, he belongs to one of five societies which constitute the tcyiyī′wan: (1) The sqē′iep, who dance with elbows pressed close to the body, the arms extended forward and moving up and down; (2) the nuxsoā′wēqa, who jump about in wild movements; (3) the sqä′qoaL, who dance in slow movements; (4) the sqôiē′lec, whose dance is said to be similar to that of the sqē′iep, and (5) the tcîlqtE′ñEñ (derived from tcâ′loq woods). The general name of the dances of the tcyiyī′wan is mē′iLa, which word is borrowed from the Kwakiutl. When the novice returns from the woods, he teaches for two days his song to the members of the society to which he is to belong. Then the dance is performed and henceforth he is a regular member of the society.

The xEnxanī′tEl, the second society, are also called Lō′koala and nō′nLEm, although the first name is the proper Lku′ñgEn term. The Lku′ñgEn state that they obtained the secrets of this society from the Nootka, and this is undoubtedly true. It appears that the secrets of these societies spread from the Nootka to the Lku′ñgEn, Clallam, and the tribes of Puget Sound. The Tc'â′tELp, a sept of the Sanitch tribe, also have the nō′nLEm, while the Snanai′muX, the Cowichan, and the tribes of Fraser River have hardly a trace of it. The Comox and Pentlatch obtained it through intermarriage with both the Kwakiutl and the Nootka.

The right to perform the nō′nLEm is jealously guarded by all tribes who possess it, and many a war has been waged against tribes who illegitimately performed the ceremonies of the society. Its mysteries were kept a profound secret, and if a man dared to speak about it he was torn to pieces by the quqq'ē′lEñ, about whom I shall speak presently. Only rich people can become members of the xEnxanī′tEl, as heavy payments are exacted at the initiation. If the father of the novice is not able to pay them, his relatives must contribute to the amount required. The initiation and the festivals of this society take place in winter only. When a young man is to be initiated, his father first invites the xEnxanī′tEl to a feast, which lasts five days. During these days mask dances are performed, which those who are not members of the society are also permitted to witness. They occupy one side of the house in which the festivities take place, while the xEnxanī′tEl occupy the other. The latter wear head ornaments of cedar bark and have their hair strewn with down. The faces of all those who take part in the festival are blackened. At the end of three days the father of the novice invites four men to bathe his son in the sea.

One of them must wash his body, one must wash his head, and the two others hold him. In return they receive one or two blankets each. During this ceremony the quqq'ē'lEñ, who are described as wild men, dance around the novice. They have ropes tied around their waists, and are held by other members of the society by these ropes. Then the xEnxanī'tEl lead the novice into the woods, where he remains for a long time, until he meets the spirit that initiates him. It seems that during this time he is secretly led to the house in which the xEnxanī'tEl continue to celebrate festivals at the expense of the novice's father, and there he is taught the secrets of the society. During this time, until the return of the novice from the woods, the house is tabooed. A watchman is stationed at the entrance, who keeps out uninitiated persons. During the absence of the novice, his mother prepares cedar bark ornaments and weaves mountain goat blankets for his use. One afternoon he returns, and then his father gives a feast to let the people know that his child has returned. The latter performs his first dance, in which he uses masks and cedar bark ornaments. This dance is called nuxnEä'mEñ. On this day the father must distribute a great number of blankets among the xEnxanī'tEl. The initiated are permitted to take part in the feast, and sit on one side of the house. The new member spends all his nights in the woods, where he bathes. In the spring the new member, if a man, is thrown into the sea, and after that is free from all regulations attending the initiation. One of the principal regulations regarding novices of the xEnxanī'tEl is that they must return from the woods in the direction in which the sun is moving, starting so that the sun is at their backs. Therefore they must sometimes go in roundabout ways. They must go backward through doors, which are sLā'lEqam (supernatural) against them. Frequently the siō'ua (a female shaman) is called to bespeak the door in their behalf before they pass through it. Before their dance the siō'ua must also address the earth, as it is supposed that else it might open and swallow up the dancer. It is also sLā'lEqam against the novice. The expression used is that the earth would "open its eyes" (k'u'nalasEn); that means, swallow the novice. In order to avert this danger, the siō'ua must "give a name to the earth," and strew red paint and feathers over the place where the novice is to dance.

THE BÎ'LXULA.

The social organization, festivals, and secret societies of the Bî'lxula are still more closely interrelated than they are among the Kwakiutl, and must be considered in connection. We have to describe here the potlatch, the sisau'k·, and the kū'siut. The sisau'k· corresponds to the Laō'laxa of the northern Kwakiutl tribes, the kū'siut to the ts'ē'ts'aēqa. The Bî'lxula believe that the potlatch has been instituted by ten deities, nine brothers and one sister, the foremost among whom is Xē'mtsioa, to whose care the sunrise is intrusted. He resides with the others in a beautiful house in the far east, and cries "ō, ō,"

every morning when the sun rises. He takes care that he rises properly. The first six of these deities are grouped in pairs, and are believed to paint their faces with designs representing moon, stars, and rainbow. In the kū′siut these deities make their appearance, and are represented by masks. Xē′mtsioa and Xēmxēmalâ′oLa wear the design of the full moon, indicated on the mask of Xē′mtsioa by a double curved line in red and black, the black outside, passing over forehead, cheeks, and upper lip. Xēmxēmalâ′oLa has a double curved line in red and black, the red outside, which passes over forehead, cheeks, and chin. Aiumkī′lik·a and Aiumalâ′oLa wear the design of the crescent, drawn in red and black, with differences similar to those between the first and second masks. The fifth Q'ōmq'ōmkī′lik·a and Q'ō′mtsīoa have designs representing stars, both wearing the same style of mask. The seventh is Qula′xawa, whose face represents the blossom of a salmon-berry bush. The next in order, Kulē′lias (who wants to have blankets first), wears the design of the rainbow in black and blue. The ninth, A'amā′k, wears on the head a mask representing a kingfisher, and is clothed in a bird-skin blanket. The last of the series is a woman called L'ētsā′aplēLāna (the eater), the sister of the others. Her face is painted with the design of a bladder filled with grease. She figures in several legends as stealing provisions and pursued by the people whom she has robbed.

The sisau′k·, which is danced at potlatches and other festivals of the clans, is presided over by a being that lives in the sun. A man who had gone out hunting met the sisau′k· and was instructed by him in the secrets of the dance. When he returned, he asked the people to clean their houses and to strew them with clean sand before he consented to enter. Then he danced the sisau′k· and told the people what he had seen. He said that the being had commanded them to perform this dance and to adorn themselves when dancing with carved headdresses with trails of ermine skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man, later on, returned to the sun. Ever since that time the Bî′lxula dance the sisau′k·. Besides this, it is stated that the raven gave each clan its secrets. Each clan has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the sisau′k· only, and are otherwise kept a profound secret, i. e., they are the sacred possessions of each clan. All clans, however, wear the beautiful carved headdresses and use the raven rattles, regardless of the carving they represent. Every time the sacred objects of a clan are shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the various clans, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual—that is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the clan to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, can not become sisau′k·. A person can not take a new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or elder brother. Nusk'Elu′sta, the Indian, to whom I

owe my information regarding the clans, and who is a member of the gens Ialô'stimōt of the Taliô'mx·, stated that he had received the raven when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received the eagle. He hoped that his mother would give him the whale at his next potlatch, and would at the same time divulge to him the secrets connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets to his own children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new secret, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a kū'siut name, which remains through life, and a Xē'mtsioa name, which is changed at these festivals. Thus, Nusk'Elu'sta's (which is his kū'siut name) Xē'mtsioa name was AL'ILEMNE'lus'aix·, but at his next potlatch he intended to take the name of Kaliā'kîs. These names are also the property of the various clans, each clan having its own names. When a man possesses several sisau'k· secrets, he will distribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their sisau'k· secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member of her clan. When a person grows old, he gives away all his sisau'k· secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more. The crest and the sisau'k· carvings must not be loaned to others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are the carved headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the property of any particular clan.

The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl. The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave the potlatch. If the latter should die, the debts become due to his heirs. If the debtor should die, his heirs become responsible for the debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned, and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given by a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper plate and burnt it at a potlatch. When doing so, he had to name the price which he was going to pay the owner in its stead. Since that feast he died, and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

The kū'siut is presided over by a female spirit, called Anaūlikuts'ai'x·. Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from February till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to have been the first to find her. Anaūlikuts'ai'x· invited her into her cave and taught her the secrets of the kū'siut. She wore ornaments of red cedar bark around her head, waist, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair strewn with eagle down. She commanded the

woman to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, "Whenever a person sees me, your people shall dance the kū'siut. If you do not do so, I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the kū'siut."

Ever since that time the Bi'lxula dance the kū'siut. When a man has seen Anaūlikuts'ai'x· sitting in front of her cave, he will invite the people to a kū'siut. A ring made of red and white cedar bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over, they must retire from the taboo house. Each kū'siut lasts three days.

The various dances performed by members of the kū'siut are also property of the clans, and the right to perform them is restricted to members of the clan. They must not be given to a daughter's husband, as is the case with the sisau'k· dances, but belong to the members of the clan, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower may return it at any time. Membership of the kū'siut is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his kū'siut name, which is inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pō'pō until he was about seventeen years old, obtained at his initiation the name of L'akō'oL. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initiation; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the sisau'k·, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But still it seems possible that he must "dream" of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the kū'siut have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the Elaxō'La (the hā'mats'a of the Kwakiutl), the ō'lEx (the nū'LmaL of the Kwakiutl), and the dā'tia (the nō'ntsistalaL of the Kwakiutl). These grades are also hereditary. A kū'siut novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation.

When the Elaxō'La is initiated, he goes into the forest, where he encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be killed in order to serve as food for the Elaxō'La. The offer was accepted, and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets was made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the Elaxō'La order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter was tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears

to him and takes him up to the sun, where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn out by the strong breeze blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and bites everyone whom he can lay hold of. If he can not catch anyone he will bite his own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fled from the body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shamans must try for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have recovered it the Elaxō'La dances, clothed in a bearskin and wearing a large head ring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red cedar bark. Sometimes he appears wearing the mask of the S'ā'Lpsta (fig. 200), the spirit which initiated him. This mask corresponds exactly to that of BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē of the Kwakiutl. Some Elaxō'La do not bite people, but merely devour raw salmon or tear dogs to pieces and devour them. Those who bite people will also devour corpses. The Elaxō'La has to observe a number of regulations. For four years after his initiation he must not gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his house.

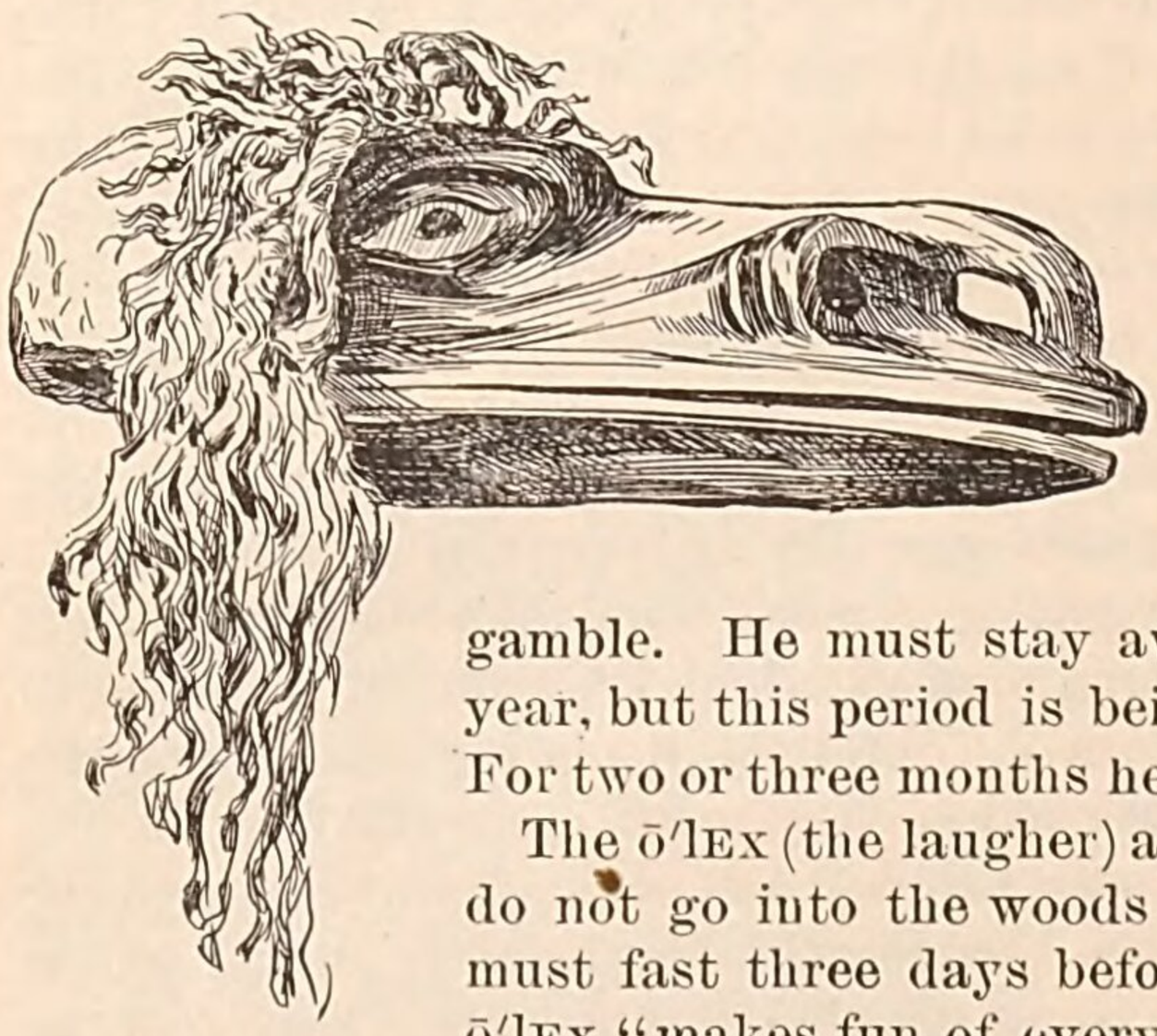

Fig. 200.
MASK OF THE S'Ā'LPSTA.
Bi'lxula.
Cat. No. 129509, U. S. N. M.
Collected by F. Boas.

The ō'lEx (the laugher) and the dā'tia (the thrower) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The ō'lEx "makes fun of everything" and scratches people with his nails. The dā'tia carries stones and sticks and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day, he pays for it at night when he dances. The ō'lEx and the dā'tia, after they have danced, must stay in their houses for one month.

If a person transgresses the laws of the kū'siut, for instance, when the Elaxō'La gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no right, also when a person derides the ceremonies or makes a mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in council and the offender is called before the court. After his offense has been proved, he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not willing and one of his relatives is found willing to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared and the substitute killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is intrusted to the shaman, who bewitches the condemned person by throwing disease into him or by poisoning him in some other (supernatural?) way. The object thrown by the shaman is a shell, bone, or finger nail, around

the middle of which objects a human hair is tied. If this object strikes the offender, he will fall sick. Blood is believed to collect in his stomach, and if it so happens that he vomits this blood, and with it the disease-producing object, he will recover, and is not molested any further. The masks (not the whistles and other ornaments) used in the kū′siut are burnt immediately at the close of each dancing season. Novices must wear a necklace of red cedar bark over their blankets for a whole year. The masks used in the dances represent mythical personages, and the dances are pantomimic representations of myths. Among others, the thunder bird and his servant, ALxulā′tEnum (who wears a mask with red and blue stripes over the whole face from the right-hand upper side to the left-hand lower side, and carries a staff with red and blue spiral lines), appear in the dances. Prominent masks are also Xē′mtsioa and his brothers and his sisters; Masmasalā′nix and his fellows, the raven and the nusxē′mta, and many others.[1]

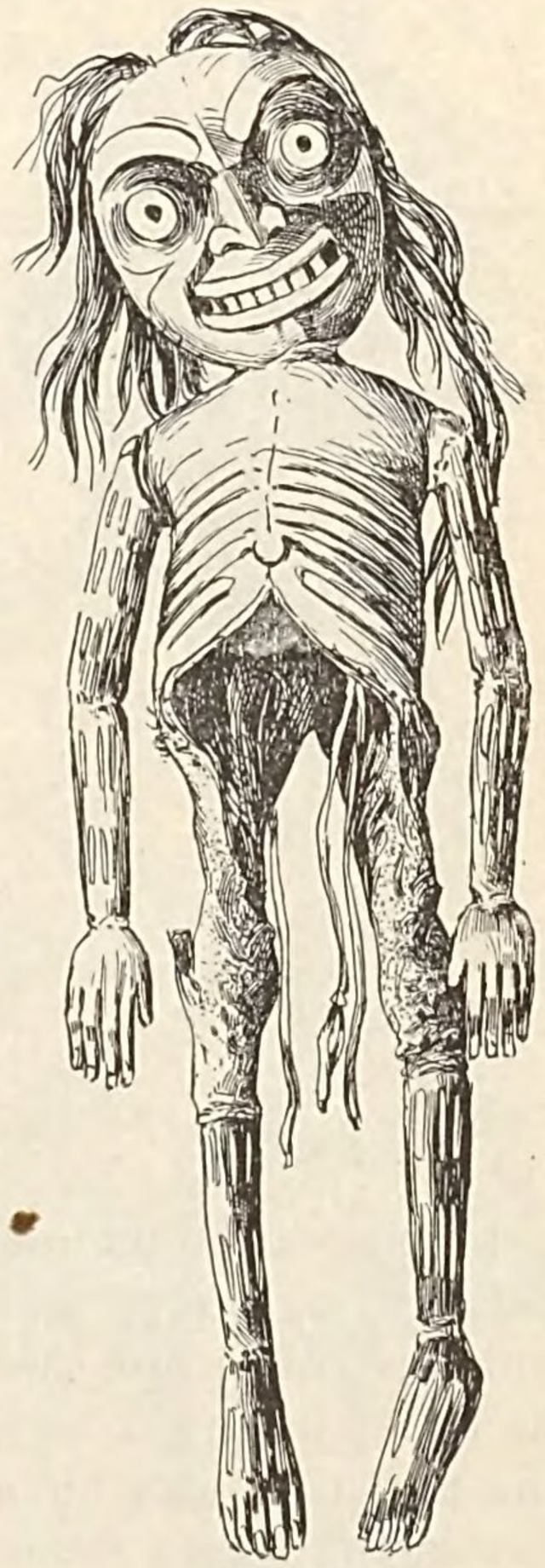

Fig. 201.

HEADDRESS OF C̄LALA′.

Haida.

Cat. No. 89038, U. S. N. M. Collected by J. G. Swan.

THE TSIMSHIAN, NÎSQA′, HAIDA, AND TLINGIT.

The tribes of this group learned the ceremonial avowedly from the Hē′iltsuq. Although I have not witnessed any part of their ceremonials, the descriptions which I received bring out with sufficient clearness its similarities to the winter ceremonial of the Kwakiutl. The ceremonials seem to be almost identical among all these tribes. It is most complete among the southwestern Tsimshian tribes, particularly the G·itxā′La, but has been adopted by all the tribes of the coast. It is said that it reached the Haida not more than a hundred years ago.

I will tell here what I learned from the Nîsqa′. They have six societies, which rank in the following order: The sEmhalai′t, mēiLa′, lōLE′m, ōlala′, nanēstā′t, hōnana′L, the last being the highest. The sEmhalai′t is really not confined to the winter ceremonial, but is obtained when a person acquires the first guardian spirit of his clan and performs the ceremony belonging to this event. The tradition of the origin of these ceremonies localizes the events at Bellabella, and it

[1] See "Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas," page 241, by F. Boas.

is added that the G·itxā′La, after having acquired the ceremonial from the Hē′iltsuq, transmitted it to the Nîsqa′. This report is corroborated by linguistic evidence. All the names of the societies, with the sole exception of the first, are of Kwakiutl derivation. (mēiLa′, teasing; lōLE′m, Kwakiutl nō′nLEm; ōlala′, name of a Kwakiutl dance; nānestā′t, Kwakiutl nōntsistā′laL; hōnana′, dance of ————). The cry of the ōlala′, "hāp," is also a Kwakiutl word meaning eating, and is the same as the cry of the hā′mats'a. The original tradition mentions three societies only—the second, third, and fourth. This shows that the first one is not a secret society, properly speaking, and that the fifth and sixth are later importations. The Nîsqa′ state that with the ceremonies came the use of large whistles. I will give the Nîsqa′ tradition of the origin of the secret societies:

Fig. 202.

PART OF A HEADDRESS REPRESENTING THE ŌLALA′.

Haida.

Cat. No. 89072, U. S. N. M. Collected by J. G. Swan.

A Wutsda′ (Hē′iltsuq), named Sa3aitlā′ben (a Nîsqa′ or Tsimshian name), went hunting. He saw a bear, which he pursued. He shot it several times, but was unable to kill it. Finally the bear reached a steep cliff, which opened and let him in. When the rock opened, the hunter heard the voices of the ōlala′ crying "hāp," and he fainted. Then his soul was taken into the house. In the rear of the house he saw a large room partitioned off. The partition was hung with red cedar bark. It was the secret room of the ōlala′. To the right of the door, on entering, was a secret room for the mēiLa′, and to the left of the door one for the lōLE′m. The chief, who was sitting in the rear of the house, ordered a fire to be made, and spoke: "Those here are the mēiLa′; they did not bring you here. Those are the lōLe′m; they eat dogs; they did not bring you here. But these are the ōlala′; they eat men; they brought you here. You shall imitate what they are doing." The chief had a heavy ring of red cedar bark around his neck, a ring of the same material on his head, and wore a bearskin. He said: "You must use the same ornaments when you return to your people." He took a whistle out of his own mouth and gave it to Sa3aitlā′bEn. He gave him his small neck ring of cedar bark, which

Fig. 203.

PART OF A HEADDRESS REPRESENTING THE OLALA′.

Haida.

Cat. No. 89073, U. S. N. M. Collected by J. G. Swan.

instilled into him the desire of devouring men (therefore it is called q'âtsx Em lōx·, cedar bark throat), and he gave him large cedar bark rings and a small bearskin, which enabled him to fly. He told him: "You shall kill men, you shall eat them, and carry them to my house." And he opened the door. The singers sang and beat time, and Saɣaitlā'bEn flew away. He flew from town to town over the whole world, crying "hāp" all the time. He went from the country of the Wutsda' to Skeena River, and then to Nass River. Sometimes he was seen on high cliffs. He killed and devoured people whom he found in the woods.

After three years he was seen near the village of the G·it'amā't. They attempted to catch him. They killed dogs and threw them into a hole, and a number of shamans hid under a canoe near by. Soon he was heard to approach. He alighted on the top of a dry cedar. He lay there on his stomach, and the point of the tree was seen to penetrate his body and to pierce it. But it did not kill him. When he saw the dead dogs, he flew down, and after he had eaten, the shamans rushed up to him, caught him, and took him up to the house. They tried to cure him, and the people sang ōlala' songs (all of which have a five-part rhythm). He tried to fly again, but was unable to get out of the house. Finally he was tamed and became like other men. Then the G·it'amā't took him back to his friends and received in return many slaves, coppers, and canoes.

Fig. 204.

WOOD CARVING REPRESENTING THE ŌLALA'.

Haida.

Cat. No. 89039, U. S. N. M. Collected by J. G. Swan.

The ceremonies take place in the month called Lôk·s Em gunä'k (cold month, or December).

In his dances the ōlala' of all the northern tribes use headdresses which represent a corpse (figs. 201–204). The whistles which are used to imitate the cries of the spirit are large and give a deep, hollow sound. They are all carved or painted with the design of the head of a corpse, either with hollow orbits or with closed eyes. Some of these whistles (figs. 205–207) are attached to bellows. They are carried under the arms, hidden by the blankets, and thus blown without being seen. The rattles which are carried by the companions of the dancer show also the same design.

The lōLE′m dance in a two-part rhythm; their call is a sharp "h, h;" their movements sudden jerks of the forearms, first the left moving up to the shoulder while the right moves down, and *vice versa*.

Fig. 205.
ŌLALA′ WHISTLE.
Haida.
Cat. No. 89062, U. S. N. M. Collected by J. G. Swan.

The mēiLa′ dance in a three-part rhythm. Their headdress is a heavy ring of red cedar bark, with a beaver tail standing up in its middle. The ring is studded with small sticks, which represent arrows (fig. 208).

The nānestā′t and hōnanā′L correspond to the nō′ntsistālaL of the Kwakiutl. When the members of these societies are in a state of ecstasy, they throw firebrands about and destroy canoes, houses, and anything they can lay their hands on. They carry lances like the nū′LmaL. The rattles used by all these societies are round, and correspond to those of the Kwakiutl (figs. 209–213).

Fig. 206.
ŌLALA′ WHISTLE.
Haida.
Ca . No. 89158, U. S. N. M. Collected by J. G. Swan.

The insignia of these societies are made of cedar bark dyed red in a decoction of alder bark. For each repetition of the ceremony a new ring is added to the head ornament of the dancer. Those of the lōLE′m and ōlala′ consist of rings placed one on top of the other. The mēiLa′ receives first a red ring, the second time a white ring, and so on, alternating. His rings are twisted together.

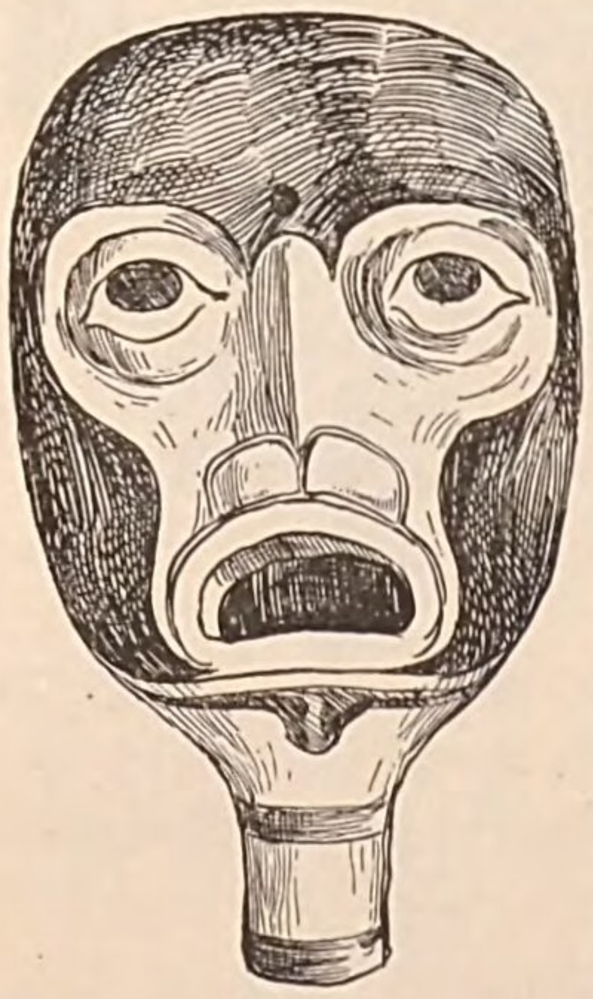

Fig. 207.
ŌLALA′ WHISTLE.
Haida.
Cat. No. 89063, U. S. N. M. Collected by J. G. Swan.

There are only a limited number of places in the societies, and a new member can be admitted only when he inherits the place of a deceased member, or when a member transfers his place to him. If such a transfer is to take place, the consent of the chiefs of the clans must first be obtained. Then one evening the chiefs, during a feast, surround the youth and act as though they had caught the spirit of the society in their hands and throw it upon the novice. If

he is to be a lōLE′m, a noise, "hôñ, hôñ," is heard on the roof of the house, and the youth faints. The lōLE′m (or the members of the society in which he is to be initiated) are called to investigate why the youth fainted. They enter singing, their heads covered with down. They place him on an elk skin, carry him around the fire, then they throw the youth upward and show the people that he has vanished. After some time, when the novice is expected back, the people assemble in the house, and all the members of the nobility try to bring him

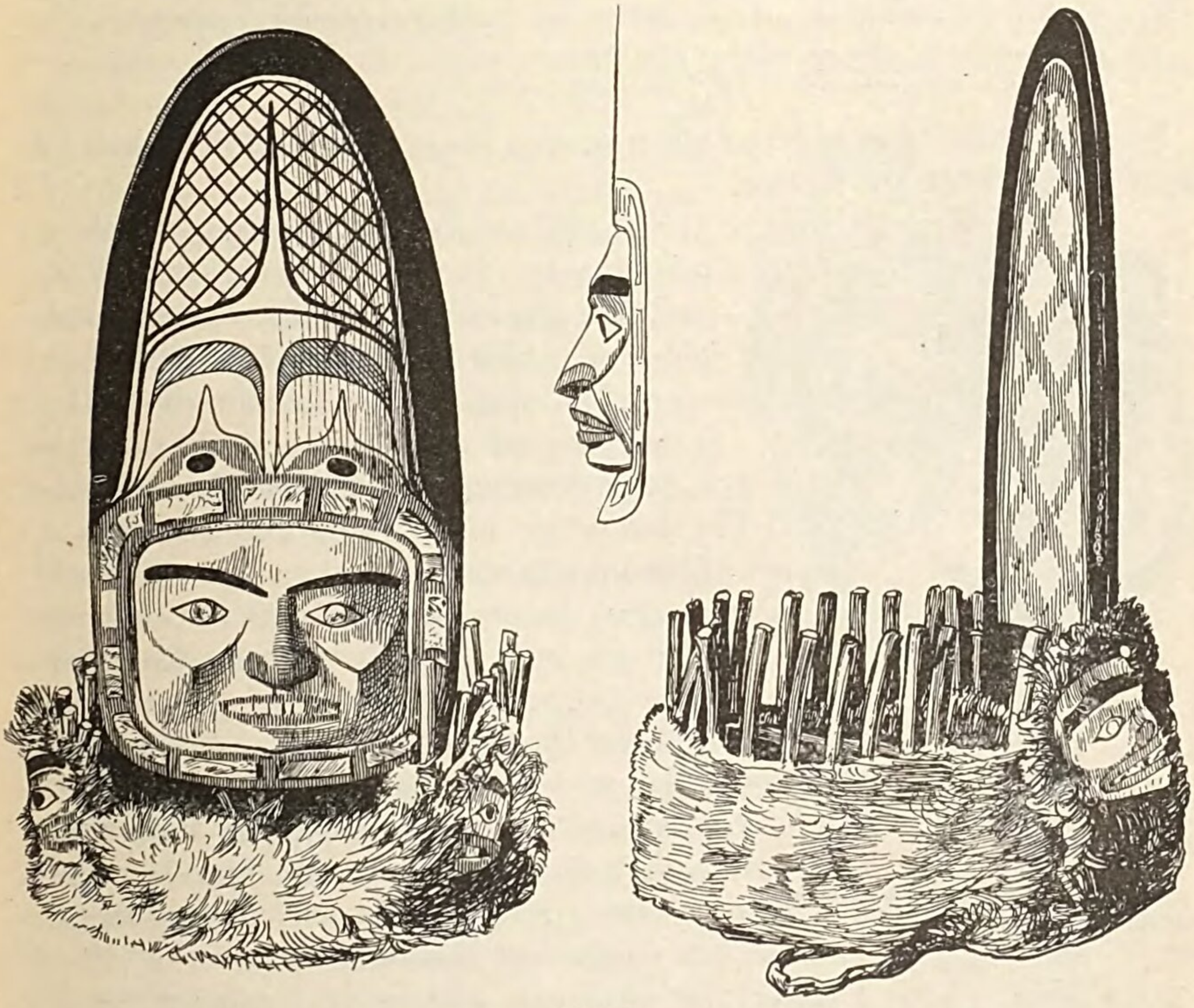

Fig. 208.

HEAD RING OF MĒ′ILA.

Tsimshian.

Diameter of ring 8½ inches; height of carving 14 inches.

IV A, No. 1029, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

back by the help of their spirits. In order to do this, they dance w th the head ornaments of their clans, their rattles, dancing blankets, aprons, and leggings, or they use the head ornament representing two bears' ears, which is made of bearskin set with woman's hair, dyed red. This ornament is used by all clans, or they wear masks representing their guardian spirits.

As an example of these, I will describe the spirit of sleep, which belongs to the G·īspawaduwE′da. The owner of this spirit appears sleeping, his face covered with a mask, the eyes of which are shut (fig.

214, p. 659). Then a chief steps up and tries to awaken him by hauling the drowsiness out of him with both his hands. Then the eyes of the mask are opened and roll, while the man who wears the mask rises. The chief who took the drowsiness out of the sleeper asks if he shall try to put the people to sleep, and on being asked to do so he opens his hands. The spirit is supposed to enter the people, and all close their eyes. After some time he gathers the drowsiness again, and the people awake and sing:

Oh, how sleepy we are; oh, how sleepy we are,
When the heat of the heaven strikes me, drowsiness comes upon me,
brought by the husband of the sleep,
Oh, how sleepy we are; oh, how sleepy we are.[1]

In this manner the spirit of sleep proves his presence and is asked to try to bring back the novice.

Fig. 209.
RATTLE REPRESENTING THE BEAR.
Haida.
Cat. No. 20875, U. S. N. M. Collected by J. G. Swan.

Figure 215 (p. 660) shows another mask, which is used in a similar way. It represents the cold. The staring eyes, the chattering mouth, express the extreme cold from which the wearer is suffering.

One dancer after another tries to bring back the novice. If he does not return by midnight of the first night, the ceremony is interrupted, and continued the following night. On one occasion a member of the lōLE′m was the last to try. He took his supernatural helper, a small, carved human image, held it up, and asked it to bring back the novice. Then he poured a spoon of grease into the fire and threw the carving after it. At once the whistles of the novice were heard on the roof. All the lōLE′m rushed out of the house, but soon they returned, saying that they had seen him, but lost him again. They cried, "ē" (drawn out very long). Then all the people left the house.

After the novice is lost in this manner, he is expected back on the following day. Early in the morning a killer whale or some other animal is seen on the river, carrying the novice on its back. He is crying "mâ, mâ, mâ, mâ," all the time, and the people go to see him. The lōLE′m take a canoe and paddle singing toward the novice. When they have almost reached him, one of their number, who stays ashore clad in a bearskin, drives all the people into the houses. The lōLE′m take the novice into their canoe and destroy the whale float which carried him, and which is manipulated by means of ropes. Then he runs up and down the street like one wild, and the ōlala′ follow him and bite any of the profane who dare to leave the house. The novice catches a dog, tears it to pieces, and eats it while he is going from house to house.

[1] See Appendix, page 733.

When he thus returns, he is entirely naked. From the time when he enters his house it becomes tabooed. A rope hung with red cedar bark is stretched from the door of the house to a pole erected on the beach, preventing the people from passing in front of the house and compelling them to go behind. A large ring of red cedar bark is fastened to the pole in front of the house. These remain on the house for a day after the return of the novice. On the following day four men put on bearskins and place rings of red cedar bark on their heads. Thus attired, they go from house to house inviting the people to see the dance of the novice and to learn his songs. When the people have assembled, the uncle of the novice spreads blankets on the floor, on which the youth dances. Then his uncle pays the chiefs who tried to bring him back, and distributes blankets among the other people also. He gives a feast, in which two kinds of berries are served, each mixed with grease. Chiefs are given large spoons filled with grease. Their people help them to eat the contents, as they must not leave any of the food that they receive. After the ceremony the novice is called Laamg·a′t (a perfect man).

Fig. 210.

RATTLE WITH DESIGN REPRESENTING THE KILLER WHALE.

Haida.

Cat. No. 20584, U. S. N. M. Collected by J. G. Swan.

People who want to become members of the ōlala′ must have been shamans first.

The following description of the initiation of an ōlala′ was given by a man who had gone through the ceremony himself, but who is a Christian now. It is a question to my mind whether the ceremonies at the grave, about which he told me, were actually performed, or whether he reflected only the dread in which the ōlala′ were held.

During a festival when he was to be initiated, his friends pretended to begin a quarrel. They drew knives and pretended to kill him. They let him disappear, and cut off the head of a dummy, which had been skillfully introduced. Then they laid the body down, covered it, and the women began to mourn and to wail. His relatives gave a feast, distributed blankets, slaves, canoes, and coppers, and burnt the body. In short, they held a regular funeral.

After his disappearance, the young man resorted to a grave. He took the body out of the grave and wrapped the blanket about himself and the body. Thus he lay with the corpse for a whole night. The other ōlala′ watched him from a distance. In the morning he put the body back into the grave. He continued to do so for some time, in order to acquire courage. All this time and for a whole year after he was not seen by any member of the tribe except by the ōlala′.

A year after his disappearance, his nephew invited all the tribes to bring him back. This was done in the same manner as described above in the case of initiation of the lōLE′m. Finally his whistles were heard, and he appeared on the roof of the house crying "ā lalalalala!" He disappeared again, and in the following night, after prolonged dances, he was seen on the hills dancing in a fire, which he had built in such a manner that when he danced behind it he appeared from the villageto be standing in the fire. The following dayheappeared,carried by his totem animal.

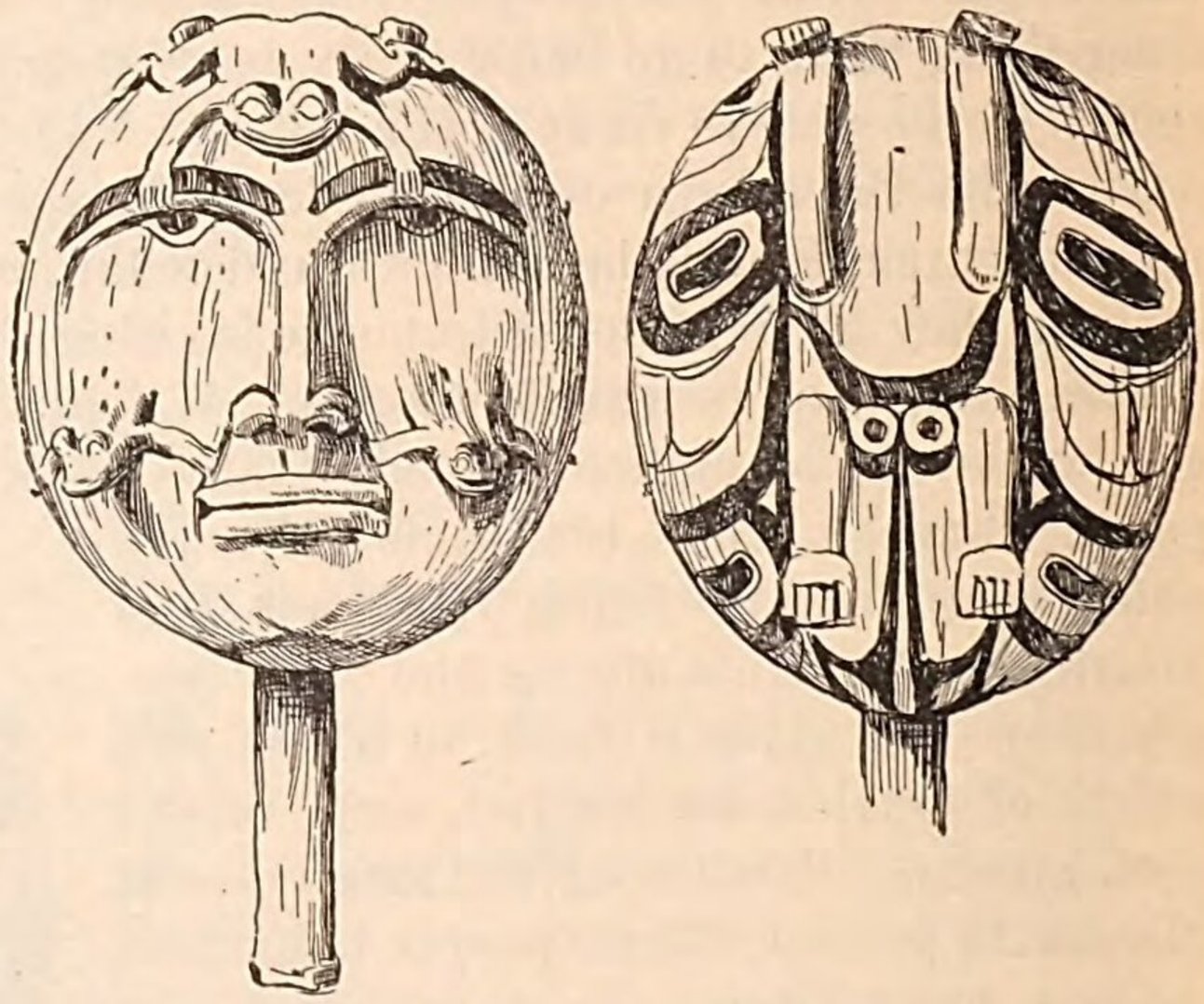

Fig. 211.
RATTLE.
Haida.
Cat. No. 20583, U. S. N. M. Collected by J. G. Swan.

The G·īspawaduwE′da are brought back by a killer whale, as described above; the Laxk·ebō′ by a bear, the Laxskī′yek on the back of an eagle which rises from underground, the Qanha′da on the back of a frog. Sometimes the novice appears on a point of land some distance from the village, carrying a corpse in his arms. Then he is said to walk over the surface of the water and to come ashore in front of the village. This is accomplished by means of a raft which is covered with planks, and burdened so that it floats a short distance under the surface of the water. It is pulled by means of a rope by some of the other ōlala′ while the novice is dancing on it, so that the impression is conveyed that he is approaching on the surface of the water. When he reaches the village, he eats of the body which he is carrying, and one or other of the chiefs kills a slave and throws the body to the ōlala′, who devour it. It is said that before eating human flesh the ōlala′ always use emetics, and that afterwards they tickle their throats with feathers to insure vomiting.

Fig. 212.
RATTLE.
Haida.
Cat. No. 88791, U. S. N. M. Collected by J. G. Swan.

In all feasts which take place during the dancing season the ōlala′ receives his share first, and nobody is allowed to eat until after he has

begun. He has a spoon and a dish of his own. These are wound with red cedar bark. Those who have formerly been ōlala′ are the servants of the new member of the society and bring him food. When he hears the word lō′lEk (ghost), he grows excited and begins to bite again. After he ceases to bite and to devour human flesh, a heavy ring of red cedar bark is placed around his neck, and he is led slowly around the fire. The ceremony is called "making him heavy" (sEp'a′lyîx), and means that he is by this weight prevented from flying away and growing excited again. After his initiation he must stay in his room for a whole year. After biting, he must chew the bark of "devil's club" (wôō′mst), which acts as a purgative.

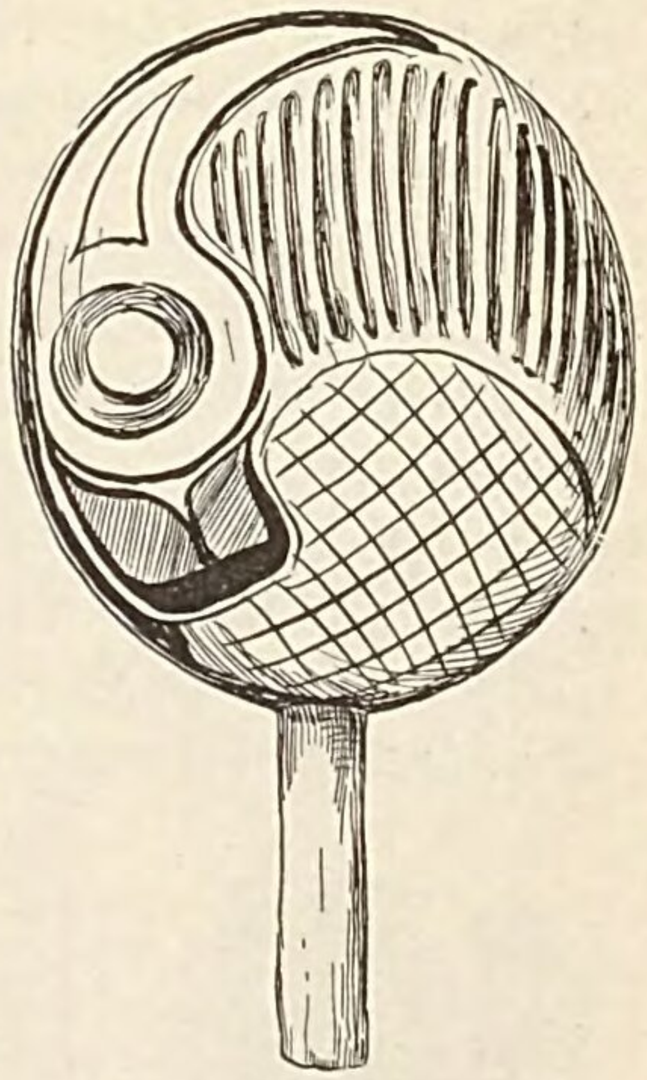

Fig. 213.

WOODEN RATTLE REPRESENTING A SHELL.

Tlingit.

Cat. No. 74333, U. S. N. M. Collected by J. J. McLean.

I received the following description from the Tsimshian. It seems that their customs and those described before are practically identical.

During the dancing season a feast is given, and while the women are dancing the novice is suddenly said to have disappeared. It is supposed that he goes to heaven. If he is a child, he stays away four days; youths remain about six days, and grown-up persons several months. Chiefs are supposed to stay in heaven during the fall and the entire winter. When this period has elapsed, they suddenly reappear near the beach, carried by an artificial monster belonging to their crest. Then all the members of the secret society to which the novice is to belong gather and walk down in grand procession to the beach to fetch the child. At this time his parents bring presents, particularly elk skins, strung upon a rope as long as the procession, to be given at a subsequent feast. The people surround the novice and lead him into every house in order to show that he has returned. Then he is taken to the house of his parents, and a large bunch of red cedar bark is fastened over the door to show that the house is tabooed and nobody is allowed to enter. The chief sings while the cedar bark is being fastened. In the afternoon the sacred house is prepared for the dance. A section in the rear of the house is divided off by means of curtains; it is to serve as a stage on which the dancers and the novice appear. When all is ready, messengers, carrying large carved batons, are sent around to invite the members of the society, the

Fig. 214.

MASK REPRESENTING THE SPIRIT OF SLEEP.

Tsimshian.

From a sketch made at the World's Columbian Exposition.

chief first. The women sit down in one row, nicely dressed up in button blankets and their faces painted red. The chief wears the amhalait—a carving rising from the forehead, set with sea-lion barbs, and with a long drapery of ermine skins (see Plate 47)—the others, the cedar bark rings of their societies. Then the women begin to dance. After a while a prominent man rises to deliver a speech. He says: "All of you know that our novice went up to heaven; then he made a mistake and has been returned; now you will see him." Then he begins the song; the curtain is drawn and masked dancers are seen surrounding the novice and representing the spirits which he has encountered in heaven. At the same time eagle down is blown into the air. After the dance is over the presents which were strung on the rope are distributed among the members of the secret society.

The novice has a beautifully painted room set apart for his use. He remains naked during the dancing season. He must not look into the fire. He must abstain from food and drink, and is only allowed to moisten his lips occasionally. He wears his head ring continually. After the ceremonies are all finished the festival of "clothing the novice" is celebrated. He sits in his room quietly singing while the people assemble in the house. His song is heard to grow louder, and at last he makes his appearance. He has put off his ring of red cedar bark. Then the people try to throw a bear skin over him, which they succeed in doing only after a severe struggle. All the societies take part in this feast, each sitting grouped together. The uninitiated stand at the door. This ends the ceremonies.

Fig. 215.
MASK REPRESENTING THE COLD.
Tsimshian.
From a sketch made at the World's Columbian Exposition.

The initiations are repeated from time to time, and the rank of a person becomes the higher the more frequently he has gone through the ceremony; but nobody, chiefs excepted, can be a member of more than one secret society. The sEmhalai't are in so far a preparatory step to the societies, as everybody who wants to enter them must have acquired the sEmhalai't first. A member of one of the other societies, namely, the mēiLa', nōnLE'm or ōlala', can not enter any other society, but remains in the society in which he has been initiated. Those who have passed twice through the sEmhalai't ceremonies are called ts'ē'ik.

XIV. The Growth of the Secret Societies.

The secret societies of the Kwakiutl, as we know them nowadays, are undoubtedly a complex growth. We will endeavor to elucidate, so far as possible, the history of their development by means of the material presented in the preceding paper.

A comparison of the ceremonials of the various tribes of the North Pacific Coast, which were briefly described in the last chapter, does

not leave any doubt that they are in the main derived from the same source. Not only are the ceremonials much alike, but even their names are identical. Among all the tribes, the badges of the ceremonials are made of cedar bark, which is dyed red in the juice of the alder. Head rings, neck rings, and masks are worn by the dancers. The performances themselves are essentially the same from Alaska to Juan de Fuca Strait. But the most certain proof of their common origin lies in the identity of name among the various tribes. Among the Haida, Tlingit, and Tsimshian we find the names ōlala, mē′iLa, and nō′nLEm, which belong to the ceremonial of the Kwakiutl as well. Among the Bîlxula the names can not be derived from the same words as among the other tribes, but there the ceremonial itself is almost identical with that of the Kwakiutl. It certainly does not differ more from the ceremonial as described here than that of other tribes of Kwakiutl lineage differs from the ceremonial of the Kwakiutl proper. Besides this, the names of the dancers, if not those of their dances, are very often borrowed from the Kwakiutl. Turning to the south, we find the Nootka as well as the Salishan tribes who practice the ceremonial, terming it by the two names Lō′koala and nō′nLEm, both of which are names used for portions of the ceremonial of the Kwakiutl.

The following table exhibits the terms that are used to designate parts of the ceremonial among various tribes:

Kwakiutl.	Haida and Tsimshian.	Nootka.	Salish.
ts'ā′eqa.	ts'ē′ik (p. 660).	tsā′yeq (p. 642).	
Lō′koala.		Lō′koala (p. 632).	Lō′koala (p. 645).
ō′lala.	ōlala′ (p. 651).		
nō′nLEm.	lōLE′m, nōLE′m (p. 651).	nōnLE′m (p. 644).	nōnLE′m (p. 645).
mē′iLa.	mēiLa′ (p. 651).		mēiLa′ (p. 645).

As all the words which I have enumerated belonged originally to the Kwakiutl language, there can be no doubt that the ceremonial of the Kwakiutl has influenced those of the neighboring tribes to a very great extent. It does not follow necessarily that no secret societies existed before the Kwakiutl exerted their influence over the people of the coast. On the contrary, the wide distribution of secret societies and the general similarity of the underlying principle all over North America make it probable that such societies did exist. But there can be no doubt that their present character was attained among the Kwakiutl, from whom the societies in their present form spread over a vast territory.[1]

The question then arises, How did the societies acquire their peculiar characteristics among the Kwakiutl? I may be allowed at this place to

[1]It can not be proved that any connection exists between the hawī′nalaI. ceremonies described on page 495 and the sun-dance ceremonies of the Sioux and Blackfeet, but their analogy is quite striking.

refer to what I stated previously (pp. 332, 336) in regard to the growth of the clan system of the Kwakiutl tribes. I pointed out that this system probably attained its present development under the impetus of the clan system of the northern tribes; that the social distinction connected with the possession of a clan legend gave a sufficient suggestion to the mind of the Indian to turn his imagination in this direction, and that the hereditary manitou probably became the totem of the clan.

The close similarity between the clan legends and those of the acquisition of spirits presiding over secret societies, as well as the intimate relation between these and the social organizations of the tribes, allow us to apply the same argument to the consideration of the growth of the secret societies, and lead us to the conclusion that the same psychical factor that molded the clans into their present shape molded the secret societies.

If this argument is correct, we must expect that the legends of the secret societies, although belonging to the most sacred myths of the tribes, show indications of foreign influences, as these must have offered the material for the suggestions which gave rise to the myths. I will not at this place enter into a detailed discussion of these traditions as I have done so in another publication.[1] I have shown that all legends of this region are of complex origin, and that they must have been carried over enormous distances from tribe to tribe. This is true as well of the more insignificant tales as of the most important myths, such as creation legends, and the legends of the origin of the secret societies. To give only one or two examples: In the tale of the origin of the cannibal society of the Hē′iltsuq (p. 401), it is told how a woman gave birth to a number of dogs, who attained the secrets of the cannibal society. This tale is found over the whole of the northwestern portion of North America, among all the Athapascan tribes, among the Eskimo, and all along the North Pacific Coast. Only in this single instance is it connected with the origin of the secret societies, and I conclude, therefore, that a foreign story has been embodied in this myth.

While here the foreign portion of the myth forms only a slightly connected incident of the tale, foreign material is much more closely interwoven with the whole fabric in the most important one of all the legends of secret societies, viz, the tale of BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē. When we compare this myth with the creation myth of the Chinook[2] we find a remarkable resemblance in certain parts of the legends. The grandmother of the divinity of the Chinook, when a child, was carried away by a monster. Their child became the mother of the culture hero, and by her help the monster was slain. Among the Kwakiutl, the cannibal spirit carries away a girl, and is finally slain by her help. In one version, their child becomes the new cannibal spirit. There exist several stories on the west coast of Vancouver Island which form

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[1] "Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas," Berlin, 1895, p. 329.

[2] "Chinook Texts," Bulletin T 20 of the Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, 1894, p. 9.

probably the connecting links between these two legends. Furthermore, the important incident of the magic flight which figures in the Kwakiutl legend (p. 400) has so wide a distribution, not only on the Pacific Coast but also in the Old World, that we must consider it a foreign element in this myth.[1]

These instances show that the myths referring to the ceremonial are of complex origin.

I will point out another peculiarity of these traditions: When we compare the legends as told by the various tribes of the coast, we find that the ceremonial is derived from a variety of myths. Some men obtained it from BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē, others from the wolves, still others brought it down from heaven. The legend of the Tsimshian tells that a hunter obtained it from a bear who took him into his lodge in the interior of a rock (p. 652). Traditions which are entirely distinct in character and origin are brought forward to explain the origin of the same ceremonial.

What does this prove? We have seen that none of the tales referred to can be considered as a growth of the genius of any of these tribes uninfluenced by any foreign sources. All the traditions are full of foreign elements which can be traced, step by step, to distant regions. When we see, therefore, that the same ritual is explained by a variety of traditions, we must conclude that in this region at least the ritual is older than the tradition referring to the ritual; that the former must be considered as primary, the latter as secondary.

I believe the source of the ritual, as well as of the legends which are connected with it, must be looked for in the advantages and the prerogatives which the membership of secret societies gives. This must have caused a desire to possess such membership, which either led men to acquire memberships in existing societies, or, where these were not sufficient, for the people to invent new ones. Of course, I do not mean to say that the Indian invented traditions consciously and intentionally, but that the desire excited his fancy and his whole state of mind, and that in this manner, after appropriate fasting, the opportunity was given for hallucinations, the material for which was necessarily taken from the existing ideas, or from the ideas of neighboring tribes. These are the peculiar phenomena which were set forth by Stoll in his book on Suggestion, and I think in a deeper manner by Tarde in his book on the Laws of Imitation.

It is easily understood how the exciting aspect of the ceremonial of the cannibal society caused a young man who had gone fasting to believe that he saw in his hallucinations the same spirit under new conditions, and to tell of his experience after his return. As the notion had become established that the spirit, after having been seen, had a tendency to reappear to the descendants, an opportunity was given for the formation of a new place in the secret society. We may

[1]For a remarkable analogue of this tradition collected among the Golds of Amoor River, see "Globus," LXXI, page 92.

therefore assume that the psychological explanation for the development of the complicated system of the membership in secret societies lies in the combined action of the social system on the one hand and the method of acquiring manitous on the other.

While these considerations explain the variety of forms of the secret societies and prove that the myths on which the ritual is apparently founded are probably secondary in character, they do not give a clew to the origin of the secret societies and of the peculiar customs connected with them. There are, however, indications which allow us to conclude that these customs had their origin in methods of warfare. First of all, the deity Wīna'lag·ilîs is considered the bringer of the ceremonial. This name means "the one who makes war upon the whole world," and he rules the mind of man at the time of war as well as during the period of activity of the secret societies. For this reason, also, the secret societies are in action during times of war, in winter as well as in summer (see p. 429). All the oldest songs of these societies have reference to war; the cannibal, the bear dancer, and the fool dancer, are considered as chief warriors, and fall into ecstasies as soon as they have killed an enemy. All this seems to indicate that the origin of the secret societies has a close connection with warfare.

But one thing more must be considered. The customs which we observe nowadays are evidently a modern development of more ancient forms. The ceremonial of cannibalism, which nowadays is the most important part of the whole ceremonial, is known to have been introduced among the various tribes recently, although its foundation, the idea of the existence of a spirit who is killing people, is present among all the tribes. The Kwakiutl state uniformly that the custom of devouring men was introduced among their tribe about sixty years ago, and that it was derived from the Hē'iltsuq. We also have conclusive evidence that the custom was acquired by the Tsimshian not more than seventy years ago, and that they also obtained it from the Hē'iltsuq. Therefore there is no doubt that the custom originally was confined to the small territory of the Hē'iltsuq. Among the southern tribes the action of the cannibal was confined to his taking hold with his teeth of the heads of enemies, which were cut off in war.

The form in which the ceremony of cannibalism of the Hē'iltsuq appeared first was the following: A slave was killed by his owner, and then was torn and eaten by the cannibals, or pieces of flesh were torn with the teeth from the arms or the chest of people, or, finally, corpses which were prepared in a particular manner were devoured by the cannibal. The first of these customs shows clearly its close connection with warfare. The slave is the booty of the cannibal or of his relatives, and by slaying him the victory is once more brought before the eyes of his admiring friends. It is hardly possible to prove definitely that the secret societies have developed exclusively from customs relating to warfare, but I believe my remarks have made clear the close connection between the two phenomena.

APPENDIX.

[To page 336.]

THE ORIGIN OF THE CLAN Ō'MANITS'ĒNÔX OF THE LĀSQ'ĒNOX.

G·ā'x'amlaē Dz'î'lqoalōLEla Lawis sā'sEmē yîx Sē'paxaēs Lō Yā'q'- 1
Came he it is said Dz'î'lqoalōLEla and his children that Shining down and
Ent'Emaē xa ts'Edā'q Lō G·ē'xdEn LEwa ā'Lē xonō'ksē Dā'dōqoanaqē-
First speaker that woman and G·ē'xdEn and last his child. Seeing from one corner to the
sEla. K·'ē'slaē g·ā'xē qā'nEmas Dz'î'lqoalōLEla yîx L'ē'sElaqa qa
other. Not it is said came the wife of Dz'î'lqoalōLEla that sun woman for
hē'ıēnē mās qā'samasē L'ē'sElaqa xa L'ē'sEla. Hē'lat'a nEqā'xa
her being who makes walk sun woman the sun. But he came down
Ō'manîs yîx Dz'î'lqoalōLEla Lawis sā'sEm. Hē'x·'ida am lawis G·ē'x- 5
Ō'manîs that Dz'î'lqoalōLEla and his children. Right away it is said G·ē'x-
dEn la qā's'ida lā'xa Wā'k·'ēqēsLa. La dō'x'oaLEla xa nEqā'ts'aqē
dEn went he walked to the Bent Bay its name. He went discovered the ten
Xuā'k'una mExē's lāq. La'lae wunwī'k·aq, laam lawîs lax a'Laea sa
canoes spread on the beach there. Then it is said he hid from them, he went it is said at inland of the
Xua'Xuak'una. Laē G·ē'xdEn dExwuLt'ā'lîs lāq. Lā'laē yā'q'ēg·aLē
canoes. Then G·ē'xdEn jumped out of the woods there. Then he spoke
da nemō'k'uē bEgwā'nEm: "Mā'sōs yā'lag·ilisēx, G·ē'xdEn?" nē'x·-
the one man: "What you working for, G·ē'xdEn?" he was
sōlaē G·ē'xdEn. Lā'laē nā'naxma'ya: "ıāTōqoasta'yîn lōL." Lā'laē 10
told G·ē'xdEn. Then he replied: "I am trying to get a magical treasure from you." Then it is said
wuLē' G·ē'xdEna xa bEgwā'nEmē: "Maē'noxoas?" Lā'laē nā'naxmayē
asked G·ē'xdEn the man: "Of what tribe are you?" Then it is said he answered
da bEgwā'nEmax: "Mā'x'enôxu'nux. Hau'xwidōx alēwats'ä'ẋsnōx
the man: "We are killer whales. He broke it our hunting canoe
g·ī'qamayēx." Lā'laē wuLā's·āwē G·ē'xdEn lāx t'Emyōsē xēs Xuā'k'-
this chief." Then it is said he was asked G·ē'xdEn at sewing material for his ca-
unēxs hau'xwidaē. Lā'laē nē'La sa dō'ēx. "Hā'g·a ax'ē'dEx dōē'xa,"
noe it was broken. Then it is said he said of the cedar twigs: "Go take cedar twigs,"
nēXsō laē G·ē'xdEn. Lā'laē qa's'ida. K·'ē'slat'a qä'Laxs g·ā'xaē dā'la 15
he was told it is said G·ē'xdEn. Then it is said he walked. Not he went long he came carrying
xa dawē'x qa s tsâ'wis lāxa bEgwā'nEm. Lā'laē da bEgwā'nEm aaLtsā'la
the cedar twigs to give them to the man. Then it is said the man broke to pieces
xa dō'wēx: "Mā'sē xa'nLEla g·iLā'sîk· tE'lqoa?" Lā'laē da bEgwā'nEm
the cedar twigs: "What makes it weak?" Then it is said the man
yā'laqa xa nEmō'kuē bEgwā'nEm qa lēs ax'ē'dEx sE'bēsa. Lā'laē da
sent the one man to go take twisted on beach (?) Then it is said the

1 bEgwā′nEm dzî′lX’wīda. K·’ē′slat’a qä′Laxs g·ā′xaē dā′la xa sE′lbēs.
man ran. Not it is said long he came carrying the twisted on beach (?)

Lā′laē da bEgwā′nEm t’E′mx·’ it xa Xuā′k’una. Lā′laē dzî′XsEmtsa
Then it is said the man sewed the canoe. Then it is said he rubbed on to it

qoalē′k·ī laxis t’Emā′yē. Laam ȣōā′La. Lā′laē g·ī′qamaya sa mā′x’ēnôx
gum on his seam. That was finished. Then the chief of the killer whales

yîx Hē′lilälag·ilîs, hē′iEm Lē′qEm sa g·ī′qamaya sa maa′mx’ēnôX:
that Hē′lilälag·ilîs. That was the name of the chief of the killer whales

5 “La’mōX lāLEn xuî′lbalax mā′sto lā′xōx G·ē′xdEn qa sEk·î′lasōX xa
“This our will go my quartz pointed harpoon to this G·ē′xdEn to spear the

qoayî′m. Hē′mîs Tē′LEqEm s ME′nLōsElas To MEnmEnlēqa’las, Tawīs
whale. And it the names of ME′nLōsElas and ME′nmEnlēqa’las, and it

g·ō′kuLaōs Mā′xēxsēk·îla Lēs g·ōkuLaōs. Lā′Lē mā′x’ēnôxLēs Lō′qulē-
your future house killer whale painting will be your future house. It will be killer whale will be your future dish.

Laōs. Hē′mîs halā′yu Lō q’ulā′sta TEwa xuî′lx·’ēx xuta′yu qa s saX-
your. And the death bringer and the water of life and the quartz edged knife for utcher knife

x·ä′Lōs.” Lā′laē wī′XstEndē da maa′mX’ēnôX lā′xîs alē′wats’ē. Lā′laē
your.” Then they launched the killer whale at their hunting canoe. Then

10 LEx·’ē′dē da maa′mx’ēnôx. G·ā′xlaē G·ē′xdEn nä′nakᵘ laxîs g·ōkᵘ.
they started the killer whales. He then came G·ē′xdEn home to his house.

Laa′m sEk·ā′ xa qoayî′m LEwa q’ā′sa. Lāg·iLtsē g·ī′qamēx·’ida.
Then he speared the whale and the sea otter. Therefore he became a chief.

Lā′laē ē′t’ēt qā′s’idē G·ē′xdEn. Lā′laē dō′x’oaLEla xa wī′waōq.
Then again he walked G·ē′xdEn. Then he discovered the wolves.

Wā′xsqEm laē da nEm. Lā′laē mā′LEmē da nE′mē wī′waôq. Lā′laē
A head at each end it is said the one. Then it is said two heads the other wolf. Then

G·ē′xdEn lāx qa s yā′yaq’Entamē xa wī′waôq: “Ma′sōs axsEwā′q’ōs?”
G·ē′xdEn there to speak to the wolves: “What you doing you?”

15 nē′x·laē G·ē′xdEn lā′xa wī′waōkᵘ. Lā′laē Lē′lalē da wī′waōkuax
he said G·ē′xdEn to the wolves. Then they called the wolves

G·ē′xdEn qa lēs lax g·o′kuas. Lā′laē G·ē′xdEn Xuēlig·ā′nō sa mā′LEmē
G·ē′xdEn to go to their house. Then G·ē′xdEn he was put on his back of the two headed

wī′waōkᵘ. Lā′laē lā′g·aa lā′xa dz’Elā′L, g·ō′kula sa xu′mdē. Lā′laē
wolf. Then they arrived at the lake, the village of the land otter. Then

yā′q’ēg·aLē da wī′waōkᵘ: “Laams lē′dEnōxsLEs xu′mdē.” Lā′laē
he spoke the wolf: “Now you this will be your dance land otter.” Then

g·î′lx·’idē da wī′waōkᵘ: “Lā′laē lā′g·aa lāx g·ō′koa sa g·î′la. “Laams
he trotted the wolf. Then they arrived at his house of the grizzly bear. Now you

20 lē′denuXsLîs g·î′la.” G·ā′xēLa sa L’ā′sq’ēnôx lē′idEnōX sa g·î′la LEwa
this will be your dance grizzly bear. Therefore the L’ā′sq’ēnôx having dance of the grizzly bear and the

xu′mdē. Lā′laē qā′s’idayū sa wī′waōkᵘ. Lā′laē lā′g·aa lāx g·ō′kua
land otter. Then walked by the wolf. Then they arrived at the house

sa wī′waōk. Haē′LEla’yu lax g·ō′kua sa g·ē′qamaya sa wī′waōk xa
of the wolf. He was taken at the house of the chief of the wolves the

Lēqadês ƍō′ȣōȣolaqa. Lā′laē wuLā′sawa: “Mā′sōs yā′lag·ilisax?”
his name Howling woman. Then he was asked, “what you working?”

Lā′laē nā′naxmaē G·ē′xdEn: "La′Lōkoasdayîn." Lā′laē dzō′sō sa 1
Then he answered G·ē′xden I come to get a magical treasure. Then he was given of the

mā′stō ꞱEwa xumtxu′mtag·ila ꞱEwa halā′yu ꞱEwa lēlē′ida xa hama′n-
harpoon and the making everything burn and the death bringer and the dances, the laughing

xolaL ꞱEwa qāq'ē′LElaL. Lā′laxaa nē′k·ē ƑŌ′ƧōƧolaqa qa s lē wī′na
dance and the mosquito dance. Then again said Howling Woman that they to go make war

xa Qā′q'Egwā′dEXLa lEƧuXLä′yas sa lē′lqoalaLayē. Lā′laē Tsō′ku-
the Masters their name their name of the tribes. Then 'Canoe

lag·iLa laē da g·ī′qamayas. Hē′x·'ida am lawîs la wī′nē da wī′waōkᵘ. 5
Breaker' it is said the their chief. Right away it is said they went to make war the wolves.

Lā′laē qā′x·'idE xa g·ī′qamēXdē. Mō′p'Enk·îm laē da qā′g·îkᵘ. G·ā′x-
Then they cut off his head the chief past. Four fathoms his face it is said the head cut off. They came,

laē tsâ′yi da qā′g·ukᵘ lāx G·ē′xdEn. Laam tē′kuēt'ēdayu lāx G·ē′xdEn.
it is said they were given the heads to G·ē′xdEn. Then they were hung on to his body to G·ēxdEn.

Hē′x·'ida amlawîs dzē′dzasâ′lē da qēqā′g·îkuax. Laē nē′nakuē
At once it is said they squeaked the heads. Then he went home

G·ē′xdEn. Laa′m ꞱŌ′kualaxēs. Hē′x·'ida amlawîs qoā′qoēk·a xa
G·ē′xdEn. It was his magical treasure. At once it is said he went whaling the

qoayî′m. Lā′laē G·ē′xdEn yā′laqax Dzî′lqoalōLEla qa lēs g'oaā′ lāx 10
whale. Then it is said G·ē′xdEn sent Dzî′lqoalōLEla to go sit on rock at

Dō′q'uXdEma xa Ʇawä′la lāx Lā′sqas qa dā′doqoalēsē xa qoayî′m.
'Watching place' the standing near the water at Lāsqas to watch the whales.

Hē′Em lag·īLs sEk·a′ Lā′sq'ēnôx lāxa qoayî′m LEwa lēlai′dē. Hē′Em
Therefore they spear the Lā′sq'ēnôx at the whales and the dances. That

axnō′guadag·iL sa L'ā′sq'ēnoXuas. Laam lā′pa.
was obtained by the Lā′sqēnôx. That is the end.

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NEQĀ′P'ENK·'EM'S SONG.

1. Ts'ēLwuXLEntsēa sEns q'ā′lasōwa lāx LĀ′sōtēwalēts nā′la.
Famous great our known at outside of world.

Awä′lē da g·ī′qama wulqamä′iläi g·ī′qama'ya ōkuqēslai ? (1) lāx 15
Real the chief highest of all chief by himself ? to

g·ī′g·iqama îs lē′lqoalaLē. "Nō′gua'am laē ā′Llanōx as g·ī′g·iqama'ya
the chiefs of the tribes. "I am it is said having servants of chiefs

îs lē′lqoalaLai. Nō′gua'am lālaē ayî′lkoadês g·ī′g·iqama'ya îs
of tribes. I am it is said having for speakers chiefs of

lē′lqoalaLai. Nō′gua'am lā′laē lElaxs'a′mōLax q'E′lq'atîsâlax g·ī′g·i-
tribes. I am it is said pieces of copper broken coppers the

qama'ya îs lē′lqoalaLai." ƑoāL tsōla sEns g·ī′qamaēx xa′nLElag·ilîs
chiefs of tribes." Do not let our chief here get worse

LŌ′malag·ilîs mō′masila yaixLE′na sEns g·ī′qamaēx lē′lqoalaLai, ā′Lalai 20
overdoing hurting property our chief here tribes, else

Lens xa′nLElak·as lēx·aam laxa L'ā′L'aqoa laxē lE′laxs'amūta q'a′lqati-
we shall get worse only being at the coppers at the broken pieces of copper pieces of

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[1] One word missing.

1 sawē lāxs'Entā'laLtsē q'alq'altE'laLtsē saptEndā'laLtsē, hēwiyakilitsē,
copper copper breaker great copper breaker great who throws cop- great to whom great
per into water nobody can
climb up

k·'ē'soyak·ilitsē, g·ī'g·iqama'ya. XōXslatsēyayūLēx q'oā'lōsōmas
the highest one great chiefs. You went long ago you burnt to
in back ashes

xa nE'msqEmāX wuL lē'lqoalaLai: XōXslatsēyayūLēx g·ī'qama'ya
the one long tribes. You went long ago chief
ago

lē'lqoalaLai, q'u'mx·'idāmas xa lā'laxsâlōLa q'oāqumXsâlamas yā'g·i-
tribes, making them run- the going to and making them run to and you
away fro in a hole fro in a hole

5 LExtsEmōL g·îns mō'qumē g·îns lē'lqoalaLai. XōXlatsēyayūLēx
were enraged with our loaded canoe our tribes. You went long ago
them in your at anchor
canoe

ōXoā'ya ts'ō'nōqumnuXsōs ts'ē'ts'ēLwā'laōLa guā'pa'lîs lē'lqoalaLai.
oh sound ts'ō'noqoa sound the famous one north end tribes.

XōXslatsēyayuLēx g·ī'qama'ya mā'Xuax·ilayulēX g·ī'qama'ya îs
You went long ago chief giving away blankets chief of

lē'lqoalaLai wooō ya.
tribe wooō ya.

2. ƍoā'L tsō sEns ē'waqamē qEns q'ā'lasowa lax Lā'sotiwalîts nā'la.
Don't let us our going in front of him our the one who is heard at outside forehead of world.

10 Ā k·'esLala lEns lē'lqoalaLai, bā'xswalaLa[1] g·īlōLayaLa xEns mō'qEmaē
Ah! not let us, tribes, steal steal from our loaded canoe

g·îns lē'lqoalaLai, ā'LalalEns ts'E'ng'um laxa wulasōlāxa mō'koasō lāxa
our tribes, else we he will be angry at the hands will be tied will be hanged at the

mō'qumaēx, lē'lqoalaLai. "K·'ēs laxā'owîs LEns wax'a'mlaxa wāx-
loaded canoe tribe. "Never mind us do not mind it mind

tsēEm lāxa. NEmō'X'a'mlaxa g·în nEmā'x·itsē'yak· Lō nE'msqEmak^{u}
great is at it. I alone I as great as this and one

lē'lqoalaLai. Nēmāx·itsē'ya g·în Lō mō'sqamāk^{u} lē'lqoalaLai. Nō'-
tribe; as great as I and four tribes. I

15 guaq'ā'maas g·īxtowēsō XusE'la g·ī'xtowēsō sEns g·ī'qamayēx
am the one placed on top of fighting place placed on top of our chief

lē'lqoalaLai. Nō'guaq'ā'maas Lā'qoaqamlîs, Neg·ē'atsē, K·'ō'kuig·aliso.
tribes. I am the one Copper face, Great mountain, Supporter,

Wā'wala'las, g·în g·ī'qētēyatsē g·în lē'lqoalaLai. Wōa wâ.
Obstacle, my having me for master. my tribes. Wōa wâ.

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NEQA'P'ENK·'EM'S SONG.

1. ƍoa'la mE'lmElsElaXdôx'ōL, lē'lqoalaLai! ƍoa'la sa mE'lmEl-
Do not look around, tribes. Do not indeed look

sEladaôqōL lē'lqoolaLai, ā'Lala LEns dā'doxkwinala lāx laXōX
around, tribes, else we shall see something terrible at our

20 g·ōXtsēax sa â'lax g·ī'qama'ya.
house great of the real chief.

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[1] A distorted Chinook jargon word for kapsiwa'la.

2. ƓOa'la dō'doXsēstalaXdaôxōL, lē'lqoalaLai! ƸOa'la sa dō'doXsē- 1
Do not look forward and backward, tribes, do not indeed look forward

stalaXdaôqōL, lēlqoalaLai! ā'Lala LEns dā'doxkwinala lax laXōX
and backward, tribes! else we shall see something terrible at our

g·ō'XtsēaX sa â'lax g·ī'qama'ya. Ts'ō'noqoanuXtsē lalōX g·ō'xtsēax
house great of the real chief. Ts'ō'noqoa having great our house great

sa â'lax g·ī'qama'ya. Lā'g·iL tsēasōX hā'manēkwilalatsēa dō'lEmx·iti-
of the real chief. Therefore our making unable to move great making numb

latsēa, k·'ēs q'u'laXLag·ila, k·'ēs pE'nLEXLag·ila aiXōX g·ō'xtsēax sa 5
great, not life making, not breath making our house great of the

wā'waxsqEmg·īlaxtsēa â'lax g·ī'qama'ya.
double chief great real chief.

3. ƓOa'la hā'yutElaXdaôX'ōL, lē'lqoalaLai! ƓOa'la sa hā'yutEla-
Do not make noise, tribes! Do not indeed make

daôqōL, lē'lqoalaLai! ā'Lala sEns Lā'aqala'yūtsēa sa La'qanuXtsēa
noise, tribes! else we overturn great of the overhanging great

g·ī'qama'ya. "Nō'guaq'ā'mas g·ā'yaxalasa qoī'Laxalasa g·īg·Eqama'ya
chief. "I am the one from whom comes down from whom is untied chiefs

s lē'lqoalaLai. 10
of tribes.

4. ƓōA'la dEndēlix·ilaXdaôx'ōL, lē'lqoalaLai! ƓOa'la sa dEndēlix·i-
Do not grumble, tribes! Do not indeed grum-

laXdaôx'ōL, lē'lqoalaLai! laXōX g·ō'xtsēax sa wā'waxsqEmg·ilaôx-
ble, tribes! in our house great of the double

tsēa g·īqama'ya. Wā'wanE'mēqalag·ila g·'īg·êsnēqalag·ila lai ā'la-
great chief. Making all expect to die frightening blood

kwisawē sa wā'XwuLa g·ā'xēLā'lisEm mā'mEnLēya lāXōX g·ō'x-
on body of the those who tried to enter to eat at chief's house in our house

tsēax sa wā'waxsqEmg·ilaôxtsēa â'lax g·ī'qama'ya." HaiXa'mē g·în 15
great of the double great real chief. Only that it is me

tsE'nkumnā'xua ha'lstalag·iliLa g·īxstalag·iliLa laXōX ma'menlayū
angers eating a little only eating like a chief in our food given

tsēax sa wā'waxsqEmg·ilatsēa â'lax g·ī'qama'ya.
great of the double great real chief.

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HĒ'NAK'ALASŌ (=ENVIED).

1. WuLmē'g·în nēx·qē ōgwu'la kwä'nēsElamas xa nā'la. K·'ē'saiLEn
I thought I said another one made smoky the weather. No I am

nEmōgu'lag·ilîs am hē'g·alag·ilîs am kwa'kux·âlatsēa wōxspEndālatsēa
the only one in the world the only one on earth making smoke great at both ends of the year

LE'lanEm axa wī'wulqE'mak^{u} lē'lqoalaLai; wo ho ho. 20
called the all tribes tribes; wo ho ho.

2. Wā'LdEmg·ā'nEm La s yā'q'EndEmg·ā'nEmLas yā'yaqēt'ēnēqa;
What will be his word of what will he say again the spider woman;

1 k·'ēsLait'ē amō'sayaLa wailēqayaLa wāldEms yā'yaqēt'ēnēqa; k·'ēs-
not will he brag going in zigzag lines his words the spider woman; not

Laid'ē amō'sayaLa sag·ēLExâ'laLa Xuā'kuiL'Exâ'laLa q'E'ltabuLā'yaLa
will he brag he will give away canoes carrying canoes in his mouth pretending to break coppers

k·ōqoabula'yaLa k'uē'lasbuLā'yaLa L'ē'nag·ilabuLa'yaLa wā'LdEm s
pretending to break coppers pretending to give feasts pretending to give grease feasts the words of

yāyaqēt'ēnēqa ōwag·iL'amasi'la lE'mlEmXumlisa quē'quxaLEmli'sa
the spider woman thus he turned dry in his face moldy in his face

5 hē'nak·'aētse Lā'Lawitsē sEns g·ī'g·iqama'ya.
standing in front of their belly standing in front of him our chiefs.

3. K·'ē'ōsk·'ā'sowa ēx ēanag·alas. Lā'naXua'mēk· wāx· wā'nēxsila
Nothing at all is enough for you. Sometimes this tried maltreating

ā'nag·'ila lamXd'as haiquē'x·s mā'sLa wa'yōLa yā'yaLaLg·iwē qanLō
making enough you will be like what (future) old dog open your legs before me when I shall

yā'k·alīLō, he'imōLxaas quē'x·'idē layō'Lg·în laxs'Endēyōl xa Lē'qEm-
get excited in the house, thus you did when I did break copper the named

nōXtsea a'nqolatsēa ʇō mā'xts'ōlEmtsēa sEns yaēxLEn LēqEmnōXtseā
great 'Cloud great' and 'Of whom all are ashamed' great our property named great

10 hai'matsēa ʇō māx'ēnōxtsēa ʇō LēqEmnōXtsēa ōpalaā'tsēa ʇō Lē'qam-
'Chief great' and 'Killer whale great' and named great 'Point of land' great and named

nuXtsēa k·întsēgumnuXtsēa ʇō LēqamnuXtsēa qau'lōmatsēa. HaimEn
great 'Of whom all are afraid' great and named great 'Beaver great.' That is mine

nE'nqEmx·'itayū g·în yā'lasuwa mō'masasōwa xa tē'istōs, pēLpaXsēōwa
what is thrown into the fire my vanquished ill treated the limp one when I eat, limp when eaten

xā'daak^{u}mEnēx wā'wi'lāla xoa g·ī'qama'ya.
slim small ones trying to vanquish this chief.

4. Wē'g·a xoa g·ā'xēLElaōx mā'mEnLēya laxō Lawu'lqamāyax,
Go on! the poor one who entered who wants to be fed from the sons of the chief

15 q'oalē'XLēyatsē kuā'xsistālatsē kuā'x·ilanō'kumētsē g·ī'qama'ya.
whose own name great smoke around the world great smoke ahead great chief.

WaX'E'mLa wā'lEmx·'ida q'ē'k·isamas nax'ēdāmasLa yēx·ts'ōsElaitsōX
Never mind endeavor to give them much food making drink qualmish

hō'g'oaLElatsōx wī''laqō lō'yEwīnōXoa g·ī'qEma'ya.
vomiting never goes back from the middle chief.

[To page 358.]

1. YānanōXlai wā'ya sa yā'lag·ilîs sa nā'la.
There is a bear it is said the river of the traveler around the world of the world.

2. YaLā'wisElai nā'na sa wā'ya sa yā'lag·ilîs sa na'la.
He is wild it is said the bear of the river of the traveler around the world of the world.

20 3. Yā'xsEm lā'laai ts'E'lx·aya xa wā'ya sa mā'nEnsilalisax g·îns
Badness then it is said going up the river the river of the measuring life of man our

lē'lqoalaLē.
tribes.

4. Yā! sī′siyūL laē ts'E′lx·aya wā′ya sa mā′mEnsilalisax g·îns
Ya! sī′siyūL it is said going up the river the river of the measuring life of man our
lē′ElqoalaLē.
tribes.

5. Yā! lā'm lā′laē awā′wustalēkᵘ Lā′qōstalēkᵘ ayiya xEns nō′laqamaē
Yā! they are it is said great things going up the river copper going up the river ayiya our oldest brother
aya xg·īns lē′ElqoalaLē.
aye of our tribes.

[To page 358.]

1. Haliōqoag·a′nEmt āna L'ē′s'ala g·ā′nEmLa g·ē′qama'ya lē′lqolaLai
He will not have mercy upon the people heat it will be the chief tribes.

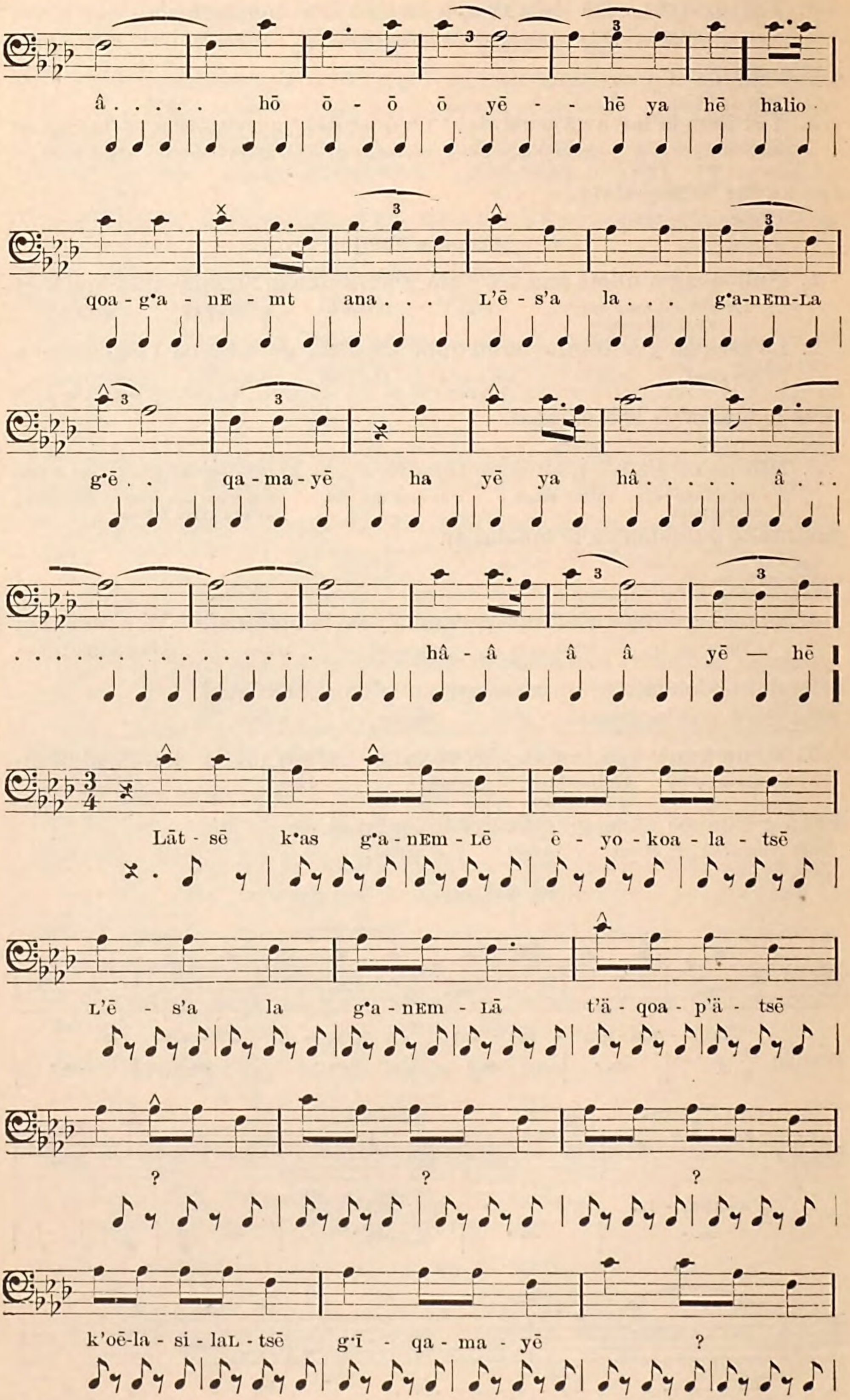
2. Lā′tsēk·as g·ā′nEmLē haliō′qula L'ē′s'ala g·ā′nEmLa t'ēqoapätsēa
Thus great will be not having mercy the heat it will be great fire with stones in it
sEns g·ī′qama'yē lē′lqoalaLai.
of our chief tribes.

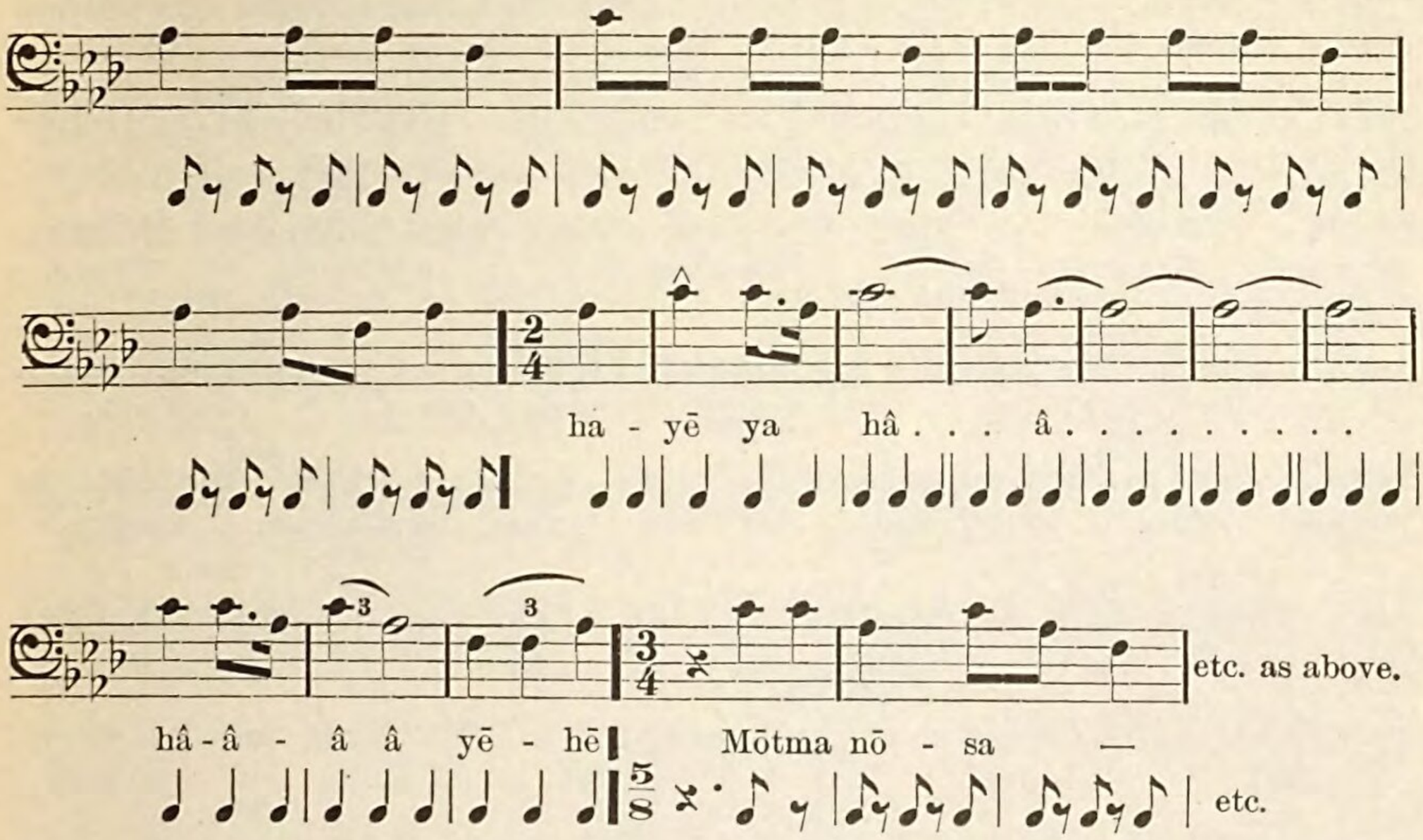
3. Mōtma'nō′s'a q'ē′q'ak·îs mōtmadēg·ē′xoa k·'oē′lasilaLtsēx t'ai′qoa-
You eat all the rest of the feast eating much who eats the rest this great one who always gives feasts this great
palāLtsēx g·ī′qama'ya lē′lqoalaLai.
one who always performs the fire dance chief tribes.

4. Lō′malag·ilitsē wîst'Ens g·ī′qama'yēx lē′lqolaLai. Wīq'ana′koei
Too great is what he is doing our this chief tribes. Who is like to him
hēistalaEn k'oē′latsēstāla xEns g·ī′qama'yēx lē′lqolaLai.
going around giving feasts all around. our this chief tribes.

5. Yō′EmxEnt ēs'aqEmōL hē′wēxaLē nE′mp'anāLa k'uā′k'uilatsE-
This must be put into him by his father he never once gave a small
māLa g·ē′qapoē sEns g·ī′qama'yē lē′lqolaLai.
feast lower chief of our chief tribes.

TUNE, RECORDED BY F. BOAS.


â . . . . . hō ō - ō ō yē - - hē ya hē halio
qoa - g•a - nE - mt ana . . . L'ē - s'a la . . . g•a-nEm-La
g•ē . . qa - ma - yē ha yē ya hâ . . . . . â . . .
. . . . . hâ - â â â yē — hē
Lāt - sē k•as g•a - nEm - Lē ē - yo - koa - la - tsē
L'ē - s'a la g•a - nEm - Lā t'ä - qoa - p'ä - tsē
k'oē-la - si - laL - tsē g•ī - qa - ma - yē ?



The three part beats are syncopated, the sticks being raised at each quarter and therefore falling nearly on the second eighth of the three part bar. The four part rhythm is syncopated in the same manner. The rhythm of the tune of the second line, Lāts'ek·as g·anEmLē, is not quite certain. I counted the f of the second bar almost three eighths, and also in the seventh bar of this part, but there seemed to be throughout slight irregularities in rhythm of the first seven bars of this part of the song, though the beating is perfectly regular, five eighths against three of the tune. The text as sung by my informant differs slightly from the dictated text.

[To page 374.]

Nū′yampalisa Lai laôx, nū′yampalisa Lai Lox, g·ā′xaōstōa Lai Lau 1
Tale from the beginning your, tale from the beginning. your, you came up

q'ō′mōk·ustâaLlaōL q'ō′manakulak·as, q'ō′mōXs'ā′lak·a′s'ō, q'ō′mX-
your Q'ō′mōqoa house came up real wealth moving, real wealth coming ashore, wealth on

q'ōmg·ilig·ē nEg·īsīlask·as'ō nē′g·iyatsēk·as'ō. Nū′yampalisa Lai Lôx.
his back making a mountain of property great real mountain. Tale from the beginning your.

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NŌMASE·NXĒLÎS.

Qoā′LEla a′m laē Nō′masē da bEguā′nEm lāx Â′g·iwa'laa lax mEku-
In the beginning it is said Nō′mas the man at Â′g·iwa'la at in front

ma''ya Tsā′xîs. G·ō′guat sîs g·ō′kuê lax Â′g·iwa'la. Xu′ng·ink·âla El 5
of Fort Rupert. He had a house his house at Â′g·iwa'la. Father and son it is said

Tawîs xonō′kuē L'ā′qoag·ilaqEmaē. NEmā′g·u'stâlîs a′mlaē Nō′mas
with his son "Copper maker face." They came up together it is said Nō′mas

1 ꞇawîs ꞇ'ā'qoa. Qoā'LEla a'm'laē t'ē'g·its'â'lēL xa L'āqoa. Lā'g·iLas
and his copper. In the beginning it is said he lay on it with knees drawn up the copper. Therefore

ȣoā'LElaam L'ā'qoag·i'laqamēXLa xonō'kua. G·ā'xlaē Yix·ā'qEmaē
in the beginning "Copper maker face" its name the child. He came it is said Yix·ā'qEmaē

hē'ilax Nō'mas. Nē'x·laē Yix·ā'qamayaxs q'ulē'nōkua as Nō'mas.
and asked to do something for him Nō'mas. It is siad Yix·ā'qEmaē his uncle having of Nō'mas.

Laa'm hai'lānEma LĒ Yix·ā'qamayax Nō'mas qa ēs qaqak·'anē'nēLē.
Then he was asked to work by Yix·āqEmaē Nō'mas that he took a wife.

5 Hai'laē g·ō'kula Yix·ā'qamaē LîXsī'waē. La'am mā'wōdē Yix·ā'qaya-
It was the town Yix·a'qEmaē LîXsī'waē. Then he caused him to move his camp Yix·ā'qE-

max Nō'mas qa s lē qap'ä'LaLawē lāx LîXsī'waē, qa qEg·ā'taēnēLas
maē Nō'mas that he went to live together with him at LîXsī'waē, for he wanted to marry

xonō'kuas Yix·ā'qamāyas g·'ē'dēLas Sâ'g·i'yē. ME'Xula laē Yix·ā'qa-
his child Yix·ā'qEmaē his princess Sâ'g·i'yē. He desired it is said Yix·ā'qE-

mayax g·ō'kuas Sâ'g·i'yē yaxs L'āxL'ayaai'koaē. Lā'g·iLas nēx· qa s
maē his house Sâ'g·i'yē his carvings. Therefore he said that he

qig·ā'dē laq. Mā'x'ēnôx laē k·'ā'tama'ya sa g·ōkᵘ. G'utsē'g·ilaē da
married her there. Killer whale it is said the painting on the front of the house. Sitting on its back the

10 ts'ē'k'oêq. K·'ēôs El k·'ēs ȣoä'Laāts awī'nakuiLa sa g·ōkᵘ. La'am
gulls. Not it is said not the same all around the floor of the house. Then

laē Nō'masē g·î'lg·îlaxsL lāL g·î'ldzaqoaL dā'la xēs sē'k·'aqanō, qa ēs
it is said Nō'mas first out of the canoe he will go he will speak first taking his staff, for it

hē'g·iLaEl ȣoä'LĒ sē'k·'aqānôs ā'yasōxtâlag·īLas sē'k·'aqānôs sēxsq'ā'-
therefore it is said thus his staff hand on top of it therefore his staff because he

q'aLlēlaas lāx g·'ē'sg·'êdēLa sa g·ī'g·iqama'ya sa lē'lqolaLai. Laa'm
carried on his hands there princesses of the chiefs of the tribes. Then

dā'la xîs yā'q'antp'ēq qē s sē'k·'aqānō. Laa'mlaē lōLx g·'ē'dēLas
he took his speaker's staff for his staff. Then it is said he got the princess of

15 Sâ'g·i'yē. Laa'mlaē â''mē Nō'mas la nEmā'ēL ꞇō Yix·ā'qamē. Laa'm
Sâ'g·i'yē. Then it is said only Nō'mas was together in house and Yix·ā'qEmaē. Then

laē lā'mēLētsEnx lax Ts'ā'watē. Lā'laē xoā'naL'ēdExdaôx qa s lē lax
it is said it was time to enter in Ts'ā'watē. Then they prepared that he went to

Ts'ā'watē. Laa'm k'oē'lats'ēxsdē Nō'masa sēs L'ā'qoa. Lā'xdaôx laē
Ts'ā'watē. Then he wanted to give a feast Nō'mas with his copper. There they it is said

sē'x'uit. Laa'm lawîs hā'hanbala lax L'ā'qoaxstElîs. Laa'mlaē
paddled. Then it is said they stopped at 'Copper under rock.' Then it is said

t'ā't'ētsa qa s t'ē'sEliL. Lā'laē wāx· lā'lōL ā'xa t'ē'sEm qa s lā'xsē
they wanted to take the stone for stone in house. Then it is said try they got that stone for it to take into canoe

20 qa s lēs lax Ts'ā'watē. Lā'laē wē'Ldaôxs. Â'Em la wē'sla Lā'ts'Ex-
for to go to Ts'ā'watē. Then it is said they were not strong enough. Only he then he put un-

stēlēsa sa L'ā'qoa lā'xa t'ē'sEm. Hē'imîs â'Em la Lē'qEm sa t'ē'sEmē 1
der it of the copper to the stone. That is only is the name of the stone
L'ā'qoaxstElis. Laa'm nē'k·îxs lâ'Laaxa xa t'ē'sEm qa ēs laē'naē
'Copper under rock.' Then he said he got the stone for his going
ō''mayūguī'la sa L'ā'qoa lāq. Lā'laē lā'g·aa lax Ts'ā'watē. Laa'm
payment made of the copper there. Then it is said he arrived at Ts'ā'watē. Then
sē'k·'aqanōnōx sēs L'ā'qoaxstâla sē'k·'aqanō, atsEtâ'laxsēla sē'k·aq'ānō.
having his staff his copper on top staff, hand on top also staff.
Laa'm k'uī'las'it xa q'ē'nEmē lē'lqoalaLaya. Laa'm L'ā'yu xēs Lē'qEm. 5
Then he gave a feast the to many tribes. Then he changed his name.
Laa'm laē Kuā'x·ilanōkumēx·La, L'ā'qoag·ilaqEmēXLā'laē Lawu'l-
Then it is said 'Having smoke' on him, 'Copper maker face' on him his
qamāyas. Ts'â'mâXLā' lat'a nEmō'kuē xonō's. Laa'm wī'la.
successor. 'Giving in the morning'[1] but one his second child. That is all.

[To page 384.]

Ō'MAXT'Ā'LALĒ.

G'oaai's laē da ts'ê'kumElk^{u} lāx TE'ng·îs. Lā'laē lā'wōda xēsts'ē'kumL.
Sitting on the beach it is said the bird headdress at TE'ng·îs. Then it is said he took it his bird mask.
Wä! laa'm lāwōdêL xēs ts'ē'kumL, laa'm LE'qadês NEmō'guîs. Laē
Wä! then he took it off his bird mask, then his name NEmō'guîs. Then
bā'xus'it. Lā'laē LE'x'uît qa s lē mā''wa lāx K·'ā'qa. Laa'm xu'ngua- 10
he became a natural man Then it is said he moved that he went carrying goods in canoe to K·'ā'qa. Then he had a
dix·'it ês Ō'maxt'ā'laLēg·ilak^{u}. Hā''lōLts'âlaal q'oā'x'ēdē da g·înā'nEmē
son of Ō'maxt'ā'laLē to be. Growing fast it is said growing the child
xunō'k^{u} as NEmō'guîs. Lā'laē hēiLats'âx·'ida, laa'm LŌ'k'uēmas'ida.
the son of NEmō'guis. Then it is said he became a man, then he grew strong.
Lā'naXua laē qā's'it ꟻa'wîs qulē'ē LŌ'La'watsaxLā'laē qulē'ya s Ō'maxt'-
He went walked with his uncle LŌ'La'watsa on him (his name) it is said the uncle of Ō'maxt'-
ā'laLēg·ilak^{u} qa s lē kuē'xa xa mē'guat lax LEmā'îs as Tsā'xîs. Â'ma
ā'laLē to be that he went clubbing the seals at the beach of Tsā'xîs, Only
wīsLa laē ā'wag·ilisEla kuē'xa lāx LEmā'îs as Tsā'xîs lā'xa mē'guat. 15
there it is said walking to and fro on the beach clubbing at the beach of Tsā'xîs at the seals.
"Adē'," nē'x·lata NEmō'guîs lāxîs ts'ā'yē LŌ'La'watsa; "ꞩoā'LEla sEns
"Friend," he said NEmō'guîs to his younger brother LŌ'La'watsa; do not let us
hēquä'lē yā'wix·'idag·a x·îns qa yā'yats'ē sEns xunō'kuēx." Laē
go on in this way let us act us to go on the sea our son this." Then
awulX'ētEx yā'nEma sês xunō'k^{u} xēs kuēxā'nEmē da q'ā'sa ꟻō mē'guat
he desired more game of his son his what he clubbed the sea otter and seal
lā'xa LEmā'îs as Tsā'xîs qa lāxlak·ala g·ēLtsōx lā'xa da maa'mk·âla.
at the beach of Tsā'xîs to go repeatedly for him to the the islands.
Lā'laē NEmō'guîs ꟻEwis ts'ā'ya k'u'mElts'ōt xa wēlk^{u}. Lā'laē laE'lx- 20
Then it is said NEmō'guîs and his younger brother burnt inside the cedar. Then it is said they burnt

[1] Sun giving light to the world in the morning.

1 bEnt xēs Lē′qa. Lā′laē Ƨoā′LamāsEq, laē wī′uxstEndaq xēs Lē′qa
the ends his canoe they were building. Then it is said they finished, then they launched it his the canoe they were building.

îs xōnō′kᵘ. Lā′laē mE′ns'aLa'yodē da g·înā′nEmas îs alē′wats'ēL
of the son. Then he tried it on the water the his child of the hunting canoe (future)

lax Watsō′lîs. NEma′L'ētbidō. Lāt'exs g·ā′xaē nē′nakᵘ laē qō′t'amā′s
at Deer Island. He was angry a little. He came home it is said full he made

xēs Xuā′k'una yisa q'ā′sa ꞇEwa mē′guat. Xuā′Xuilaqat'ā′la amlaa′e
his canoe those sea otters and seals. He continued to go out it is said

5 da g·înā′nEmē xōx nē″nalax. Laa′m q'ayō′L xa q'ā′sa ꞇEwa mē′guat.
the child the every day. Then much the sea otters and seals.

"Dō′qoaLag·a, adē′ qEns gu′ng·ilîsalag·i q'ā′q'oL'āLEla xōx wā′xaāsaq'a
"Look, friend, we will try to discover the how many

sEns g·ō′Lg·okulō′ta qa lā′lag·iLtsē Lē′lalasōt. Lā′laē sē′x'uidē ts'ā′yes
our tribes that some one go to invite them. Then it is said he paddled his younger brother

yîx L'ō′Lawas. LāL lax La'lā′tē Le′la lax Hai′alik·auwaē. G·ā′xlaē
that L'ō′Lawas. He will go to La'lā′tē to invite at Hai′alik·auwaē He came

lāx Qag·'axstE′ls, Lē′la lax Mā′tag·i'la. G·ā′xlaē lax G·'ō′taqa'la Lēla
to Qag·'axstE′ls, he invited at Mā′tag·i'la. He came to G·'ō′taqa'la he invited

10 lax Lau′itsîs, L'ā′xLaqoaXLē laē da bEguā′nEm. G·ā′xlaē lax Sē′lats'ē
at Lau′itsîs, L'ā′xLaqoa on him it is said the man. He came to Sē′lats'ē

qa s Lē′la lax Mā′lēlēqala. G·ā′xlaē Lē′qolîs lāx Lā′L'aq'uxLa. Lā′lae
that he invite at Mā′lēlēqala. He came moving to Lā′L'aq'uxLa. Then

Lē′la lax Ts'ē′nx·q'aiō. G·ā′xlaē lax Tā′yaxqōL qa s Lē′la lax Lā′lax-
he invited at Ts'E′nx'q'aiō. He came to Tā′yaxqōL that he invite at Lā′lax-

sent'aiō. Lā′laē L'ā′sta lā′xa g·ōkula lāx Q'ō′quēt'axsta'yō qa s Lē′lalē'x
sEnt'aiō. Then he went out to the town at Deer Island that he invite

Wā′xap'alasō. Lā′laē nE′lbEnt lax Â'g·iwa'laa′ qa s Lē′lalē'x Nū′mas.
Wā′xap'alasō. Then he went up the river to a point to Â′g·iwa'la that he invite Nū′mas.

15 Lālaē nE′lg·iLē qa s lē lax LîXsī′waē. Lā′laē Lēla lax Sâ′g·i'yē.
Then he went up the river on the water that he go to LîXsī′waē. Then he invited at Sâ′g·i'yē.

G·ā′xlaē lax XutsEtsâ′lis qa s Lē′lalēx YiXā′qEmaē; lā″laē lax nE′lk·'-
He came to XutsEtsâ′lis that he invite YiXā′qEmaē; then at the right

utas LîXsī′waē qa s Lē′lalēx SE′nLaē. Lā′laē sē′x'uit qa s lē lax Ō′s'Eq
side of the river of LîXsī′waē that he invite SE′nLaē. Then he paddled that he went to Ō′s'Eq

qa s Lē′lalē'x Hē′ilik·ina′kula; lā′laē lax Nā′laxLala axās Ts'ā′watē
that he invite Hē′ilik·ina′kula; then at Nā′laxLala near Ts'ā′watē

ā′waxsta'yas qa s Lē′lalē'x Yā′xLEn.
mouth of inlet that he invite Yā′xLEn.

20 Laa′m lā′La xonō′kᵘas NEmō′guîs yā′la kuē′xa alē′Xua qa Lē′lanEmLa
Then he was going the child of NEmō′guis always clubbing sealing with the spear for guests (future)

sîs ōmp. Laa′m lā′La qau′t'a g·ō′kᵘ asē xa q'ā′sa Xoa nā′Xua
of his father. Then he was going full house his the sea otters the all

Xahai′p'ōm qa nEX'u′nē sa g·alē. Hai′Em q'ā′q'anōLē. NE′mxsaEm 1
furs for blankets of the first ones. That was sewed together. One

laē nā′lē g·ā′xtEmasa lē′lqolaLaē qap'ē′x·'it. Lā′laē LĀ′lēlala xēs
it is said day they came tribes gathered. Then it is said his invitation met them his

LĒ′lanEm. Lā′laē yē″qumag·alīLa xa mē′guatē lāxîs LĒ′lanEm.
guests. Then it is said he distributed the seals to his guests.

Lā′laē q'ā′g·a'lēlEm ꞱĒ yaai′qoēmaLa sa g·ī′g·iqamayē. Laa′m g·ī′qēla
Then it is said he gave them their seats and their gifts of the chiefs. Then he kept for them

LĒ NEmō′guîsā sa haq'oā′yū. Lā′laē sa ts'ē′koayū lax g·ī′qEma'ya sa 5
NEmō′guîs of the belly part. Then it is said of the hind legs to chief of the

nE′msqEmakuē lē′lqolaLa. Lā′laē sa qE′lq'ayū lax guē′LElē sa
other one tribe. Then it is said of the flippers to second rank of the

g·ī′qEmā'ya. Laam la LĒ da ō′guida'ya sa mē′guat lā′xa bEguā′nEm
chiefs. Then future the body of the seal to the men

q'ā′laam. Wä! Laa′m g·ā′la xa g·ī′laL qa ꞱĀ′ꞱaXumē sa
common. Wä! Then first the made for standing first of the

nā′Lna'mēma's. Lā′laē dā′x·'id xa haq'oā′yū qa s yā′X'uidEs lā′xa
clans. Then it is said he took the belly part that he give it to the

kuē′k^{u}. Lā′laē q'ix·'ī′da laq qa s ts'owē′ s lā′xa ts'ā′ts'owē'mēL. HaiEl 10
eagle (highest chief). Then he bit off there that he gave it to those who passed it to the guests in the house. Then it is said

qoē′g·i'laEl q'oā′Lxō a′mlaē q'ix·ī′de nā′Xua xēs yā′X'uidayū. Laa′m
he did every it is said he bit all his what he gave. Then

LĒ′qadês Wā′las NEmō′guîs. Laa′m xaā′wîs LĒ′x'ēt xēs Lawu′lyama'ya,
his name Wā′las NEmō′guîs. Then also he named his successor.

laa′m Ō'maxt'ā′laLēXLa. Lā″laē yāX'uitsa q'ā′q'ēnuL. Laa′m laē
then it was Ō'maxt'ā′laLē on him. Then it is said he distributed sewed together (fur blankets). Then it is said

nā′LnEmēmaxElāx t'êx·ī′la qa t'êx·î′la sa ā′La bEguā′nEm. Laa′m
the clans making road (law) for road (law) of later men. Then

xak·'ē′da waō′kwē LĒ′lanEms. Laa′m g·ō′kulōdadas. 15
they stayed some his guests. Then they became his tribe.

"LamEn lāL qoā′qoēsg·iLts'â′LaL," nē′x·laē Ō'maxt'ā′laLa xîs ōmp.
"I go shall go farther this time," said Ō'maxt'ā′laLē to his father.

"K·'ēsLEs nā′nuXLōL. La mawē′sLālEn la'stêx'ī′dêL." "Hā′g·a!"
"Not you shall you expect me I will go first I will go to bathe." "Go on!"

Lā′laē qā′s'idē Ō'maxt'ā′laLaya xa qaā′la. Laa′m lā′wîs xō′sit'ēt laē
Then it is said he walked Ō'maxt'ā′laLē the morning. Then it is said he bathed it is said

wuLa'x'aLEla xa k·'îmL'āla. Lā′laē O'maxt'ā′laLaē dō′x'uaLEla xa
he heard the sound of adzing. Then it is said Ō'maxt'ā′laLē saw the

q'ō s wāp. Lā′laē k'uā′g·aals qa s xō′sētetē lāq. G·ā′xlaē nE′Xua'- 20
a pond of water. Then it is said he sat down that he bathed there. It came the sound

xstîx·'ī′dē da k·'î′mLāla. Lā′la'xaa qā′s'idē O'maxt'ā′laLē laa laxaas
came nearer the sound of adzing. Then again walked Ō'maxt'ā′laLē then it

qoē′sa'xstîx·'idē da k·'î′mLāla. Lā′la'xaa nEqElsā′ xa wāp qa s
far went the sound the sound of adzing. Then again he reached the water that he

xō′sēt'itē. G·ā′xlaē nEXuaxstix·'idē da k·'î′mLāla. Lā′laē qā′s'it.
bathed. It came the sound came nearer the sound of adzing. Then it is said he walked.

Lā′la'xaa qoē′sa'xstanakulē da k·'î′mLāla. Lā′la'xaa q'ā′xa wāp qa s
Then again far sound moved the sound of adzing. Then again he found water that he

xō′sid'ētē lāq. G·ā′xlaē da k·'î′mLāla nExuā′Labēda'. Lā′laē qā′s'idē
bathed there. It came the sound of adzing near a little. Then he walked

O'maxt'ā′laLaya. Lālaē dō′x'uaLEla xa g·ā″lō. G·'oā′xtsō'sa bEguā′-
Ō'maxt'ā′laLē. Then he beheld the canoe. He was sitting in the canoe a

nEm k·'î′mLāq, k·ā′dēg·ō'ls xa mā′stō ⊤ōa sē′wayō maLtsE′ma.
man adzing. It lay in the bow of the canoe the harpoon and the paddles two.

Â′Emlawîsē Ō'maxt'ā′laLaē Lā′wap'Elsa xa bEgwā′nem. Hai′malaxōL
Only Ō'maxt'ā′laLē stood behind him the man. That had been

mā′g·ag·uXLē. Lā′laē Ō'maxt'ā′laLaē yā′q'ēg·aL!" Qē′lak·asla xg·în
grouse on him (his name). Then it is said Ō'maxt'ā′laLē spoke: "Thank you that I

⊤ō′kualēL g·āxs ya′lag·îltsēwā′qōs, qāst!" Â′Emlawîsē da mā′g·ag·u
found a magical treasure this your work on the ground, friend!" Only the grouse

dō′x'uēdax O'maxt'ā′laLaē, lā′laē x·îs'ē′da. Laam ⊤ō′kualē Ō'maxt'ā′-
looked at Ō'maxt'ā′laLē, then he disappeared. Then he found a magical treasure Ō'maxt'ā′-

laLaya xa g·a″lō ⊤Ewa mä′stō ⊤ō sē′wayō.
laLē the canoe and the harpoon and paddles.

Lā′laē ax'ā′Laxsā xēs ʒu′nk·în q'alqⁿ. Ma'Ltsâ laamlaē ⊤awîs q'ulē′ē
Then it is said he put into the canoe his nettle line. Two only then it is said and his uncle

L'ō′L'awatsē. Laam lā′k·'ōtēsL. Lā′laē LA′sqEmdax Sā′lōts'a. Lā′laē
L'ō′L'awatsē. Then he went across. Then it is said he aimed at (steered for) Noomas Island. Then it is said

dō′x'uaLEla xa siō″nakula g·ēg·ilaal lāx Yaai′Xugīwanu. Laa′m
he beheld the paddling canoe started from it is said form Yaai′Xugīwanu. Then

k·î′mqaunakula LE'wē lax Sā′lōts'E. Lā′laē qE′lqEpōx'uît. "Qē′lak·asla
they met and at Sā′lōts'E. Then it is said each held the sides of the other's canoe. "Thank you

nEmuō′t," nē′x·laē Ō'maxt'ā′laLa yax Qā′watiliqala. "K·'ē′sEn
brother," said Ō'maxt'ā′laLē to that Qā′watilEqala. "Not I

wuLE lā′g·iLa," nē′x·laē O'maxt'ā′laLa. "Iā′laqEmEn La sEn ō′mpē qEn
nothing on account of," said Ō'maxt'ā′laLē. "I am sent by my father that I

g·ā′xēlōL qāxs hē′x·aēnē mā″laōs hē′LŌ lāx qEg·ā′taas." "Qē′lag·a!"
come to you for you the only one what you right from to take a wife." "Come!"

nē′x·lata Qā′watilEqala lax Ō'maxt'ā′laLē qan lā′lag·i sē′wik·ElōL
said Qā′watilEqala to Ō'maxt'ā′laLē that I go you paddle behind me

qa s lā′os lā′xEn g·ō′kua." "Lā′lax·ī′ g·în q'ā′luXdē g·în lōL nE′muōt."
that you go to my house." "Go this my harpoon line past my to you, brother,"

nē′x·laē O'maxt'ā′laLa yîx Qā′watilEqala. "Yî′xa ʒu′nk·'în q'a′lkoa
said Ō'maxt'ā′laLē to Qā′watilEqala. "That my nettle bark line

⊤awîs mä′stuXdē ⊤awîs Lē′wiXdē." Lā′laē Qā′watilEqala au′guaqa
and his harpoon past and his mat past." Then Qā′watilEqala also

lā sîs k·'ilx·ī'waX'unXdē q'Elkᵘ lā'xîs nE'muōt. Â'amlawîs lā LĀ'yâp'a 1
went his leather line past line to his brother. Only it is said they exchanged
sîs alē'wats'ēXdē. Wī'laam la g·ī'g·axsax yā'yats'ix·dēs. "Hētsâ'-
their hunting canoes past. Everything things in the canoe canoes which they had used. "Let us
x·îns qoā'qoaeaqanōX g·ō'kuē hai'mē da kuā'x·ilas," nēx·laē Ō'max-
go go back us house there the smoking," said Ō'max-
t'ā'laLē. "ƍoā'la," nē'x·lat'a Qā'watilEqala "haî'Emax·îns ȣoā'ȣoaē-
t'ā'laLē. "Don't," said but Qā'watilEqala "we will go on
aqan g·ō'kun. La'maaqos nē'x·sēs wā'LdEmōs xēs g·ā'yâ'laēnayōs." 5
my my house. Then you you said your word its you want to be engaged."
Lā'laē sē'x'uit hama'Lts'aqâla g·iLēXdaôx. Lā'laē lāx siōlisā xawa lax
Then they paddled side by side together. Then to lower part of river they were at
Guā'ē. "Â'EmLîs yā'L'âLōL nE'muōt; qēnsō laēL lāxEn g·ō'kua.
Guā'ē. "Only you take care, brother; when we enter at my house.
T'ē'p'axLaXsītsē a'mLís g·ā'xEn;" nē'x·laē Qā'watilEqala xîs nE'muōt.
Follow on my heels only me," said Qā'watilEqala to his brother.
Lā'laē nē'Lasēxs iā'xsamaē t'êx·î'lē sīs g·ōkᵘ lā'xîs nE'muōt. Lā'laē 10
Then he told its badness the door of his house to his brother. Then it is said
hō'x'usdēs qa s lē lā'xa t'êx·î'la. Lā'laē a'qalsē da qoā'wina. Lā'laē
they walked together that they go to the door. Then it is said it opened on the ground the raven. Then it is said
dawē'Lē da nE'muōtâla. Lā'laē k·î'mq'ag·aLē da qoā'wina t'êx·î'lês
they jumped the brothers. Then it is said it snapped the raven its door
g·ō'kuas Qā'watilEqala. Nā'Xua Em lā'La q'oēq'ulālag·îlīLē k·'ē'k·'akua
his house Qā'watilEqala. All it is said alive in the house carvings
sa g·ō'kuas Qā'watilEqala. Q'oē'q'ulālaē da Ʇā'mē, sī'siūL laē da
of his house Qā'watilEqala. Alive the posts, sī'siūL it is said the
k·ā'tēwaē. Laa'm qig·ā'tix·idês Wî'lx·stasīlayuqoa xonō'kuas Qā'wati-
beams. Then he was married to Wî'lx·stasīlayuqoa his child Qā'wati-
lEqala. Wä! laa'm g·ō'ku'lxLayīt da g·ō'kuē ꞱEwa k·'ē'k·'ês'ō LEwa 15
lEqala's. Wä! then the house was given to him in marriage the house and the carvings and
nā'Xua qa s quē'xstEm xa hamā'yē q'ā'q'anōL wā'lasx·ē, kuē'kuxtē,
all for his different kinds the food blankets lynx, marmot,
nā'LēsqEm, mā'tsasqEm, alā'k·îm. Wä! laa'm g·āx sē'wodayū sēs
wolverine, mink, dressed elk. skins Wä! then they came they took him home his
nEgu'mp Lawîs g·ō'kulōt. Wā'wi'lāxsa amlaē g·ā'xē da g·ō'Xdē.
father-in-law and his tribe. Everything it is said came the house past
Laa'm g·ō'xwulsa sa g·ō'kuē lāx K·'ā'qa. Hai'mîs lā'g·īLs K·ā'qaXLē
Then he built a house on the ground of the house at K·'ā'qa. Therefore K·'ā'qa on it (its name)
da awī'nak'uîs qāxs lā''yōL k·'ā'xsēstEndEx K·'ā'qa qa g·ō'kwēatsa 20
the land for long ago logs placed all around K·'ā'qa for place of house
g·ō'kulXLēXdē. Laa'm LĒ'Ltsē'stālisa O'maxt'ā'laLaya sēs qEg·ā'danEm
house obtained in marriage. Then he invited all around Ō'maxt'ā'laLē with his what he had received from his wife
lā'xa g·ā'lē lē'lqolaLē.
to the first tribes.

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HŌ′XKOKᵘ.

Nē′sa laē da ts'ē′daq lax Yū′Layē xa ts'ā′k·us. Lā′laē ts'ExLā′la xa
Pull out it is said the women at Yū′Lē the fern root. Then it is said they put it over the fire the
mu′mXsEmakᵘ. G·ā′xlaē da ō′qoanē xā′pa xa mu′mXsEm xa q'ē′nEm
dried whale meat. They came the owls picking up the dried whale meat the many
laē da ō′qoanē. Lā′laē dō′x'oaLEla xa hō′xhokᵘ. G·āx g'uā′xtōt xa
it is said the owls. Then it is said they discovered the hō′xhokᵘ. It came sitting on top the
LōS; g·ā′xlaē ba'nūLEla ᵀE′nLa xa ō′gwēnē sa wîlkᵘ. G·ā′xlaē lāx
tree; it came it is said downward pecking the trunk of the cedar. It came it is said at
5 ōxLā′ya sa wîlkᵘ. Laē wāxLā′x'umx·'idē da hō′Xhokᵘ lēxoa xēs
butt of the cedar. Then it found it difficult the hō′Xhokᵘ for its
x·î′ndzas. Lā′laē qā′s'idē da hō′Xhokᵘ qa s lē′ laxa ts'ē′dax.
beak. Then it is said it walked the hō′Xhokᵘ that he went to the women.
Na′wîLbē lat'ē da hō′xhokᵘ, la bEguā′nemxs g·ā′xaē lā′xa ts'ē′daq.
It covered its nose but the hō′Xhokᵘ, it was a man he came to the women.
Lā′laē axLEnde sa mō′mXsEm. Lā′laē Lîpa′mlēLa sa LE′waē.
Then it is said they put on fire of the dried whale meat. Then it is said they put it before him of the meat.
Lā′laē g·ētsu′dE sa mō′mXsEm lā′xa LE′waē. Lā′laē yā′q'ēg·aLē da
Then it is said they put on to it of the dried whale meat. on the mat. Then it is said he spoke the
10 hō′xhokᵘ: "K·'ē′sEn hā''mapa Xoa mē′mXsEmēX. Yū′den
hō′xhokᵘ: "Not I eat the dried whale meat. This my
ha'mā′yuX da LE′qoax sa bEguā′nEmēx." Â′Emlaē nē′k· da
food the brain of the men." Only it is said he said the
hō′Xhokᵘ, lā′laē LE′nL'idē da hō′Xhokua xa ts'ē′daxdē. NEmō′kᵘ
hō′Xhokᵘ, then it is said he pecked the hō′Xhokᵘ the women past. One
lat'ē′da wu′nx·'idē. G·āx nē′nakᵘ qa s ts'Ek·'ā′Lalēs. Lā′laē da
but hid. She came home that she reported. Then it is said the
Naqô′mg·ilisala nēk· qa s lē wī′na xa hō′Xhokᵘ. Lā′laē
Naqô′mg·ilisala said that they went to make war upon the hō′Xhokᵘ. Then it is said
15 Q'ō′mk·ustâls ᵀō Wā′xalalaa ax'ē′ida xa ē′d'Em sa ts'ēdā′q qa
Q'ō′mk·ustâls and Wā′xalalaa took the menstrual blood of the woman that
s kwä′s'idēs. Lā′laē wī′na xa hō′Xhokᵘ. Lā′laē lāx ax'ā′sdē sa
they washed. Then it is said they made war upon the hō′Xhokᵘ. Then it is said they went to the place of the
ts'ē′daqdē. Lā′laē lā′xLala sa mōmXsEm. G·a′xlaē da ō′qoanē.
women past. Then it is said they put over fire of the dried whale meat. They came it is said the owls.
Lā′laē dō′x'oaLEla xa hō′Xhokuaxs g·ā′xaē g'uā′xtut xa wî′lkuē.
Then it is said they discovered the hō′Xhokᵘ came sat on top the cedar.
G·ā′xlaē ba'nōLEla ᵀE′nᵀEL'anē xa wî′lkoē. Lā′laē lāxa ō′xLaē.
It came it is said downward pecking the cedar. Then it is said to the butt of the tree.
20 Lā′laē xak·'a′ x·î'ndzasdês lāq. Lā′laē dzE′lX'uidē Q'ō′mk·ustâls ᵀō
Then it is said it jammed its nose past there. Then it is said they ran Q'ō′mk·ustâls and

Wā′xalalaa qa s kuē′x'idēx x·î′ndzasdês. Laa′m k·ō′x'uidē x·î′n- 1
Wā′xalalaa that it struck its nose past. Then it broke its nose
dzasdês. G·ā′xlaē Lā′XLandês lā′xa la′q'us. Laa′m Lā′la.
past. They it is pushing it into into the fire. Then it was
came said dead.

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THE GHOSTS.

G·ō′kula laē K'oā′La ꞊awis sā′sEm lā′xa ai′k·'ē awī′nakuisa. Hē′iEm
Living in a house it is said K'oā′La and his children at the above country. That was
xonō′Xsē yîx Q'ō′masdaX xa nō′la, hē′misē Haiā′qolaL mā′k·ilax Lō
his son that Q'ō′masdaX the eldest, that Haiā′qolaL next one and
Nōlak·as hē′imîsLa A′nqolak·as. Lā′laē hayutâla ꞊ō Ts'î′lqoalōLEla 5
Nō′lak·as and that one A′nqolak·as. Then it is said they were rivals and Ts'î′lqoalōLEla
hē′imîs sā′sEmsē Sē′paxîs Lō Yā′q'EntEmayē ꞊ō G·ē′xdEn. Lā′laē
that his children Sē′paxîs and Yā′q'EntEmayē and G·ē′xdEn. Then it is said
Ts'î′lqoalōLEla nēk· qa s g·ā′xē lā′xoa banē′x awī′nakuisa. Lā′laē
Ts'î′lqoalōLEla said to come to the lower world. Then it is said
ē′axEla xa Lā′qoak·En laa′m t'ēx·î′LdEng·ilax qa s ꞵE′lbEL'anēsō ꞊Ewis
using the copper post that was making a ladder to climb down and his
sā′sEm. Lā′laē nē′k· qa s haLā′qasēwi sēs hayō′t. Lā′laē q'ā′lalaē 10
children. Then it is said to be played with by his rival. Then it is said he knew it is said
K'oa′Lax wā′LdEmas Ts'î′lqoalōLEla. Lā′laē qā′s'idē K'oā′La. Lā′laē
K'oā′Lax his word Ts'î′lqoalōLEla. Then it is said he walked K'oā′La. Then it is said
mō′p'EnXuas qā′sa. Lā′laē dō′X'oaLEla xa neg·ä′ qoā′xanakula
four days he walked. Then it is said he discovered the mountain growing
g·ē′x·'it lā′xoa ba'nēx awī′nakuîs. Lā′naXua lats'ō′t xans ai′k·'ē
from the lower world. Going sometimes reaching our upper
awī′nakuîs. Lā′laē nē′nak^{u} qa s nē′iLē xēs sā′sEm. Hē′ix·'ida am
world. Then it is said went home to tell his children. Right away
lawîs xoā′naL'ē da ꞊awis sā′sEm. G·ā′xlaē lā′xēs ax'ā′sdē k·'ē′slat'a
it is said they prepared and his children. They came to the place (past) not however
qä′Laxs g·ā′xaē da nEg·ä′ äi′k·'ōLEla ē′it'ēt da g·î′l'Em lawîs ladzō′t 15
long came the mountain upward again the as soon it is said it reached
xEns nā′lax. Laē K'oā′La nēk· xēs sā′sEm: "K·'ē′sLEn lā′sqamēLōL.
our sky. Then K'oā′La said to his children: "Not I follow you.
Hā′g·a laams leꞵuxLä′laLEx Pēpā′wiLēnōx. Â′Em LEs g·āx nā′XuaL
Go you the name of your tribe will be Pēpa′wiLēnōx. Only you come sometimes
axLāla xEn k·'ē′k·'Es'ōx," nē′x·laē xēs sā′sēm. G·ā′xlaē Q'ō′masdaôx
take my carvings," he said it is said to his children. They came it is said Q'ō′masdaôx
꞊ō Hä′aqolaL ꞊ō Nō′lak·as hä′imisē A′nqolak·as. G·ā′xlaē lax 20
and Hä′aqolaL and Nō′lak·as also A′nqolak·as. They came it is said to
Q'oaLE′mtsîs. Lā′laē qā′s'ida â′läXwa lā′xa lā′xēs ā′Labāla-
Q'oaLE′mtsîs. Then it is said they walked looking for a river there at the walking in

1 ē′nayalaal lāx Ē′wala. Lā′laē q'ā′xa ꞇas lāx awī′Lpa'yas Ē′wala.
the woods at Ē′wala. Then it is said they found post at its point Ē′wala.

G·ā′xlaē Q'ō′masdôx ꞇō Hä′aqolaL aē′daā′qa. Lā′laē ma′ng·a-
He came it is said Q'ō′masdôx and Hä′aqolaL coming back. Then it is said keeping

LaxstalēsElā′xs g·ā′xaē nē′nakᵘ. Lā′laē lā′g·aa lā′xa ōtsâ′lîs.
close to the beach came home. Then it is said they arrived at the bay.

Lā′laē la'axLā′lēsaq. Lā′laē dō′x'oaLEla xa koā′x·ila. Lā′laē lā′g·aa
Then it is said going to its head. Then it is said they discovered the smoke. Then it is said they arrived

5 lāq. Lā′laē laēL lā′xa g·ōkᵘ. Ma'lōkᵘ lat'ē da ts'ē′daq ts'ē′sa xa
there. Then it is said they entered at the house. Two however the women roasting the

g·ā′wēq'ānEm. Lā′laē yā′q'ēg·aaLē Q'ō′masdôx ꞇō Hä′aqolaL. WuLā′
clams. Then it is said they spoke Q'ō′masdôx and Hä′aqolaL. They asked

xa ts'ē′daq wēs g·ē′x'idē. Nē′Xsō laē da ts'ē′daqas Q'ō′masdaôx.
the women where they came from. They were told by it is said the women by Q'ō′mosdaôx.

Lā′laē nā′naxmayē da ts'ē′daq: "Hē′danuX g·ē′x·'idē da ai′k·'ē
Then it is said they replied the women: "We came came from the above

awī′nakuîs. K·'ē′osnuX bEguā′nEma." Lā′laē nē′La Q'ō′masdâx lā′xa
world. None we have men." Then it is said Q'ō′masdaôx to the

10 ts'ē′daq: "K·'ēos amxaanōX ts'Edā′qa. Wīx·'idasēxs g·ā′xaēx g·ā′xa-
women: "Not we having women. How did you come when you

axa?" Lā′laē yā′q'ag·aLē Wi′yōlēnēqa; hēiEm ꞇē′qEm sa nEmō′kuē
came down?" Then it is said she spoke troublesome woman; that was the name of the one

ts'Edā′q. Wī′oLasōgui'lakᵘLē da nEmō′kuē: "Hanē′naXuanōX
woman. 'Making tired' on the other one: "Bringing us (?)

lā′xa nExā′q. Hē′imîs g·axtaōt g·ā′xEnōx lā′xoa." "Qē′lag·a qanōX
to the geese. That brought us here." "Come now to us

qeg·ā′daōs." "Mō′laxLälaē da ts'ē′daq as wā′LdEma sa nE'mē′ma.
to be our wives." Glad were it is said the women of the word of the brothers.

15 G·ā′xlaē nä′nadôxLē da nE′mē′ma ꞇawîs ꞩaꞩanE′m. G·ā′xlaē.
They came it is said home they the brothers. with their wives. They came it is said.

G·ā′x'aLEla lāx Q'oāLE′mdzīs. Hē′ix·'ida am lawîs bēbEwē′X'idē da
They came to to QoāLE′mdzīs. At once it is said they were with the child

ts'ē′daq. Lā′laē mā′yuL'idē da ts'ē′daq. Lā′laē ꞇē′x'idês La′q'oasqEm.
women. Then it is said they were confined the women. Then it is said they named him La′q'oasqEm.

Hā′labalaal q'oā′x'ēt da g·înā′nEmē. Lā′laē amLē da g·îng·înā′nEm lāx
Quick it is said grew the child. Then it is said played the children at

wā′balisās Q'oaLE′mdzīs. Lā′laē hē′ōdē La′q'oasqEm lāx ōguä′qa'ya
river in corner of Q'oaLE′mdzīs. Then it is said he fainted La′q'oasqEm at that side

20 sa wā'. He′x·'ida Em lawîs la nē′Lē xa nEmō′kuē g·înā′nEmax
of the river. At once it is said he went told the other boy

Q'ōmasdaôx. G·ā′xlaē Q'ō′masdaôx dō′x'uida xēs xunō′Xdē â′la am
Q'ō′masdaôx. He came it is said Qō′masdaôx he saw his child past really it is

lawîs LE′la. Hē′x·'ida am lawîs wunEmt'ē′dEq xēs xonō′Xdē. Laa′m
said dead. At once it is said he buried it his child past. Then

lawîs ƧāʼnuLʼida. Lāʼlaē da gʻînāʼnEm qʼulāʼxʻʼida qa wīʼxʻʼidēs 1
it is said it grew night. Then it is said the child revived to unable to do anything

qaxs gʻīʼtsâē lāʼxa xtsEm. Kʻʼēslada qäʼLa ƧāʼnuL gʻāʼxaē wuLEla
because he was inside in the box. Not then long dark he came he heard

xa yaēqʼEntālê. Lāʼlaē axōʼdax yikwayāʼya sa dEkʻāʼtsʼEn. Hēʼixʻʼida
the talking. Then it is said he took it off the cover of the grave. At once

am lawîs Lēʼlalasawī da lāXdē LEʼla. Lāʼlaē qāʼsʼidayō lāʼlaē lāʼxa
it is said he was called the one who had been dead. Then it is said they walked with him then to the

Lēʼxkʻʼala. Lāʼlaē qʼaqʼāʼqEmlasawī da gʻînāʼnEma sa yūʼdokwē 5
beating of boards. Then it is said he was asked to be careful the child by three

bēʼbEgwanEma xa lēlâʼlēnôxoaxōL. Lāʼlaē laēʼL lāʼxa kuēʼxalatsē,
men the ghosts. Then it is said they entered at the dancing house,

kʻʼēʼslata laʼgʻōlīL lāʼxa gʻōkᵘ. Hēʼlaē gʼoāʼxʻʼidē nEqōʼyâliLa sa
not however they went to the rear of the house to the house. There they sat the middle of the

hēiLkʻʼōdaʼnēƧuīLa sa gʻōkᵘ. Wēʼgʻa yāʼLâLax nēʼXsōlaē LāʼqʼoasqEm.
right side of the house. Go on! take care he was told LāʼqʼoasqEm.

NāʼXuaamLEs āʼxēlanāʼkula xēs dōʼdEƧuLōs LEwa qʼEʼmqʼEmdEm.
Everything you will keep in your mind your what will be seen by you and the songs.

KʻʼēʼsʼEmLaxaāʼwîs haʼmxʻʼida xa haʼmgʻilayōLalōL. Ʇāʼxôyē laē da 10
Not then you eat the your food. He stood it is said the

bEguāʼnEm dāʼla xa qʼoēʼtsʼayū. Lāʼlaē yāʼqʼēgʻaLē gʻēʼqamaʼya sa
man holding the rattle. Then it is said he spoke the chief of the

lēslâʼlēnôx, LēʼqadêsHamāʼmaxayals: "Gʻāxtsʼâʼxʻō wēʼsax lāʼgʻulēʼsa."
ghosts his name Hamāʼmaxayals: "Let him come this boy to the rear of the house."

"Ƨoāʼla," nēkʻlatʼē da nEmōʼkuē lāʼxa yūʼdukuē bēʼbEguanEm. Lāʼlaē
"Don't,' said however the one at the three men. Then it is said

ƧoāʼLʼalēLē da tʼEʼmsElaXdē. Lāʼlaē ōʼdzaqʼalē da gʻînāʼnEm.
he finished the dancing. Then it is said uneasy the boy.

Lāʼlaē Hamāʼmaxayals hāyāʼLō lāʼxîs gʻōʼkulōt: "LaʼmEns lāL 15
Then it is said Hamāʼmaxayals told to his tribe: "Let us go

taauʼt LExoa gʻînāʼnEmēx lāʼxîs gʻōʼkoa. Lāʼlaē da lēslâʼlēnôx
take that this boy to his house. Then it is said the ghosts

axʼēʼida xa pʼalEʼms, qa s LExaxLälaXdaôxuēq. Lāʼlaē ōʼguaqāsawī da
took the moss that they put it on their heads. Then it is also it was done the

gʻînāʼnEm axaxLäʼla xa pʼalEʼms. Gʻāʼxlaēgʼoāʼgʻaalsē da gʻînāʼnEm
boy put on his head the mess. He came it is said sitting on the ground the boy

lāʼxoa nōʼsaqEns awīʼnakʼuîs. LaaʼmXdalāLa Ʇēʼxsʼalāsō sa paʼxala
to the our own world. He was already told to take care by the shaman

yîx HēʼLilälagʻilîs qa axēʼisē qa kuäʼtsē qa ēs gʻōʼkulōt, laʼlaē 20
that HēʼLilälagʻilis to take the urine for his tribe, then it is said

hāʼmamaxē awīʼEstäs kʼoaēʼtsasas. Lāʼlaē Qʼōʼmasdaôx LEwīs qEnEʼm
they cried hamama all around to wash with. Then it is said Qʼōʼmasdaôx and his wife

ha'mā'p. Laē wuLāx'aLELa xa hā'mamaxä'. Lā'laē dzî'lx·ēwuls lāxîs
ate. Then he heard the sound hamama. Then it is said they ran out of his

g·ōkᵘ qa s dō'X'uidēq. Hē'Em dōx'oaLElatsē xēs xonō'koaxs
house that they saw. Him they discovered his his son

g'oasa'ē lā'xa awī'nakuîs. Lā'laē nē'La xēis qEnE'm. G·ā'xlaē qEnE'-
sitting on the ground on the ground. Then it is said he said to his wife. She came it is said his

mas dō'x'uidEq. Lā'laē māLt'ēg·oāLEla xēs Xonō'kᵘ. Hē'x·'ida am laē
wife she looked. Then it is said they recognized their child. At once it is said

q'ug·āL LĀ'q'oasqEm xîs ōmp: "Hā'g·a ax'ē'idax k'uē'tsä qa s xō'sEla
shouted Lā'q'oasqEm to his father: "Go take urine that you sprinkle

laxs g·ō'kulōtaq'ōs. La'laē dzî'lx·'uidē Q'ō'masdaôx. G·ā'xlaē dā'la xa
on your tribe. Then it is said he ran Q'ō'masdaôx. He came it is said took the

kuä'ts'ē. Wī'la am laē g·ā'xē g·ō'kulōtas. G·ā'xmaālaxōL nē'LExstEls
chamber. All it is said came his tribe. They had come showing their mouths

nā'xuē da lēslâ'lēnôx. G·î'l'Em lawîs hai'aqē da waō'kuē bē'bEguanEm
all the ghosts. As soon it is said passed the some men

lax sE'ms sa lē'lâlēnôx, laē hamā'maxē da lē'lâlēnôx. Hē'x·'ida am
at the mouth of the ghosts, then they cried hamama the ghosts. At once it is

lawîs Le'Lalē da bē'bEguanEmXdē xa hai'aqa xa sE'msa sa lē'lâlēnôx.
said dead the men past the passed the mouth of the ghosts.

Lā'laē lā q'ug·a'Lē LĀ'q'oasqEm, xō's'idas kuä'tsē lā'Xua
Then it is said shouted Lā'q'oasqEm, sprinkle urine on the

bē'bEguanEmēx. Lā'laē hē'guîx·'idē. Hē'x·'ida am lawîs ƻ'uē'-
men Then it is said he did so. At once it is said they

ƻ'ulax·'idē da LE'lXdē. G·ā'xlaē laēL lāx g·ō'koa sēs ōmp. G·ā'x'am
recovered the dead past. He came it is said entered at the house of his father. He came it

laē da lâ'lēnôx hē'k·'ala lā'xa g·ō'kuas ō'mpas. Lā'laē yä'laqâlaē
is said the ghost sounding to the house of his father. Then it is said he sang his secret song

da g·înā'nEmas q'e'nq'Emdamas s·ı lēlâ'lēnôx. Lā'laē dE'nxēg·aē g·ō'ku-
the boy his song of the ghosts. Then it is said they sang with him his

lōtas. Hai'Em lawîs q'ā'lag·iLax q'E'mdEmas lēlâ'lēnôx. Wē'g·a
tribe. That is it is said they learned their song the ghosts. Go on!

hō'LēlaX q'E'mtEma sa g·înā'nEm. Laa'm ꞱĒ'qādEs Nē'nLEqstâls
listen to the song of the boy. Then was his name Nē'nLEqstâls

lā'xîs lElō'Lalalēnayē. K·'ēō's k·'ēs g·āx lā'xa nā'Xua ts'ē'qēnaya
at the Ghost dance. Nothing not came to the all dances

Ʇawā k·'ē'k·'as'ō. G·aam q'a'mdEms Nē'nLExstâls xa g·înā'nEm:
and carvings. This is his song Nē'nLExstâls the boy:

1. Yaxamamai, yaxamamai, yaxamamai ya.
Yaxamamai, yaxamamai, yaxamamai ya.

Wē'g·axōs wî'lg·ustâlisa laxēs ēk·'ats'ēlisax nā'la yūL
Go on! you you go up to the upper country day your

lēlowāLanaXdē.
chief of ghosts past.

2. Yaxamamai, yaxamamai, yaxamamai ya.

Yaxamamai, yaxamamai, yaxamamai ya.

Ya qa wōlasqEmlēsLēis yaiqēsawiLōs yūL lēloaLanaXdē.

Ya, to heap up in ground property you you chief of ghosts past.

3. Yaxamamai, yaxamamai, yaxamamai ya.

Yaxamamai, yaxamamai, yaxamamai ya.

Ya qa wālasqoā'palēstsēs t'ē'qoaLālaLōs gulta'yak·'asLōs

Ya to great your fire great you stones in your fire fire good your

lē'loaLanaXdē.

chief of the ghosts past.

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LĒ'LAXA.—LA'LASIQOALA DIALECT.

BEguā'nEm g·ō'kula lāx K·'êk·ē'LEm. Lā'laē LŌ'koala wā'x·a.

A man lived in a house at K·'êk·ē'LEm. Then it is said finding a super-natural helper he tried.

Sī'siūL laē wā'x·i LŌ'koa'yas. Lā'laē ō'tsaxa, laa'm â'Em LE'lx·'ida.

Sī'siūL it is said try his magic helper. Then it is said he failed, then only he died.

Lā'laē aik·'ēstaxōL. Lā'laē g·ō'kulōdês wu'lisîlax·'it qaē qä'Laxs

Then it is said he went up. Then it is said his tribe made a false grave for him for indeed

nē'k·aax â'laEm LE''la. Â'maalaxōL ŦāL LŌ'koala lā'xîs qoē'x·'idaasaxs

they said really he was dead. Only he had found a magical helper at his what he had done

laē ai'k·'ēsta. E'lguxsīk·Ela laē da g·ē'tsE'wasbōLäs. L'ē'sElaxsēg·a- 10

it is said he went up. Blood on its side it is said the coffin pretended. Sun on its

lìs laē g·ī'tsEwasbōLäs. Mō'p'EnXuas a'mlaē la'ē ku'n'ōg·āL lā'xa

side it is said coffin pretended. Four days it is said he had gone it began to thunder at the

ai'k·'ē. Hai'maala'xōL Lē'laxaLē da ku'n'ōg·āL. G·ā'xlaē g·ā'xaxālîs

above. He had gone Lē'laxa to be the thundering. He came it is said coming down to the beach

xa qaā'la qa ā'xalîs laēxs g·ā'xaē. Laa'm ts'ē'k'oa lā'xo ku'nXoa.

the morning that early he went coming down. Then a bird there thunder bird.

Laa'm laē q'ō'xwuLts'ōt xēs ku'nxumL Lē'laxa. Laa'm q'â'L'aLELExs

Then it is said he took it off his thunder bird mask Lē'laxa. Then he was recognized

hä'ē Lē'laxē yîsīs g·ō'kulōt. Lā'laē a'mL'idē Lē'laxê sēs LŌ'LEkuaē. 15

he Lē'laxa by his tribe. Then it is said he played Lē'laxa his magical treas-ure.

Hē'iEm'El LŌ'kuisē da ku'nXumL, wāxsqEmlaē LEwa nā'xnak·aqEmL.

His it is said magical treasure the thunder bird mask both sides face and dawn mask.

Hē'Em lā'wisē da mā'maq'a; hē'imisē da wā'lasē yē'qoaê maqā'yū,

His it is said the thrower; his was the great wood worm implement for throwing,

ts'ē'kuXLä. Hē'iEm lawisē da sē'ilîs. Lā'laē da wôq'ä's, q'a'mXpā-

bird in head. His it is said the snake in belly Then it is said the frog, carrying spear

lEnkula mā'maq'a. Hē'Em lawisē da hā'mats'a. Hē'Em lawisē da

point the thrower. His it is said the cannibal. His it is said the

pa'xalalāL. Hē'Em lawisē da t'ē'nqoa. Hai'Em El LŌ'kuē's Lē'laxa. 20

shaman dance. His it is said the t'ē'nqoa. That was it is said his magical treasure Lē'laxa.

1 Hai′Em lā′lasElas Lē′laxē da ku′nXumL. NE′mx·′idaLaam lā′lasEla
His going from one house to the other[1] Lē′laxa the thunderbird mask. One only among all going from one house to the other

lā′xa nō′nLEm ᵀEwa ts'ē′tsaēqa.
to the nō′nLEm and ts'ē′tsaēqa.

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SONG OF THE RAVEN MASK.

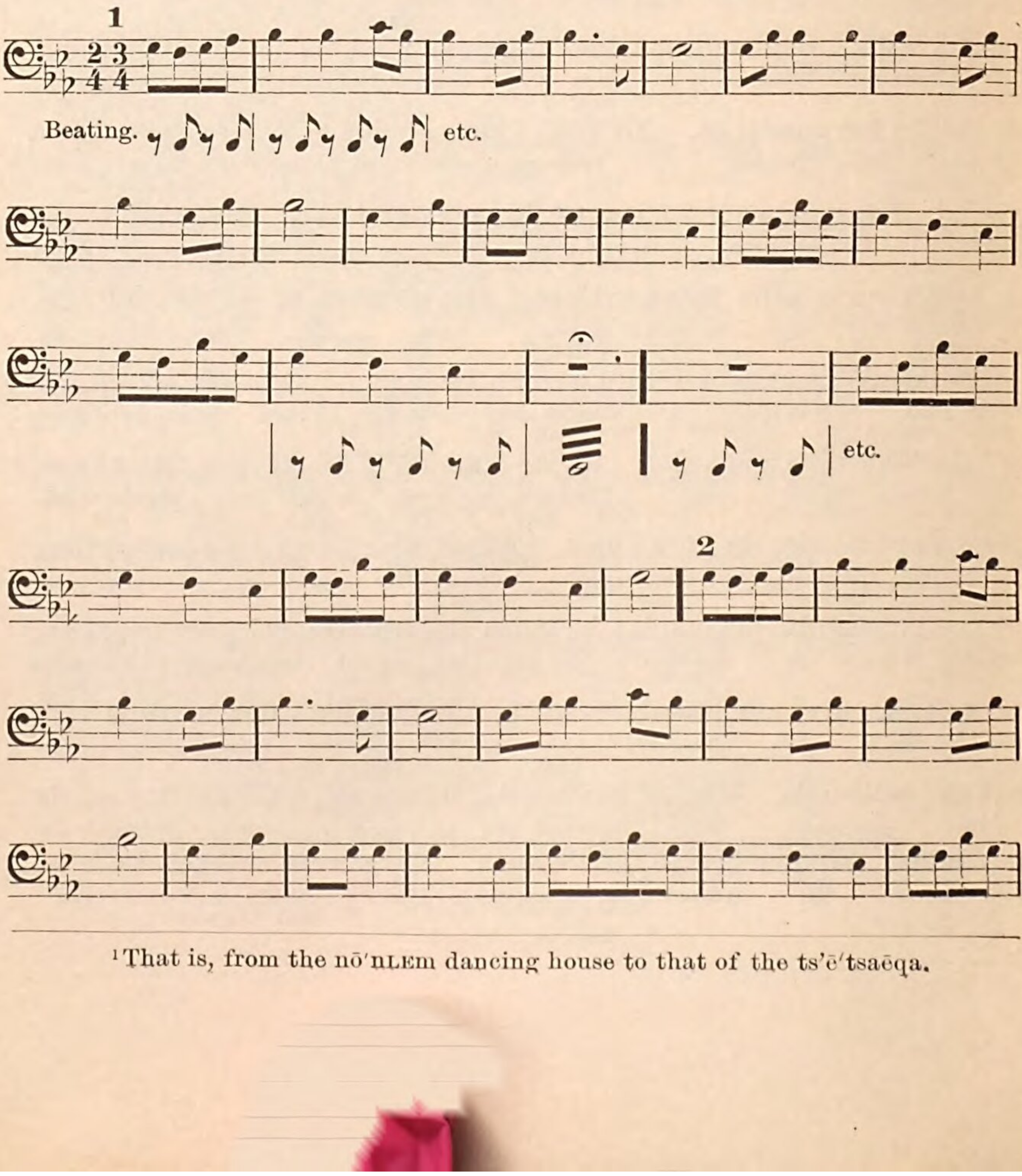
1. Wa! k·ik·a'lēqalag·ilak·asLē ts'aēqēwē'x·dēs BaxbakuālanuXsī′-
Wa! Everybody is frightened by his winter mask BaxbakuālanuXsī′-
waē.
waē.

5 2. Wa! k·ik·a'lēqalag·ilak·asLē ha′msiwēx·dēs Qoā′qoaxuālanuXsī′-
Wa! Everybody is frightened by his cannibal mask Qoā′qoaxuālanuXsī′-
waē.
waē.

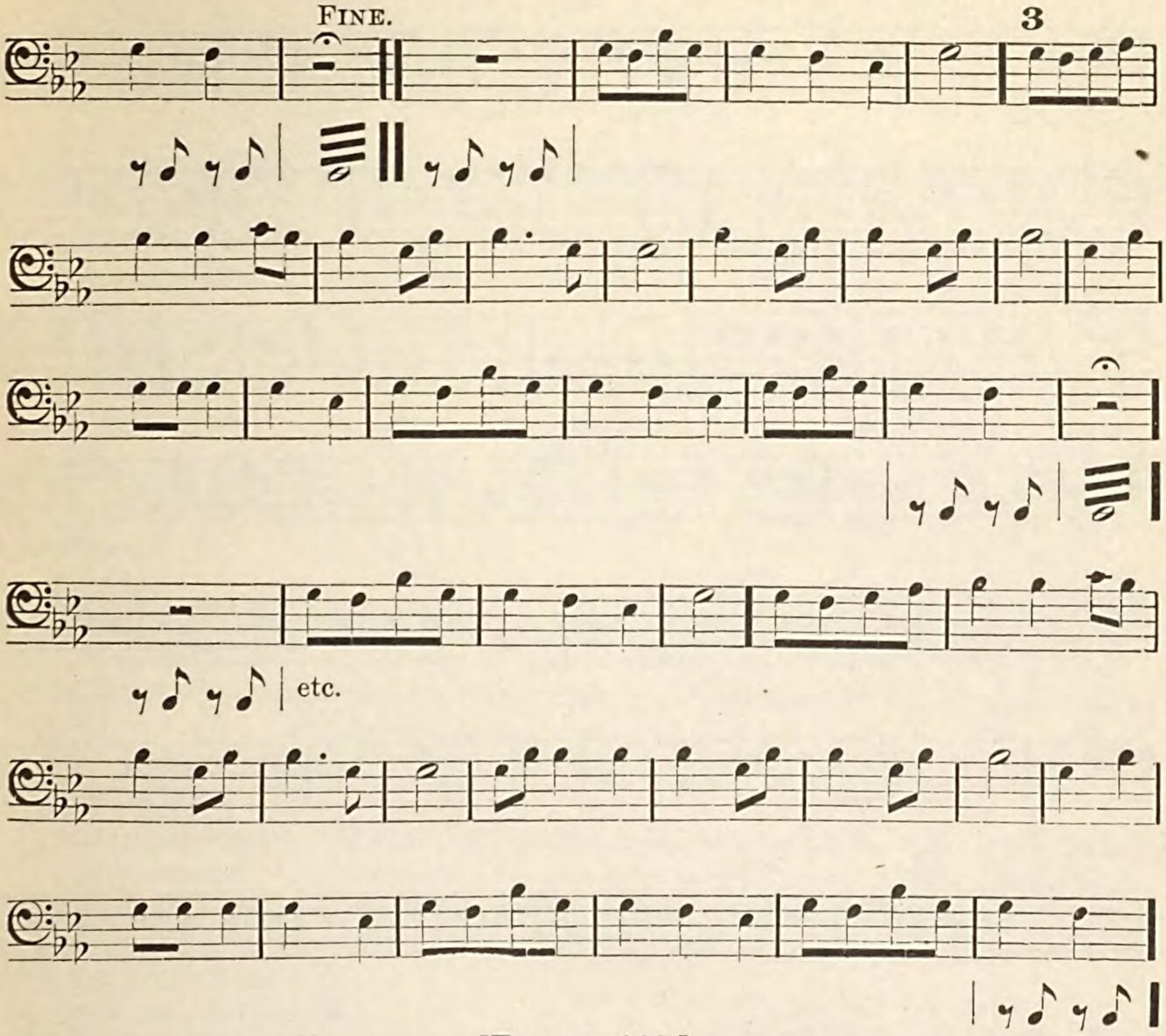
3. WE′lwElq'ēqalag·ilak·asLē qalō′kwēx·dēs.
Causing real palpitations his hooked beak.

4. WE′lwElq'ēqalag·ilak·asLē hau′xhokuēwēx·dēs.
Causing real palpitation his hau′xhok mask.

TUNE, RECORDED BY J. C. FILLMORE.



[1] That is, from the nō′nLEm dancing house to that of the ts'ē′tsaēqa.



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SONG OF THE MASK OF BAXBAKUĀLANUXSĪ'WAĒ.

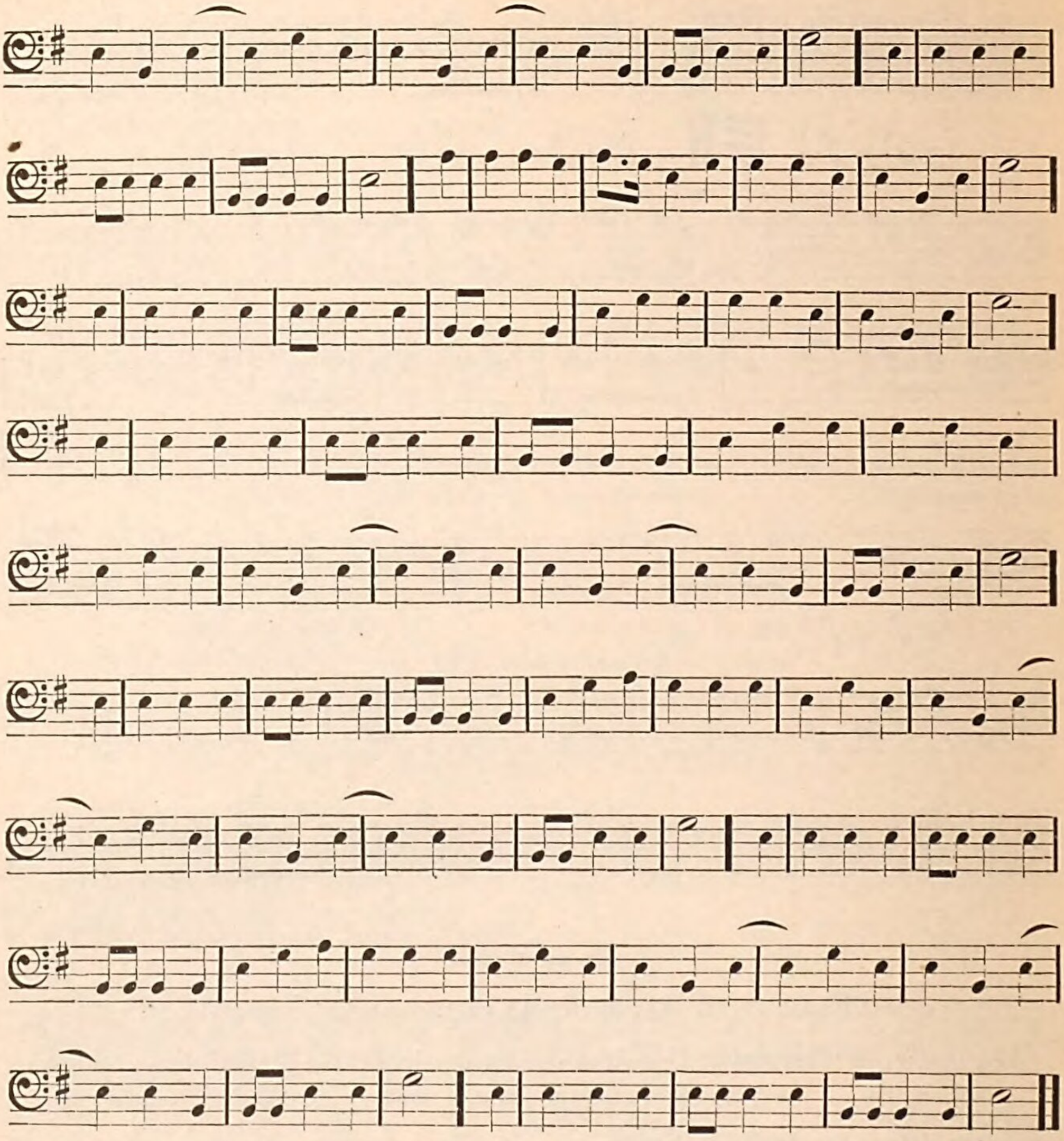
Ha'msiwāla hamsiwālag·ilîsk·as'ōwai lax BaxbakuālanuXsi'waē

Carrying the hā'matsa mask — carrying the hā'matsa mask in the world really — from — BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē

k·as'ōwai lax ōwîstālitsîs nā'la.

real good — to — all around your world.

TUNE, RECORDED BY J. C. FILLMORE.



Third sometimes doubtful.

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HĀ′MATS'A SONG.

1 1. Ia laXdEn laistai′sEla iū hamtsēstaisEla iūs BaxbakuālanuX-
Ia I have been all around the world iū eating around the world with BaxbakuālānuX-

sī′waē.
sī′waē.

2. Ia nōguaE′m wīsukoalīLēlaXLa wīsuwīstāliLilaXLas Baxbakuā-
Ia I give no time to escape give no time to go around the house with Baxbakuā-

lanuXsī′waē.
lanuXsī′waē.

5 3. Ia laXdEn ha′mxhamxāyag·īLs BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē, lax naqau-
Ia I have been where you cry hāp for me BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē, at the mid-

LēwēIs lō′wa; ia lāXdEn ha′mxhamxāyag·īLs BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē
dle of the world; ia I have been where you cry hāp for me BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē

lax qā′lqatawēîs lō′wa.
at the post of world world.

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HĀ′MATS'A SONG.

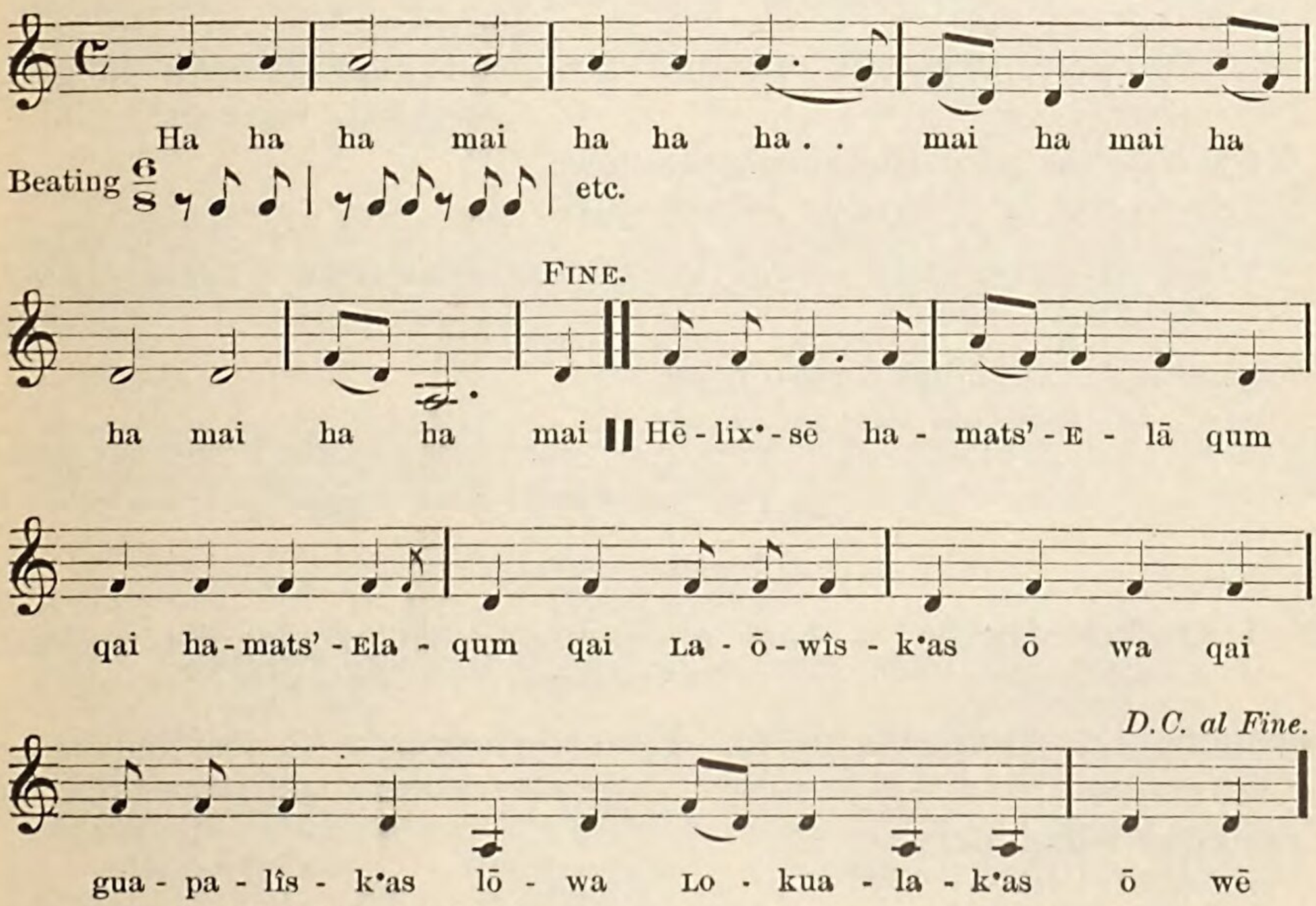
1. Hamhamā′mai. Hē′ilix·sē hā′mats'Elā′qum qai hā′mats'Elaqum
Hamhamā′mai. Take it the hāp sound his hāp sound
qai Ʇaō′wisk·asōwas qai guā′paalîsk·astsēs lō′uaiak·asauXs Lō′kua-
his standing really good his northern part real his of the world real the super-
lak·as'owē.
natural real good.

2. Hamhamā′mai. Hē′ilix·sē bā′xbakulaqum qai bā′xbakulaqu′mx·tē
Hamhamā′mai. Take it the BaxbakuālānuX- his BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē
sī′waē sound sound
qai Ʇaō′wisk·asōwas qai guā′paalîsk·astsēs lō′uaıak·asauXs Lōkua-
his standing really good his northern part real his of the world real the super-
lak·as'owē.
natural real good.

3. Hamhamā′mai. Hē′ilix·sē hau′xhok'uālaēnē k·as'ōwēs qai hau′x-
Hamhamā′mai. Take it the hau′xhok sound real good his hau′xhok
hok'ualaēnē qai Ʇaō′wisk·as'ōwas qai guā′paalîsk·astsēs lō′uaiak·as-
sound his standing really good his northern part real his of the world
auXs Lō′kualak·as'owē.
real the supernatural real good.

4. Hamhamā′mai. Hē′ilix·sē qā′lōqoalaēnēk·as'owēs qai qā′loqoa-
Hamhamā′mai. Take it the raven's cry real good his raven's cry
laēnēk·as'owēs qai Ʇā′owîsk·as'ōwas qai guā′paalîsk·astsēs lō′uaiak·as-
real good his standing really good his northern part real his of the world
auXs Lō′kualak·as'owē.
real the supernatural real good.

TUNE, RECORDED BY H. E. KREHBIEL.



[To page 459.]

HĀ'MATS'A SONG.

1. Ha'msamēLayaXdōsxa nō'gua ha la nō'gua; ha'msamēLayaXdōsxa
Food is always being put into my mouth I ha! do I; food is always being put into my mouth

nō'gua LŌ'kualag·īLa.
I therefore I am supernatural.

2. Q'u'la mEnsāyaXdōsxa nō'gua, ha la nō'gua; q'u'la mEnsāyaX-
Life I am always swallowing I ha! do I; life I am always swallow-

dōsxa nō'gua q'oē'q'ulaXdē ha'msayaXdē.
ing I lives past food past.

3. Yā'qamēLayaXdōsxa nō'gua; ha la nō'gua yā'qamēLayaXdōsxa
Property is always being put into my mouth I ha! do I; property is always being put into my mouth

nō'gua yäiqāwē'Xdē ha'msayaXdē.
I property past food past.

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HĀ'MATS'A SONG.

1. Hā'masa'yalag·ēLdE nō'gua lax ō'wistāla lāk·asdE nō'gua.
Going to get food for me I at around the world went really I.

Hā'masa'yala lax ō'wastalîsk·ā'tsēs lōwa.
Going to get food at around the world really your world.

2. Bā'bakoayalag·ēLdE nō'gua lax ō'wistāla lak·asdE nō'gua. Bā'ba-
Going to get men for me I at around the world went really I. Going to

koayala lax ō'wastalîsk·ā'tsēs lōwa.
get men at around the world really your world.

3. Xā'xaqoayālag·ēLdE nō'gua lax ō'wistāla lak·asdE nō'gua.
Going to get skulls for me I at around the world went really I.

Xā'xoqoayāla lax ō'wastalîsk·ā'tsēs lōwa.
Going to get skulls at around the world really your world.

4. Lā'lōLayalag·ēLdE nō'gua lax ō'wistala lak·asdE nō'gua. Lā'lō-
Going to get a corpse for me I at around the world went really I. Going to

Layala lax ō'wastalîsk·ā'tsēs lō'wa.
get a corpse at around the world really your world.

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HĀ'MATS'A SONG.

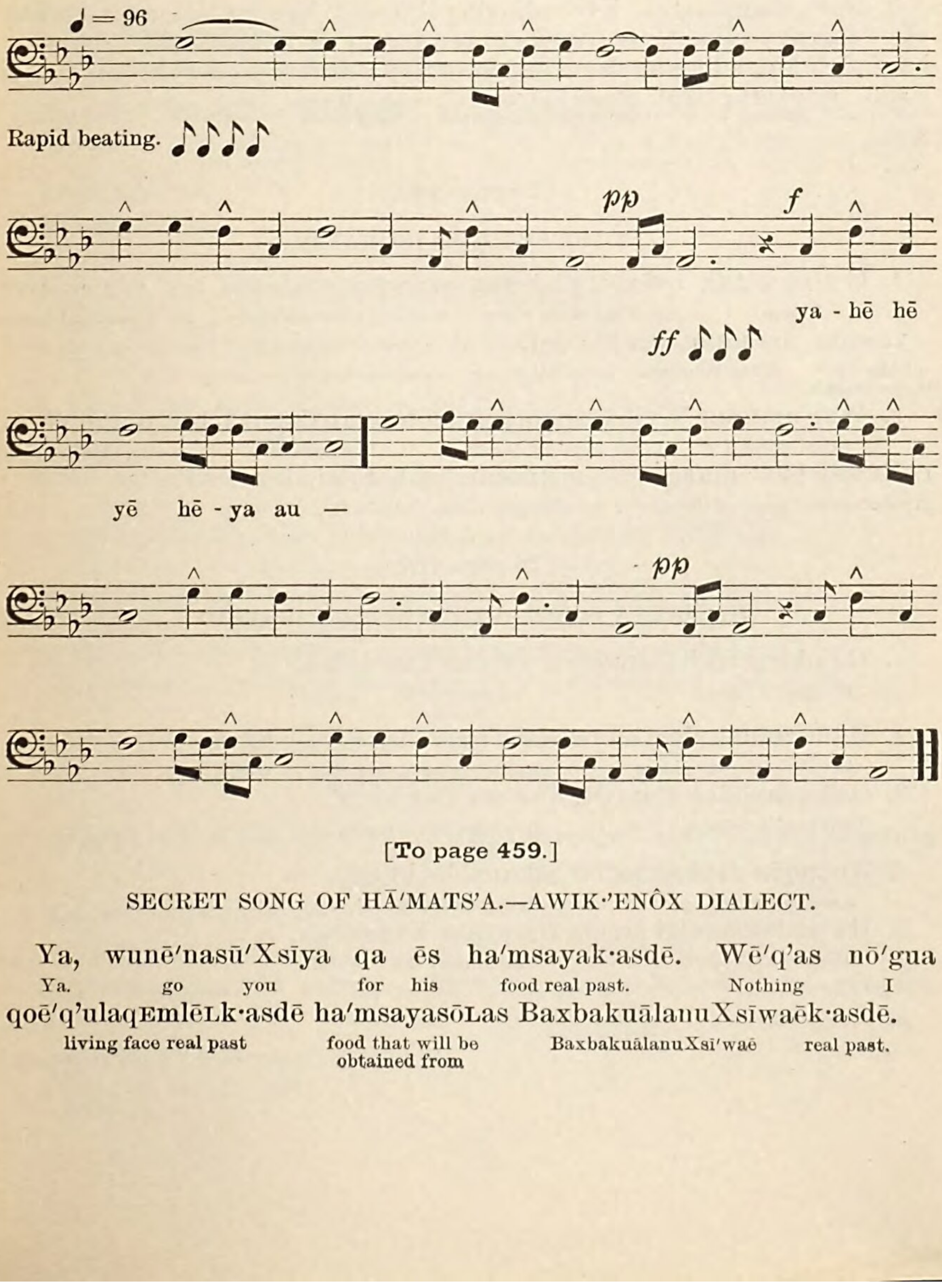
1. Q'ā'laSoalag·ilîs a hais g·ā'nEmLŌL; q'ā'laSoalag·ilîs a hais
Will be known everywhere later on you; will be known everywhere

g·ā'nEmLŌL ō'wanxēlîs nā'la. Hē'iL'ālîstsēk·as. Nā'qēstalîstsēk·as
later on you edge of world world. Right one in great world real. Safely returned great real

ōup'ēqas Yālag·ilîsk·asa.
chief of Yālag·ilîs real.

2. Q'ā'laSoalag·ilîs a hais g·ā'nEmLōL; q'ā'laSoalag·ilîs a hais 1
Will be known everywhere later on you; will be known everywhere
g·ā'nEmLōL ō'wanxēlîs nā'la. Lā'ix·dēqōus g·î'lq'Esamatsōkwas
later on you edge of world world. They went and made you made you eat first
bā'kwastēa haik·ā'sas BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē.
dried human flesh real BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē.
3. Haip'ēqalētsEmXtEnai lāx ha'msp'ēqas nā'qauLēwalīts nā'la.
Being led right to the pole to his cannibal pole in the rear of the house of the world world.
4. Haip'ēqalētsEmXtEnai lāx ha'msp'ēqas q'a'nq'aqā'walēits nā'la. 5
Being led right to the pole to his cannibal pole the milky way of the world world.
5. Haip'ēqalētsEmXtEnai lāx ha'msp'ēqas hē'iLk·'ōtēwalēits nā'la.
Being led right to the pole to his cannibal pole the right-hand side of the world world.

TUNE, RECORDED BY F. BOAS.



[To page 459.]

SECRET SONG OF HĀ'MATS'A.—AWIK·'ENÔX DIALECT.

Ya, wunē'nasū'Xsīya qa ēs ha'msayak·asdē. Wē'q'as nō'gua
Ya. go you for his food real past. Nothing I
qoē'q'ulaqEmlēLk·asdē ha'msayasōLas BaxbakuālanuXsīwaēk·asdē.
living face real past food that will be obtained from BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē real past.

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HĀ'MATS'A SONG.

1 HaiLaiqoe'x·sē a haiLaiqoē'x·sē awā'la Bāxbakuā'lanuXsī'waē
That is the way! That is the way! real BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē
Aswä'La, aswä'Lai? awä'la BāxbakuālanuXsī'waē.
Is that you, is that you? real BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē.

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FEAST SONG OF HĀ'MATS'A.

1. G·ā'xg·astEn qoēyō'LElak·ās'a mā'mEnLēyak·ās'a·ts'ā'ēqēlask·as'ōs
I came near the place really to fill my stomach really your real house of the winter ceremonial
mā'mEnLēyask·as'ō.
filling stomach real.
5 2. K·ê'LElag·ilak·as k·ē'k·aliqalag·ilak·asē haai'LElask·as L'ē's'ala-
Making scared really making reluctant to go really to go right in really the heat
k·as'a k·'i'lōpalak·as'a ts'āēqēlask·as'ō tā'yaLtsēask·as'ō waha hai, waiya
real the whirling flames real of your real house of the winter ceremonial where all warm their hands real waha hai, waya
wai.
wai.

[To page 460.]

FEAST SONG OF HĀ'MATS'A.

1. G·ā'xg·astEn qoēyō'LElak·asa mā'mEnLēyak·asa lax ts'ā'eqatsē-
I came near the place really to fill my stomach really at your real house
yasqōs mā'mEnLēya hai dai.
of the winter ceremonial filling stomach hai dai.
10 2. Wāx'amLEnōX yîlXsanâlag·ilīLai hōxsanâlag·ilīL lax mE'nLmEn-
Never mind if we are hurt (by the fire) if we vomit at the kinds of food
LāliLtsēs ts'ā'ēqatsēāqōsa mā'mEnLēya hai dai.
in your house house of the winter ceremonial filling stomach hai dai.

[To page 460.]

HĀ'MATS'A SONG.—LA'LASIQOALA DIALECT.

1. Hā'okhok'oā'laē stamx·ti owēstā'Xtîs lō'wa.
Hō'xhok's voice is all around the world world.
2. Hā'uxaunākulasLas ts'ē'tsaēqanxēlîsk·astsēs lō'wa.
Assemble at your places edge of ts'ēts'aē'qa real your world.
3. Qoā'qoaxō'laē stamx·ti owē'staXtîs lōwa.
The raven's voice is all around the world world.
15 4. K·î'mqōnā'kulasLas bē'bēkunxēlîs lō'wa.
Assemble at your places lower edge of world world.
5. Hā'matsElaqolai stamx·ti owēstā'Xtîs lō'wa.
Hā'mats'a's voice is all around the world world.

[To page 460.]

HĀ'MATS'A SONG.—LA'LASIQOALA DIALECT.

1. LaistaisELag·ilîsk·asō haō LŌ'koala hamai am. Ha'msaiālag·ilîs-
He goes around the world truly haō the supernatural one hamai am. He looks for food around the world

k·asō haō LŌ'koala, hai, lax waxsE'nxēlîsk·atsîs lō'wa.
truly haō the supernatural one hai, at both sides of the world world.

2. Q'aq'aēiq'atsā'lag·ilîsk·asō haō LŌ'koala hamai am. Nā'naXq'oa-
He always wants to eat much truly haō the supernatural one hamai am. Trying to eat alone

tsā'lag·ilîsk·asō haō LŌ'koala, hai, lāx wīEmq'asāyasōXdēs hēs qoēsō-
truly haō the supernatural one hai, at the food which he did not obtain his at the far

tEnxēlîts lo'wa.
edge of the world world.

3. WaxsEmq'asElag·ilîsk·asō haō LŌ'koala hamai am, hai, lax nā'naX-
He eats from both sides truly haō the supernatural one hamai am, hai, at trying to

q'atsayasōs qoē'sōtEnxēlîs lō'wa, lax wī'Emq'asāsōXdēs hēiLk·'ōtE'nxē-
eat alone at the far edge of the world world, at the food which he did not obtain at the right-hand side

lîsk·atsēs lō'wa.
of the world world.

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K·Î'NQALALALA SONG.

1. La nō'gua ōwāmaxalisayuLē tā'nîsk·as'ō awamai.
I press down your madness cannibal real good.

2. La nō'gua yōLaxalisayōLai tā'nîsk·as'o awamai.
I press down your whistles cannibal real good.

3. La no'gua suwamaxalisayōLai tā'nîsk·as'ō awamai.
I press down your hunger cannibal real good.

4. Hā'laiqais hā'masa'yalaqEmLōsai tā'nîsk·as'ō awamai.
Indeed you your face looking for food cannibal real good.

5. Hā'laiqais xāxōqoayā'laqEmLōsai tā'nîsk·as'ō awamai.
Indeed you your face looking for skulls cannibal real good.

6. Hā'laiqais yā'qamEnsāyaqEmLōsai tā'nîsk·as'ō awamai.
Indeed you your face devouring property cannibal real good.

[To page 461.]

K·Î'NQALALALA SONG.

1. Qoā'LElaamXdē qā'k·uLts'â'lisē qamqa'mXulayōs ts'ā'ēqōnakula
Begin crowded in the house feathers all over you moving to one place

sa yîs'owai'stas na'lē yēyē.
of all around the world world yēyē.

2. Qoā'LElaamXdē wē'iLaxalāsē māmEnlā'yuLōs mE'nmEnLElāg·īta
Begin weak from her tempting food for one who is satiated oversatiated through you

yîs'owai'stas nā'lē yēyē.
all around the world world yēyē.

3. Qoā′LElaamXdē aik·'exsâlēsē yūkuisāwayōs hō′xonakulaēda
Begin through the roof burnt stones you all running into the house

20 yîs′ōwai′stas nā′lē yēyē.
all around the world world yēyē.

[To page 461.]

K·Î′NQALALALA SONG.

1 1. Ha hā′pxāyag·īLk·asdEn hā′matElaqoag·īLdēîs BaxbakuālanuX·
He cries hāp for me he cries the hā′matsa sound for me BaxbakuālanuX-

sī′waēk·asdē qa haux Lō′koalak·ās.
sī′waē real past for this super- natural one real.

2. Lā'mXdēwē′sEn mE′ns'alisāyasō max'alisā′yasō s q'ā′q'ēlaqulaXdē
I have been shown thrown into me of many sounds of whistles

nau′alak'oalag·ilitsEms ōwulqâlag·ilis ᵀō BaxbakuālanuXsī′waēk·asdē
sound of magic of the companion and BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē real past

5 qa hau′x Lō′koalak·as.
for this supernatural one real.

3. ÂmXdowē′sEn lā′laālag·ilîsa haiq'EnXolag·ilîs lāx ōgoaq'ā′lag·ilîsa
Only I going reaching in front of him at different sound.

nE′msqEmg·ī′lag·ilîsa nō′nLEmg·ilîsa naualak'oalag·ilitsEms ōwulqà′-
only sound making foolish sound of magic of the com-

lag·ilîs ᵀō BaxbakuālanuXsī′waēk·asdē qa haux Lō′koalak·as.
panion and BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē real past for this supernatural one real

[To page 461.]

K·Î′NQALALALA SONG.

1. Ts'ā′tsaēqalaqolēistamLēis naualaX'unēk·asLōs, ts'ētsaēqâlag·i-
Winter dance sound everywhere magic your body real your body is all

10 t'āya hayēma ma mai.
winter dance hayēma ma mai.

2. Hamats'Elaqolēstamlēis naualaX'unēk·asLōs, hā′matsElaqūt'aya
Hā′mats'a sound everywhere magic your body real, your body cries hap

hayēma ma mai.
hayēma ma mai.

3. Tā′yugulisīlak·asa laiLaōs aix·ā′laLElālisk·as lāx mE′lsElag·ili-
You go near really you go right up to him really to turning neck

tsEmk·asLā Lā′lahawulaqulayūLōs qoē′qoaxulag·ītaya hahē.
(raven) real raven's war cry you raven's cry on body hahē.

15 4. Tā′yugoalisElak·asa laiLaōs aix·ā′laLElālisk·asLa qa′mkulag·ili-
You go near really you go right up to him really shutting beak

tsEmk·as hauxhokuā′lag·itā′ya hahē.
real hauxhokᵘ sound on body hahē.

5. Tā′yugoalisElak·asa laiLaōs aix·ālaLElālisk·asLa waxsEnqolag·īLa
You go near really you go right up to him really carrying (a skull) in each hand

q'ā′q'aLElag·īLalōL nakulag·īLa haē.
carrying (a corpse) on the arms for you moved for you hahē.

[To page 461.]

K·Î'NQALALALALA SONG.

1. Ts'ā'tsēqalaqoalag·ĭLdōX Lō'koalak·as'ōwama.
Winter ceremonial song for me the super- natural one real good.

2. Hā'mats'Elaqulag·ĭLdōX Lō'koalak·as'ō'wama.
Hā'mats'a song for me the super- natural one real good.

3. Bā'bakulaqoalag·ĭLdōX Lō'koalak·as'ōwama.
BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē's song for me the super- natural one real good.

4. K·'ēōkulisilak·asLēs nau'alakuasōs Lō'koalask·asa. Hē'Em laiL
(I) destroyed really your magic the super- natural one real. Therefore

wu'Ltsē wā'namēistāla wax wu'La dō'x'oaLElak·āsax nau'alakuasōs
long ago they hide everywhere try a long time to see really your magic

Lōkoalak·asa ha hamamai.
the super- natural one real ha hamamai.

[To page 461.]

K·Î'NQALALALA SONG.

1. Hē'ilik·ilaLElaLis dō'qula qoā'nask·asdēaLas Ba'xbakuālanuX-
Taming see (me) the wildness real past of BaxbakuālanuX-

sīwaēdē dōqula!
sī'waē past see (me)!

2. Hā'yasElaLElaLis dōqula qoā'nask·asdēaLas yēx·siwalag·ilîsdē
Cutting the veins see (me) the real wildness past of monster at north end of world past

dō'qula!
see (me)!

[To page 463.]

Q'ŌMINŌQA SONG.

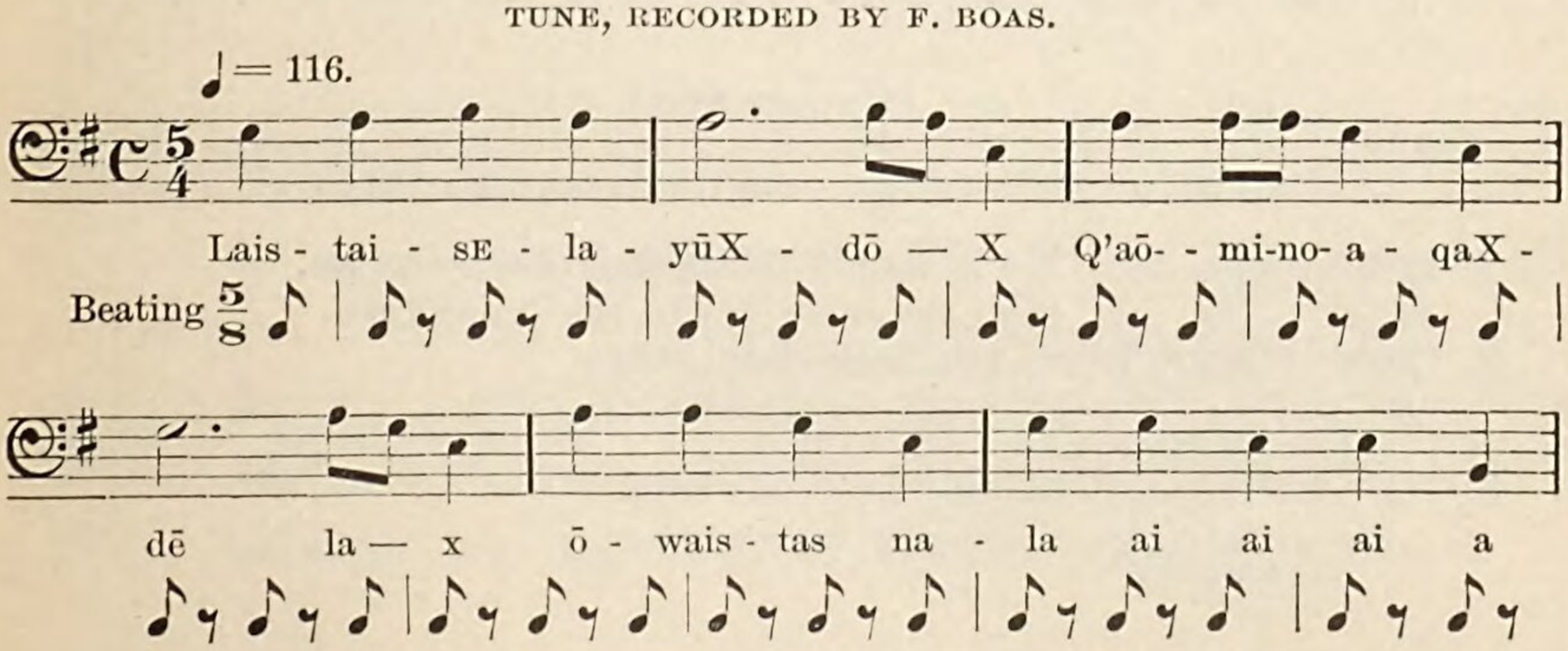
1. LaistaisElayūXdōX Q'aōminōaqaXdē lax ōwaistas nā'la.
Going around the world (past) Q'ōminōqa past to all around world.

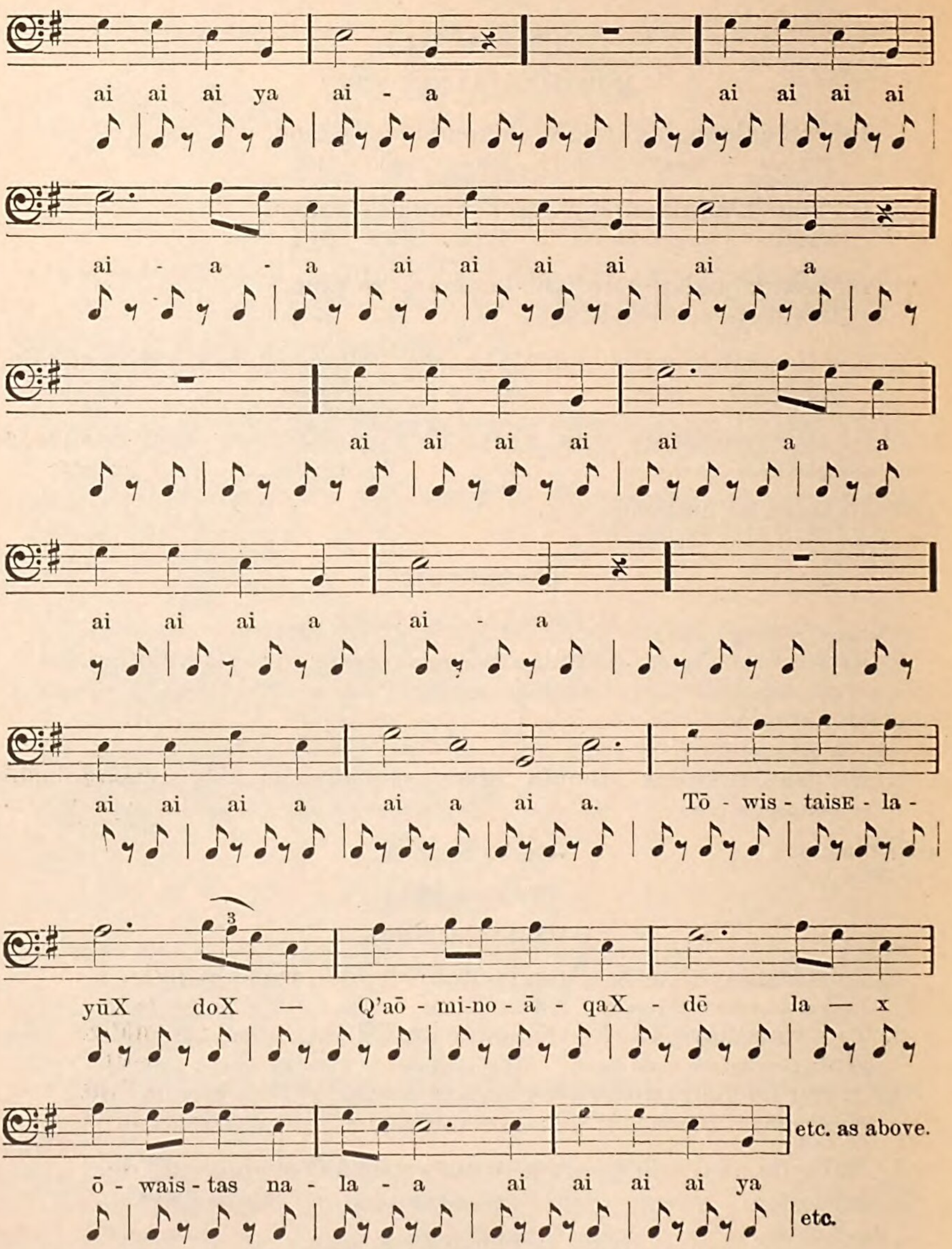
2. TowistaisElayūXdoXs Q'aōminōaqaXdē lax ōwaistas nā'la.
Walking around the world (past) Q'ōminōqa past to all around world.

3. Ia'yag·ila qoai'LdoXs yā'k·'ōL'anaik·ā'sdēs Q'ō'minoaqaXde.
Prophesying evil from bad side (left hand) of Q'ōminōqa past.

4. Aai'g·ila qoai'LdōXs aix·k·'ōLanēk·asdēs Q'ō'minōaqaXdē.
Prophesying good from good side (right hand) of Q'ō'minōqa past.

TUNE, RECORDED BY F. BOAS.





[To page 463.]

SONG OF Q'ŌMINŌQA.—LA'LASIQOALA DIALECT.

1. Ia ha ha ha na. Hē'ik·asmîs ts'ātsaēqēnoaig·iLā'na.
   Ia ha ha ha na. Truly, therefore they are joining your dance.
2. Qaîs yE''nEguilisus ts'E'loaqēnoaiyēida.
   Because you carry a rattle in your hands they join in your praise.
3. Qaîs wī'lEnguilisus amiaxē'noaiyēida.
   Because you carry all in your hands they join in your praise.

[To page 464.]

SONG OF HA'MSHAMTSES.

1. Hamasa'yā'lag·ilā haisai yē hamāmamai.
   Trying to look for food all around the world yē hamāmamai.
2. Bā'bakuayā'lag·ila haisai yē hamāmamai.
   Looking for men all around the world yē hamāmamai.
3. Q'ula' mEnsāyag·ila haisai yē hamāmamai.
   Life swallowing all around the world yē hamāmamai.
4. Xa'xauquayā'lag·ila haisai yē hamāmamai.
   Looking for heads all around the world yē hamāmamai.

TUNE, RECORDED BY F. BOAS.

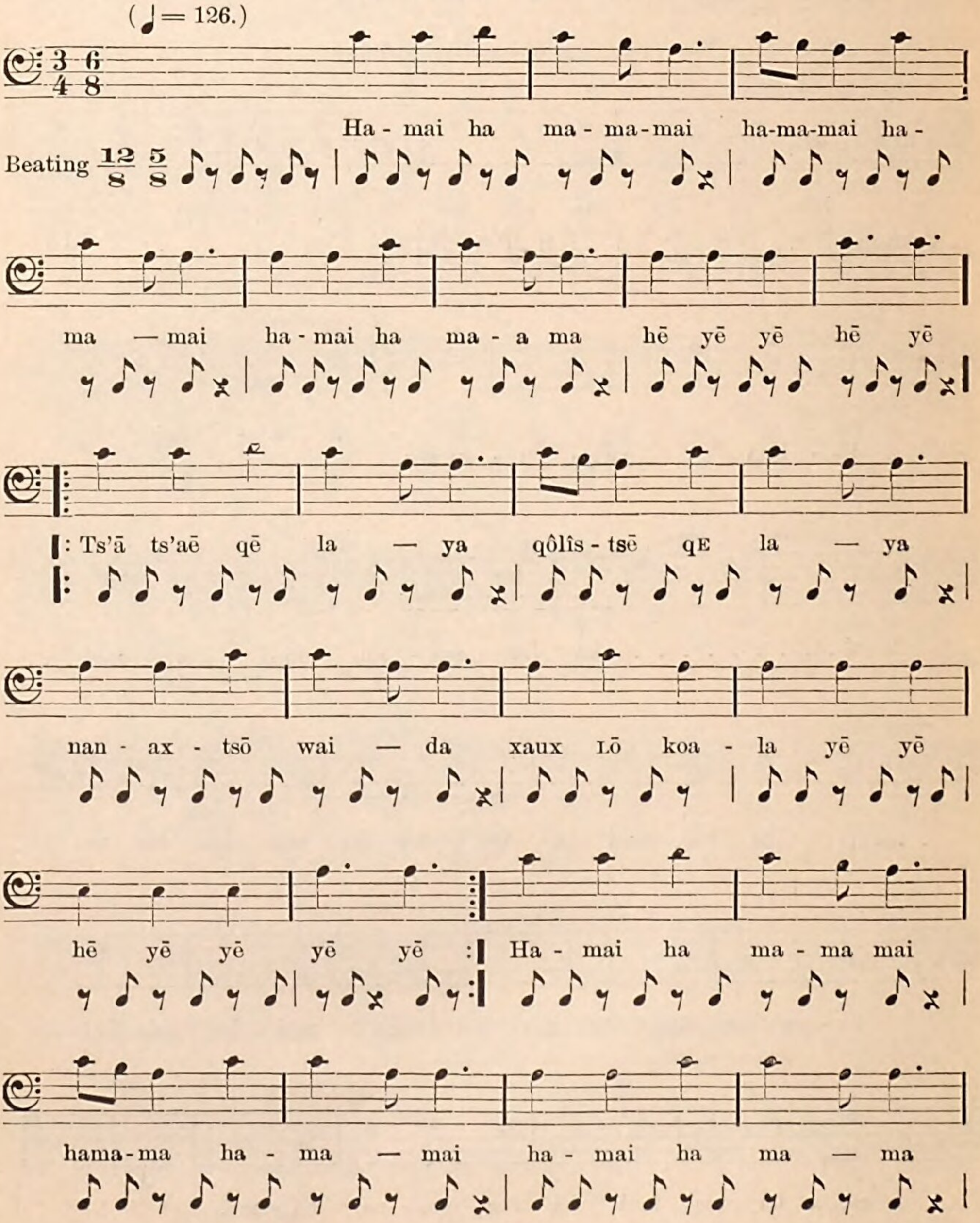
[To page 464.]

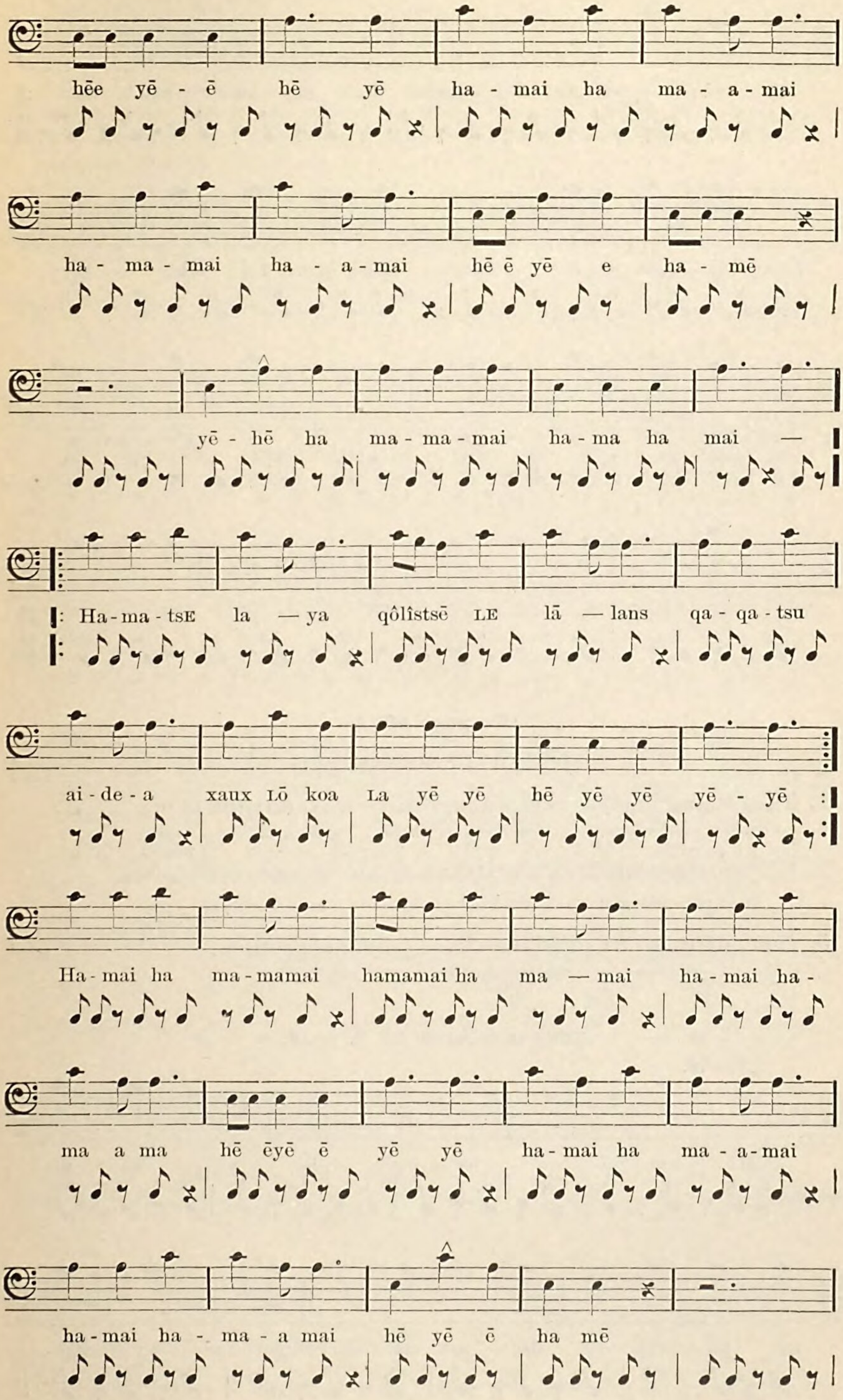
SONG OF HA'MSHAMTSES.

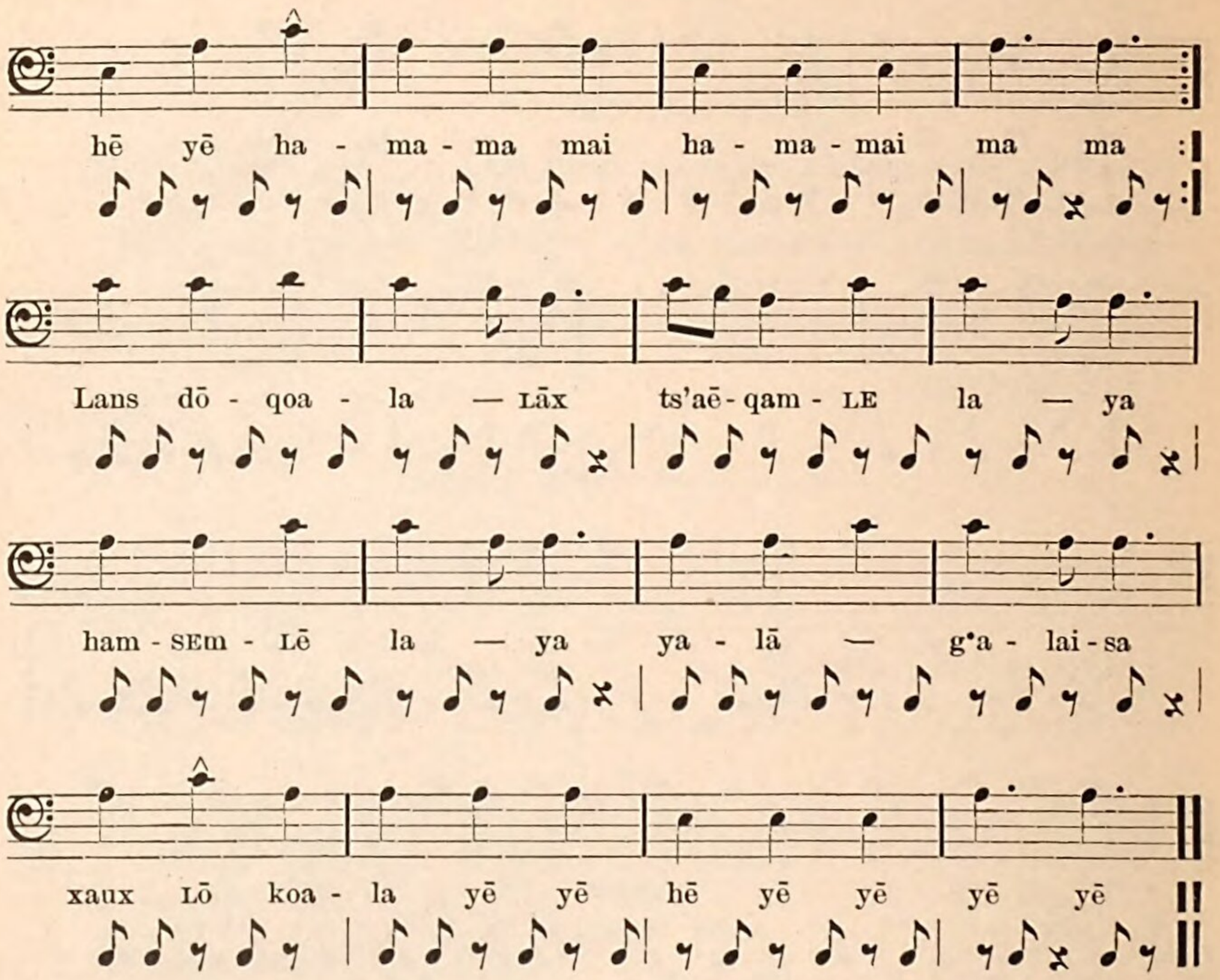
1. Ts'ā'ts'aēqELaqôlîstsē LELā'lans nā'naxtsowai da xaux Lō'koala.
   Singing great ts'ā'eqa song will our imitated one the that supernatural one.
2. Hā'matsELaqôlîstsē LELā'lans q'ā'q'atsEwaidēa xaux Lō'koala.
   Great hā'mats'a cry will be our imitated one that supernatural one.
3. Lans dō'qulaLax ts'ā'eqamLELāya ha'msEmLELāya iā'lag·ilîs xaux
   We shall see it his mask the hā'mats'a mask what makes that him travel about
   Lō'koalaya.
   supernatural one.

TUNE, RECORDED BY F. BOAS.

(♩= 126.)




hēe yē - ē hē yē ha - mai ha ma - a - mai
ha - ma - mai ha - a - mai hē ē yē e ha - mē
yē - hē ha ma - ma - mai ha - ma ha mai —
Ha - ma - tsE la — ya qôlîstsē LE lā — lans qa - qa - tsu
ai - de - a xaux LŌ koa LA yē yē hē yē yē yē - yē
Ha - mai ha ma - mamai hamamai ha ma — mai ha - mai ha -
ma a ma hē ēyē ē yē yē ha - mai ha ma - a - mai
ha - mai ha - ma - a mai hē yē ē ha mē

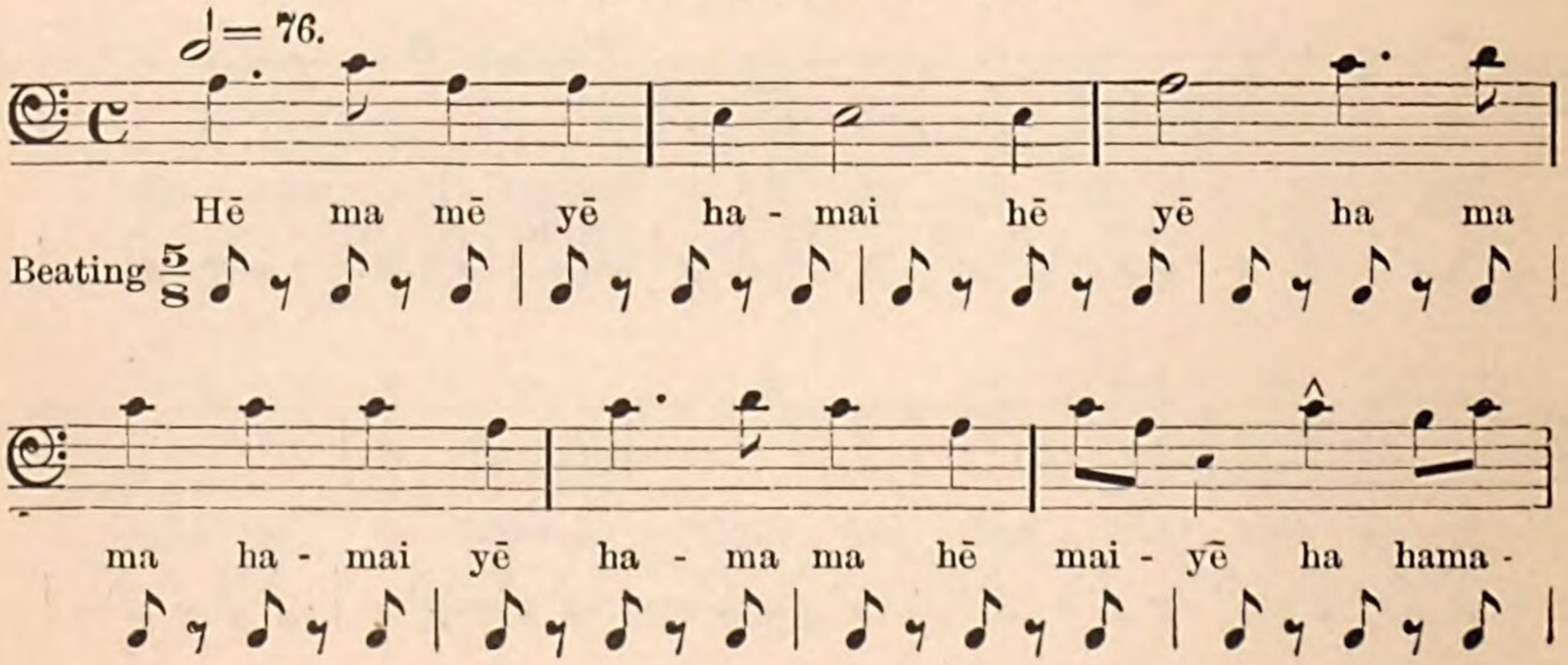


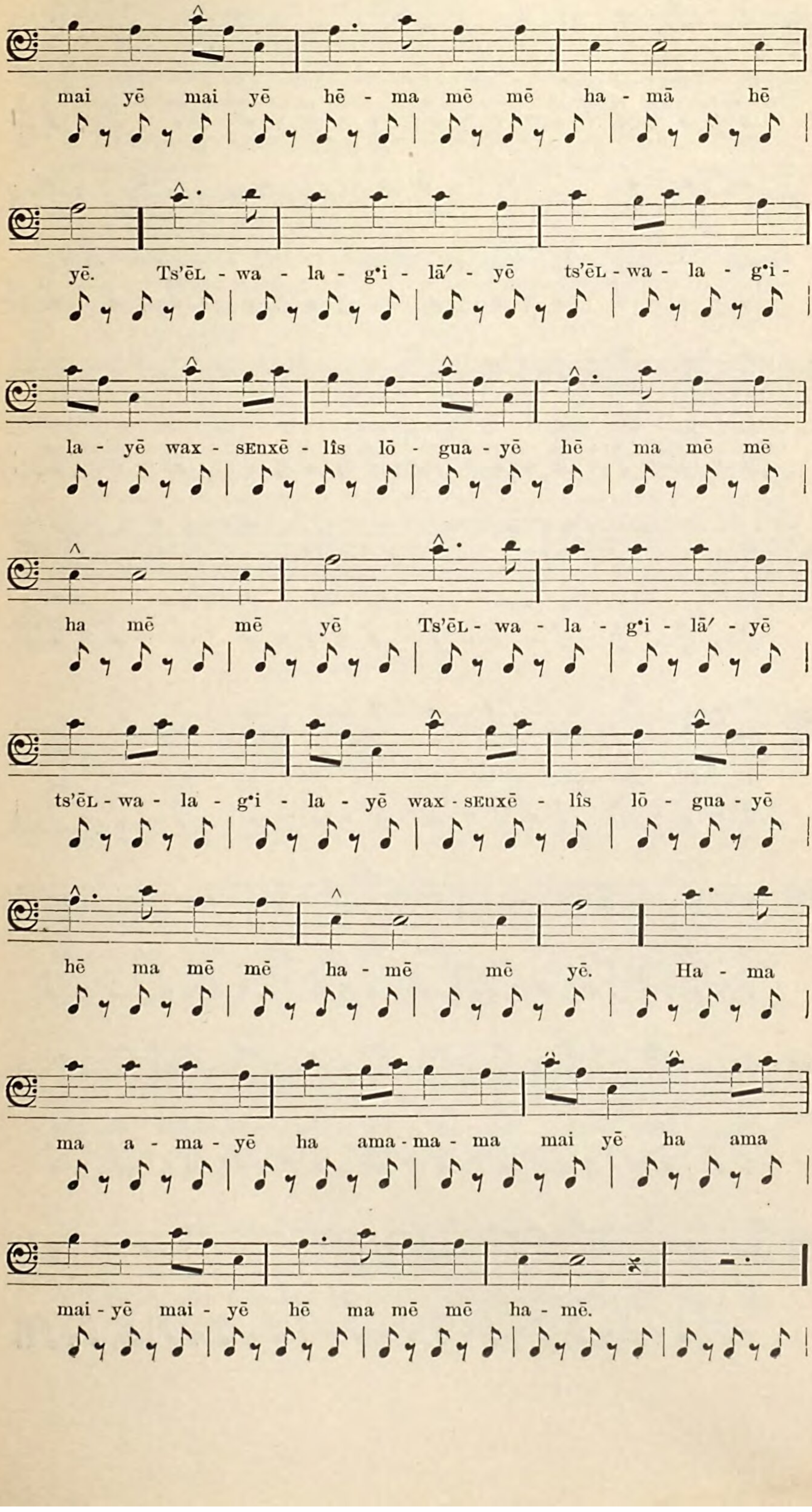
[To page 465.]

SONG OF HA'MSHAMTSES.

1. Ts'ēLwalag·ilîsayē, ts'ēLwalag·ilîsayē wāxsEnxēlîs lō'wa.
   Famous everywhere, famous everywhere at both ends of the world.
2. Q'ā'q'atsuwaihaidē, q'ā'q'atsuwaihaidē waxsEnxēlîs lō'wa.
   Tried to be imitated tried to be imitated at both ends of the world.
3. Lans dō'qulaLax gi'wi'lēnē hāsō yā'yaxolag·itaya.
   We shall see him (dancing) in house him dancing.

TUNE, RECORDED BY F. BOAS.




mai yē mai yē hē - ma mē mē ha - mā hē
yē. Ts'ēL - wa - la - g'i - lā′ - yē ts'ēL - wa - la - g'i -
la - yē wax - sEnxē - lîs lō - gua - yē hē ma mē mē
ha mē mē yē Ts'ēL - wa - la - g'i - lā′ - yē
ts'ēL - wa - la - g'i - la - yē wax - sEnxē - lîs lō - gua - yē
hē ma mē mē ha - mē mē yē. Ha - ma
ma a - ma - yē ha ama - ma - ma mai yē ha ama
mai - yē mai - yē hē ma mē mē ha - mē.

Hē ma - mē mē ha - mai hē ya Q'ā - q'a -
tswai — hai - dē, q'a - q'a - tswai — hai - dē wax - sEnxē -
lîs lō - gua - yē hē - ma mē mē ha - ma hē
yē. Q'ā - q'a - tswai — hai - dē, q'a - q'a — tswai -
hai - dē wax - sEnxē - lîs lō - gua - yē hē - ma mē mē
ha - mē Hē ma mē yē ha - mai he
yā Lans doqu - la - Lax ha - yē ya - wi-lē- nē ha
sa - ya Yā - yaxo - la - g'i - ta ya hē ma mē mē ha - mē.

[To page 465.]

SONG OF HA'MSHAMTSES.

1. Tō'yuqawalag·ilaa'mXtɛlala na'nualak'uēnēk·as'ōs Lō'koalak·as'ō.
Going between mountains on earth he was — magic in your body real your supernatural real.

2. TōXtokoālag·ila ahai'sk·asLɛlax·is na'nualak'uēnēk·as'ōs Lō'koala-
He is going farther — real your — magic in your body real your supernatural

k·as'ō. Tōgulêsiɪaus tōgulêsk·as'ō.
real. Therefore you walk farther — walking farther real.

3. Qoē'sqoēsk·alag·iläik·asLɛlax·īs na'nualak'uēnēk·as'ōs Lō'koala-
Going still farther — real your — magic in your body real your supernatural

k·as'ō. Qoē'sg·ilēsiɪaus qoē'sg·ilēsk·as'ō.
real. Therefore you go farther — going farther real.

4. Tsā'ts'ēqɛlaqulaahaisk·asLax·īs nā'nak'uēnēk·asōs Lō'koalak·as'ō
He will sing his ts'ā'eqa song — real your — imitated by all real your — supernatural real

hā'mats'ɛlaqôlaitsēLɛlalai nā'naXtsōaidē. Hē'x·atsēmōLlai g·î'ltsa-
great hā'mats'a cry will be — imitated one. — You are the one — the first

qolisa hā'mats'ɛlaqôlîsk·asē nā'nualakumnōkōs Lō'koalak·as'ō. Hēix·a-
one — to utter the cannibal cry — magic in you — supernatural real. — You are

tsēmōLlai g·î'lg·alisaiasō mɛx'ā'lisaiasō na'nualagumnōguasōs Lō'koa-
the one — first in you — thrown into you — magic in you — supernat-

lak·as'ō. Mɛ'Xulasōgwōs ōwanxēlîs nā'la. Mɛ'sɛlasōgwōs wāxsɛn-
ural real. — Desired you — at the edge of the world. — Desired as food — at both ends

xēlîts nā'la.
of the world.

TUNE, RECORDED BY F. BOAS.

koa - la - k'as ha ma - ma- mai hai - ma - mai ha - ma - ma

ha - ma - ma mai. Tō-gu - lîs - i - La - us } ha - ma- mai
Tō-gu - lôs — k'as - ō }

ha - ma ma - mai hai- ma- mai ha - ma- mai ha - ma - ha mai

ha - mē ma - ma mē ma mē mai ha- ma mai ha ha - ma

ma - mai ha - ma - mai ha - mē - mai ha - mai

hā - ma ma - mai ha - ma- mai ha- mai ma ha - ma ha - mai.

ha ma hē a hē ā hā ma ma- mai hai- ma- ma

hai ma- ma ma mai hai- ma- mai ha - ma- ma ha - ma- ma mai.

[To page 466.]

SONG OF HA'MSHAMTSES.

1. LaistaisELayuXdōX dō'xdEquisElak·āsxEn na'noalakulāliLk·asa 1
We went all around the world looking around on my beach magic in house real
lax owē'stas nā'la.
there all around the world.

2. Lā'mXdowisEn qax·usai'asō'kuas L'ā'L'aqulak·asdē. ME'tsēt-
There I went it was put upon me the red cedar bark on his body. That is derived
g·iLaus LēuXts'ōwētk·as'ō yîs ōwē'stas nā'la.
from you you can not be imitated all around the world.

3. Qoe'qoaxulag·īLdEn, qoē'qoaxulag·īLdEn, qoā'qoaxuLaXstaig·îlîs- 5
The raven cried for me, the raven cried for me, the raven's cry came to my
tsōXdEn Las Qoā'xqoaxoā'lanuXsīwēk·asdē lax owē'stas nā'la.
mouth of Qoā'xqoaxoā'lanuXsīwaē real past at all around the world.

[To page 466.]

SONG OF NŌ'NTSÎSTALAL.

1. K·ik·ā'LElag·ilak·as owaē'Lax g·āxaLō'dayūk·as owaēLax nō'n-
Making them afraid real good this what he gave you real good this making
tsîstag·ilak·as owae'Lax s Lō'koala.
crazy real good this of the supernatural one.

2. Qoē'qoapalēLilak·as owaēLax g·āxaLō'dayūk·as owaēLax nō'ntsîs-
Scattering them in the house real good this what he gave you real good this making
tag·ilak·as owaēLax s Lō'koala g·īa yahē. 10
crazy real good this of the supernatural one g·īa yahē.

[To page 467.]

SONG OF BEAR.

1. Wī'g·ila tsEns wE'nēnēLans wunX'uaits'ēnē Lqaux nā'nax sa
How shall we hide we hide on the beach before the bear this terrible
yā'lag·ilisax nā'la ō'waē hō.
moving around the world world ō'waē hō.

2. ĒisnēsLEns qans lEmbEtā'lēsē qans tsēmtsēk·'ā'lisē? Qē'yāL
Better we we go under ground we cover our backs with dirt? Yes
qō wēyōLanE'mnōX Laxō sa nā'na sa sE'mtsōyōwalits'ēiax sEns nā'la.
we might not be found by the bear ter- rible of the mouth great this of our world.

[To page 468.]

SONG OF BEAR.—LA'LASIQOALA DIALECT.

Haiâ'â, Lē'qatsilalaida nā'nxatsilalaida, la'mlaōX hai'qamayaLaqē lāx 15
Haiâ'â, take the great name say bear that, he is going right to the highest (copper) to
Lē'LeqamnōX sīs ē'iaLEla. Sā'xauLElasEns xō'maLElaLasēa, sā'xau-
having name of enslaved tribes We shall have a battle, we shall
LasEns tsē'naXulaLasēa.
have trouble.

[To page 470.]

SONG OF FOOL DANCER.

1 Wai′g·a, wai′g·a, wai′g·atsēlaxus sa haya haya ha. Sās dō′qulaʟā
Go on, go on, go on great you ha! haya haya ha. Do not look
xaha t'ā′t'ēkoamāk·a ha ha aE′lkoamāk·a ha ha sēyaXsīlaXdEn sa
the curdled blood on the water ha ha blood on the water ha ha those whom I cut of the
nū′naʟōlîswutdEnʟa.
fool dancer's companion I shall be.

[To page 471.]

SONG OF FOOL DANCER.

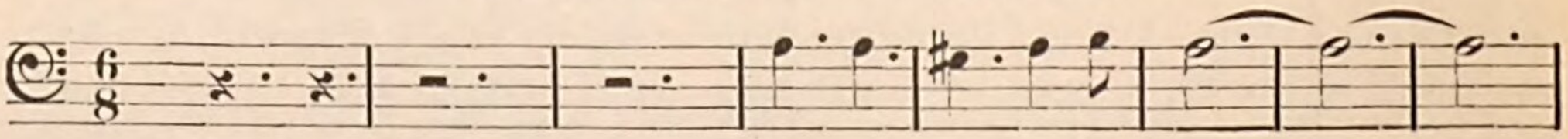
1. Sā s hēx·ēk·ā′ya hēx·ēk·ā′ya xans nEmō′XtsēXwē hawai′k·as
Ha! disturbing disturbing our great friend greatest
5 nEnō′lō lamā′siʟ g·ā′x'aʟElāxtsēʟtsē.
madness came on to him great.
2. G·în g·āx q'ā′mē g·în ts'ōpEnkwāyasōs hē″yuwa Lāx yā′la'yuwa
To me came, to me it was given into my hand the tool the tool (for killing)
Lāx k'wā′waqayō Lāx x·ū′sūtalayū Lāx yā′lag·ilisa yā′la xEns
instrument for severing heads instrument for cutting off heads going all around the world crazy our
nEmō′kuîx hawā′k·as nEnō′lō lamā′siʟ g·ā′x'aʟElāxtsēʟtsē. La'ms
friend greatest madness came on to him great. He
g·îng·înʟElxʟā′lalisila wa haiya.
killed all old and young wa haiya.

[To page 471.]

SONG OF FOOL DANCER.

10 1. Kuē′qaya kuē′qayatsēa qa nanoalaktsēk·as tsō′noqoatsēk·as.
Mad mad great that magic great real tsō′noqoa great real.
2. Ai qa q'alā′na q'aq'alā′ya lā′xa bEguā′nEm qas kuē′qayatsēk·as.
Ah that he torments carries on his arms at the man that his madness great real.
3. Wī″laya haia ʟlahamqō′wa q'E′mq'ak·ōwa lāx bEguā′nEm qas
Eating all haia crushing bones and flesh eating skin and bones at man that his
kuē′qayatsēk·as ya.
madness great real ya.

TUNE, RECORDED BY J. C. FILLMORE.



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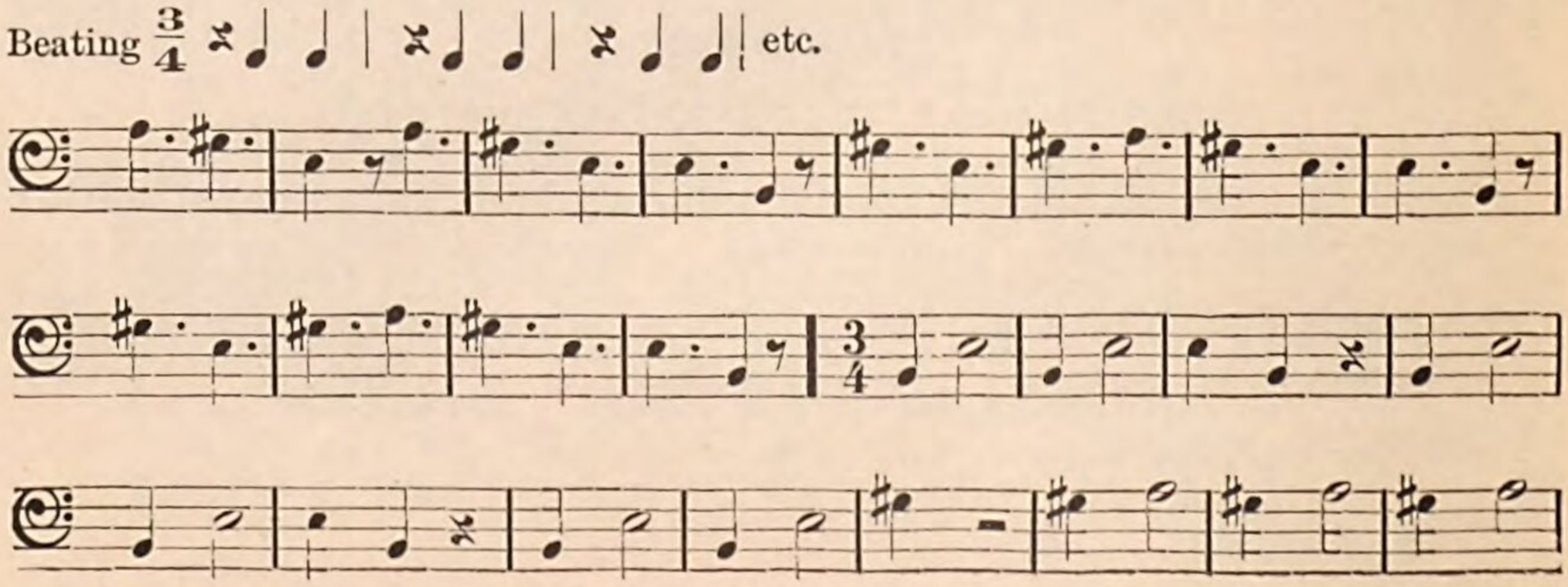
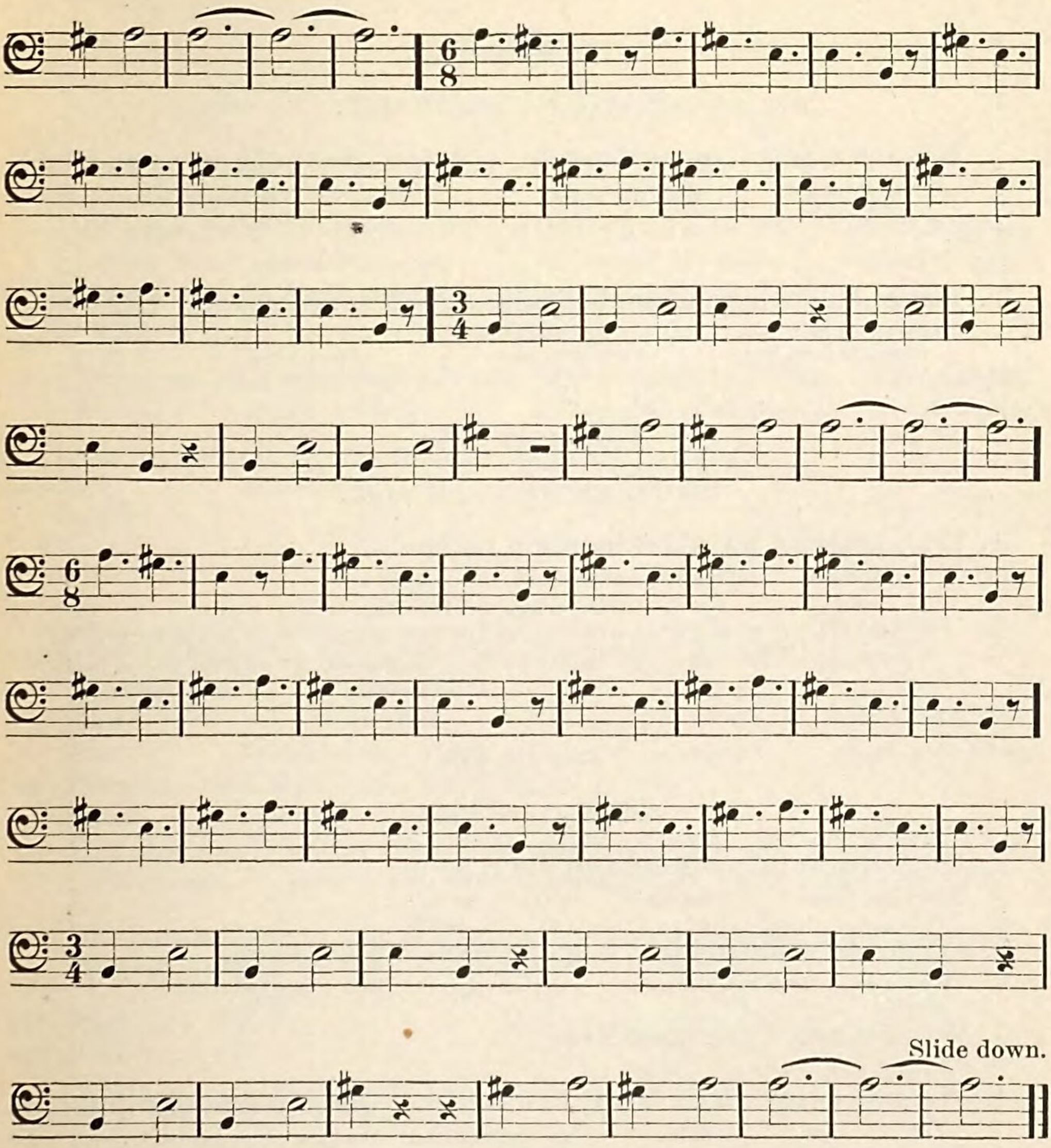




[To page 471.]

SONG OF FOOL DANCER.—LA′LASIQOALA DIALECT.

Waiē ai′tsik·asōL! Lēaanā′lag·ilitsumk·asō! 1

Waieh! oh wonder! he makes a turmoil on the earth!

Ai′tsik·asōL! sāoltalag·ilitsumk·asō, g·ōxg·ōxqoalag·ilitsumk·asō.

Oh wonder! he makes the noise of falling objects on the earth, he makes the noise of breaking objects on the earth.

[To page 472.]

SONG OF NĀ′NAQAUALIL.

1. Tsē′tsēqauasLēla haē Lō′koala.

All gather around you while you are dancing in the house haē supernatural one.

2. Q'ē′q'aqauasLēla haē Lō′koala, dō′daqauasLēla haē Lō′koala.

Many gather around you in the house haē supernatural one, they gather to see you in the house haē supernatural one.

3. Q'au′stiselasLēla haē Lō′koala, mā′mEnLēasLēla haē Lō′koala. 5

Walking right up to you in the house haē supernatural one, asking you for food in the house haē supernatural one.

[To page 472.]

SONG OF NĀ'NAQAUALIL.

1 1. Hēyaqōwiʟīla yū'yak·ōwēʟīla ʟēs ts'ā'ts'aēqɛlāqum ʟaus ts'aē-
Across the middle of the house — rows of property — this is your winter dance song — your — winter

qā'ya.
dance.

2. Hayaʟbā'lasilaʟē mamubalasilaʟēs ts'ā'ts'aēqɛlaqum ʟaus ts'aē-
Everybody will take property from her — taking four blankets to wear from her — this is your winter dance song — your — winter

qā'ya.
dance.

[To page 472.]

SONG OF NĀ'NAQAUALIL.

5 1. G·ā'xk·asʟɛn hā'matsɛlaqolīʟō ʟō'koala.
I shall come — saying hāp on the beach — the supernatural one.

2. G·ā'xk·asʟɛn g·ā'xwuʟtōalisai'a ha'msiwag·ilîs ts'aēqēwēg·ilîs.
I shall come — out of the canoe — with the hā'mats'a head mask — with the winter dance head mask.

[To page 474.]

SONG OF HĀ'MAA.

1. Hā'maōxda lā'g·anɛmɛns q'ulā'ʟ lā'qē.
There is hā'maa — we shall not — live — for he is there.

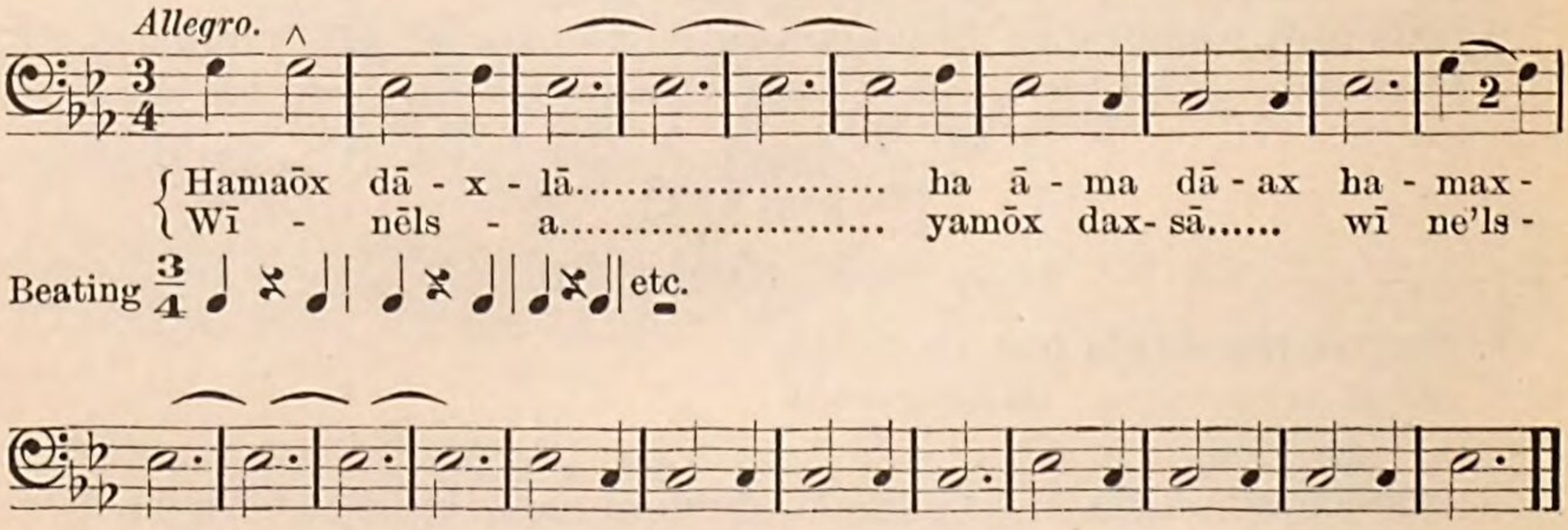
2. Wī'ne'lsā yūmoxdaxsā' lā'g·anɛmɛns q'ulā'ʟ lā'qē.
Where on ground — there it is dangerous — we shall not — live — for he is there.

3. Wī'nēsʟɛns wunā''ʟasōXsa?
Where — shall we — hide?

10 4. Wē'g·a x·îns wu'nx·'idēa lā'bɛtālisʟa qɛns tsɛ'mtsēk·ilālîs qa
Let — us — hide — go underground — that we — cover our backs with dirt — for

hā'maē sa yā'lag·ilisax nā'la.
hā'maa — terrible — going around the world.

TUNE, RECORDED BY F. BOAS.



[To page 474.]

SONG OF SALMON.—LA'LASIQOALA DIALECT. 1

1. G·īg·a'xs'aisEla yūxdEnō'guas mē'mēōXoānak·asdē.
Many coming ashore they with me salmon real past.

2. Hā'laqas g·ā'g·āx'ālag·îlisēilōL qa'ldōyōwē's lō'wa. HaiuXs'aisE-
For they come ashore to you post in middle of heaven. Dancing from the

lag·ilitsEmXtEm nō'guas mē'mēōXoānak·asdē.
outside to the shore with me the salmon real past.

3. Hā'laqais haixoanōmag·ailōLai hēiLg·ōtmē îs lō'wa. LĒ'Laxoya
For they come to dance to you at the right side of heaven. Overtowering

mā'yāLas aix·ts'umk·ēyaLēXdês mē'mēōXoānak·asdē. 5
surpassing outshining of the face the salmon real past.

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SONG OF SALMON.

1. Q'ā'q'ēXs'ālisEla sa q'ā'nōmalag·ilisa mēyōXuā'nE.
Many came to find on the world salmon.

2. HaiLa mē'yoXuānak·asdē nē'nXuag·ilīLak·asdē nau'alakulīLa
That salmon real past approached him real past magic in the house

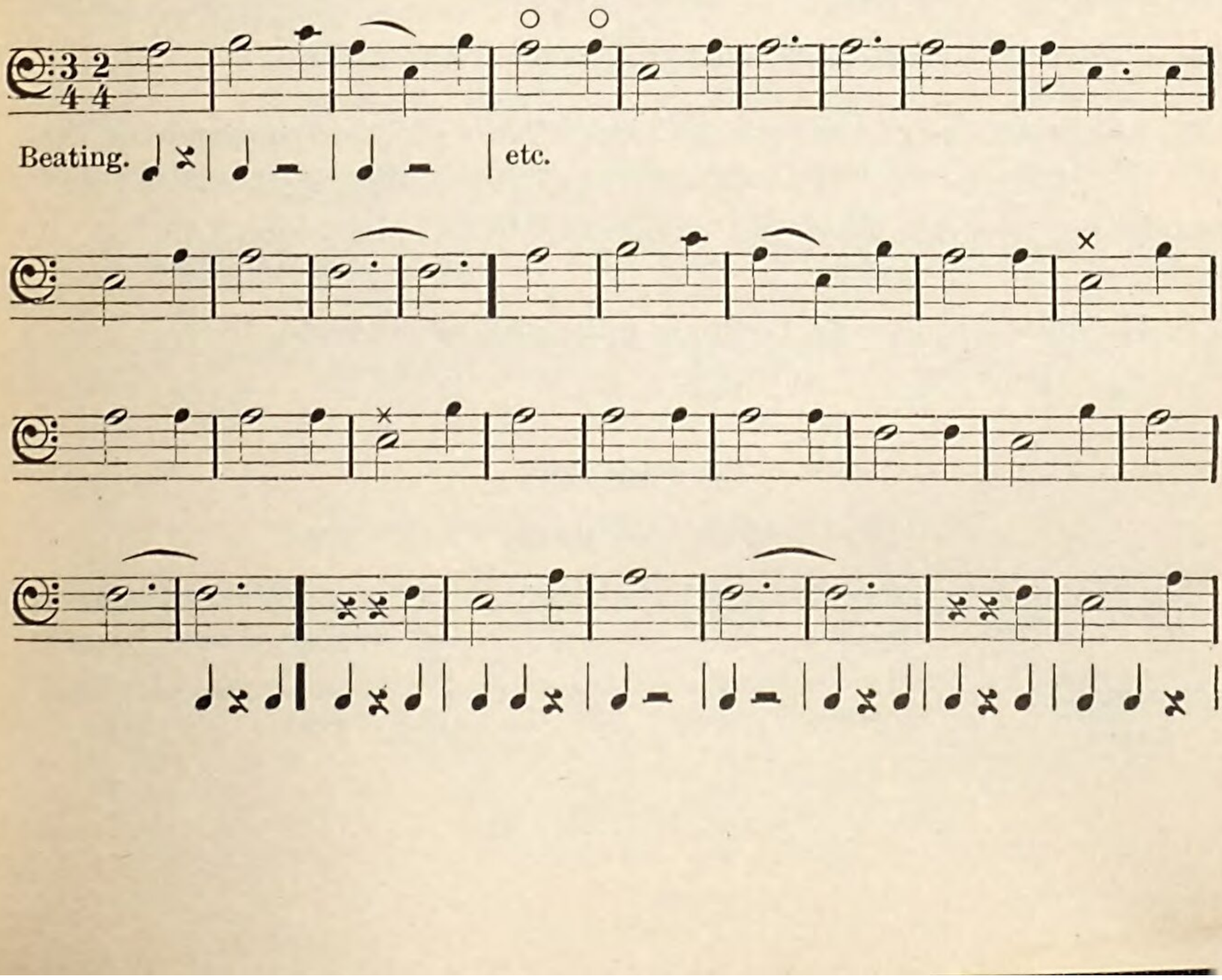
nau'alakwas'o nau'alakwas'ō hayō hayō yi yi.
your magic your magic hayō hayō yī yī.

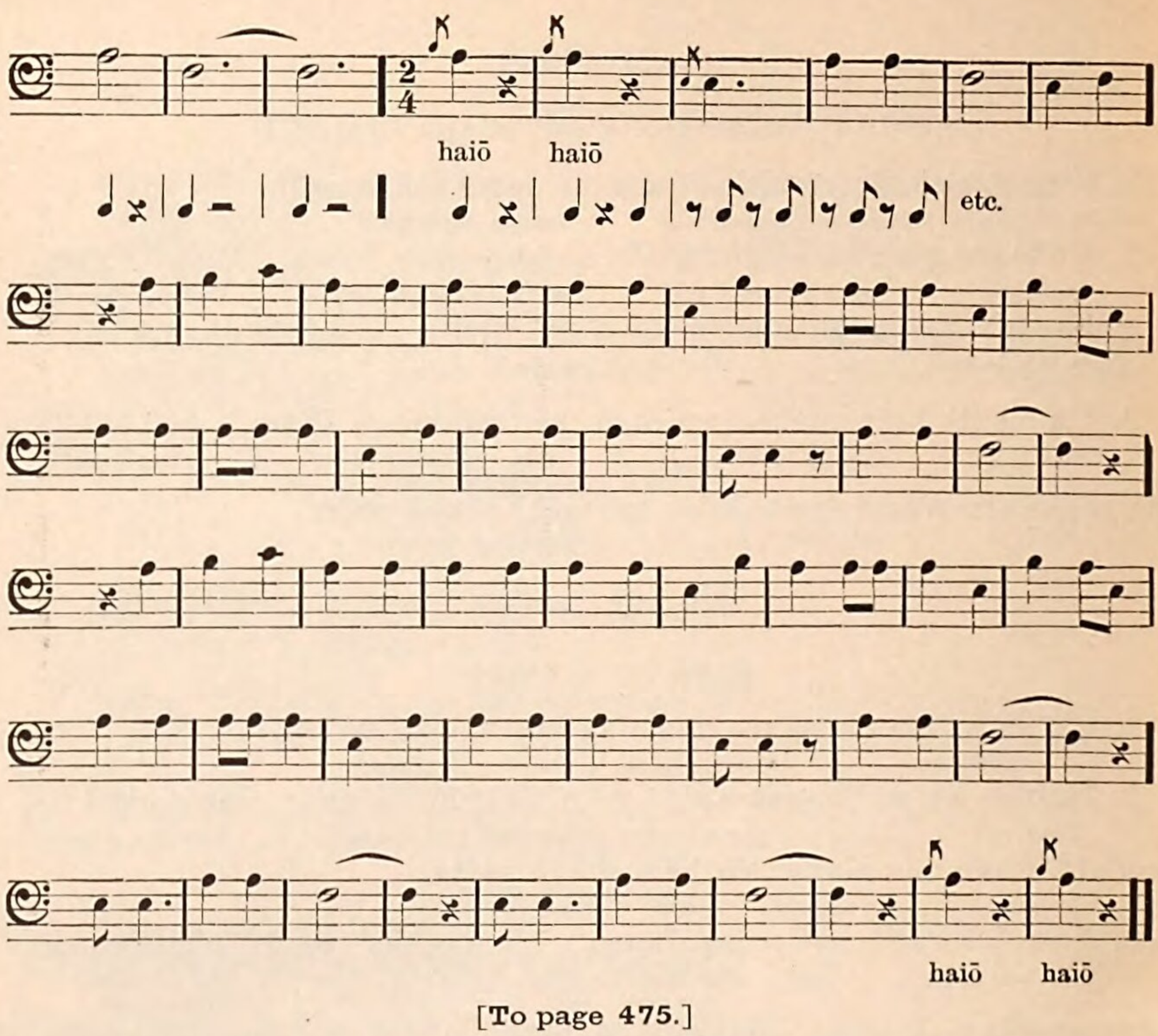
3. Nau'alakwas'ō haiLa g·axēLtsē g·ā'g·axs'ālîs qas mē'aisilak·asdē
Your magic that they came for coming ashore for chief of salmon real past

qāxs wīwēiLEmlitsEma amiaxa'laLēxlōL nau'alakwas'o nau'alakwas'ō 10
for property too heavy to be carried those who praise you your magic your magic

hayō hayō yī yī.
hayō hayō yī yī.

TUNE, RECORDED BY J. C. FILLMORE.





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SONG OF SALMON WEIR.

1 1. Lā′XdEn laiyahau′guē, lā′XdEn laiyahau′guē hamamai guā′gōL-
I go laiyahau′guē, I go laiyahau′guē hamamai working at
tsēwalag·ilîsk·as'ōwasqai gōlayūgulisk·as'owaiqai mEnahāxaisk·as'owai-
my salmon trap real good salmon trap on beach real good picking up out of the trap real good
qai, ō'wēyā′xē lō′lupstūts'ōwîlstEmk·as'ōwai hamamamē.
the raven empty orbits in trap real good hamamamē.
2. Lāxoaix·Lāxoaik·āmxsLē LaXsEmä′Xdē yā″yaxōyōqoaxdē lē′las-
Stand still stand still who stands on top past who make the tide rise past whirl-
5 taiLaiXde, ts'nēstaLaix·de wā′wiyak·ilaXdē yā″yaxōyōqoaXdē.
pool past, where the tides meet past his skirt past who makes the tide rise past.
3. Hā′matsalaqolāmXs Lō′koala hā′matsElaqoak·āsdē.
Crying hāp supernatural one crying hāp real past.

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SONG OF WASP.

Ha ꞩoā′nōsEns nā′x·'idēa xoa ha′mtsats'ēax sa hā′masElatsēa; hawā-
Ha do not let us approach the wasp nest of the wasp dancer great; it is great
k·asā′nuXLa
danger.

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SONG OF KU'NXULAL.

1. Hā'laqalisElala haiaLīlaqasatsē'k·asa yuwaiLla xā'palisayax 1
Rushing down the supernatural one great real that one grasping
nE'msqE'makua lē'lqolaLai haiōo hai hō.
one tribe haiōo hai hō.
2. Hā'laqalisElala haiaLīlaqasatsē'k·asa yūwaiLla hē'xalisElatsēa
Rushing down the supernatural one great real that one coming straight down great
qoā'quLEmlîsk·asa gu'ngōLlālîsk·asa wō'lasqEmlîsk·asa hē'iEmutk·asa
the one who burnt the real face (of the tribe) making them fall real before him in a great heap real the rest of food (dead people) real
Hō'Laqanustsēk·as Ku'nkunXulēg·isēs nā'la haiōo. 5
Thunder bird great real Thunderer of the heaven haiōo.
3. Hā'laqalisElala haiaLīlaqasatsēk·asa qā's lēiLōs āwumsqEmslīsEla-
Rushing down the supernatural one great real that you go from tribe to tribe
k·asLa lāyuLaqōs xāxap'alak·asa g·ē'g·iqamēmanEXk·asa s lēlqo-
real you went trying to grasp chiefs small real of tribes
laLaLaia haiōo.
haiōo.

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SONG OF KU'NXULAL.—LA'LASIQOALA DIALECT.

Ku'nXulaLk·asLēxai'. Sāk·asLōL'iē Ku'nXulaLk·asLēxai'.
Thunder bird dance this will be. Wonderful it will be, Thunder bird dance this will be.

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SONG OF QŌ'LÔC.—LA'LASIQOALA DIALECT.

Qoā'la x·îns hawīnalEla ts'ē'koeāxLEns g·ī'qEmayē. 10
Don't let us drive him away our bird our chief.
Qaū'losk·as'ō k'oā'LaLEla nā'qōLioēîs sEns nā'la.
The real eagle sitting on top the middle of our world.

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SONG OF WOLF.

1. Lā'XdEn g·a'g·alaLg·īwalîsg·i'liāsa nūn, yi hi hi a ha hī.
I go to the standing place of the wolf, yi hi hi a ha hī.
2. Lā'XdEn naqōLeōlitsEn lāx g·ō'kuas nūn, yi hi hi a ha hī.
I go to the middle of the rear at his house the wolf's, yi hi hi a ha hī.
3. G·ā'xmēsEn wilōLElēisa nau'alak'uinēs nūn yi hi hi a ha hī.
Thus I all for me the magic on the body of the wolf yi hi hi a ha hī.

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SONG OF WOLF.—LA'LASIQOALA DIALECT.

1. Ia'yaqElaqulag·āsLEn g·āx wā'wakulīsa qā'mōtalīsa qa s wē'ig·iLōs 15
I make noise of giving blankets come barking on beach howling on beach for you will
q'oā'xalīsLa wā'las tEmna'Xua yōs q'ulyakuēyäg·ilītsîs g·ī'g·iqama'ya.
grow as great the same (as forefather) you the oldest one on top chiefs.

1 2. Awila q'ā'lamLai wā'LdEmā sa ā'LanEmā sEns g·ī'g·iqama'yē.
Wonderful against you the word of the wolves our chiefs.
Yēhēi; nē'x·laē qants g·îlnēk·ElēiLa p'ā'p'aya'yaL lāx p'ā'sag·ilaya
Yēhēi; he said we children with us asking him to give blankets to give blankets
mā'xoag·ilaya maoxsistālisax lē'lqoalaLai. Yihēi.
to give blankets to each tribe to give blankets to the whole world tribes. Yihēi.
3. Haia, wäx·salaiau'LEmaiL, xEns g·ī'g·iqama'ya, āLoya guā'yēg·ilisa
Let us try to tame his face, our chiefs, else you will go too far
5 Xuā'Xuēqalisa wä'lag·ilaya nēmālisilaya q'amē'lēqag·ilaya nō'ng·ēaX-
swinging making life short shortening life making fall highest
towē. Yihēi.
wolf Yihēi.

[To page 479.]

SONG OF WOLF.

Yahē yahē.
Yahē yahē.
Qapamā'lō K·ēx·ā' nEqamäi yaxs NōLt'aqālag·ilîs.
He put on his head K·ēx· the middle of the face of the NōLt'aqā'lag·ilîs.

TUNE, RECORDED BY F. BOAS.

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SONG OF TS'Ō'NOQOA.—LA'LASIQOALA DIALECT.

1. Iā' halselamXdEn wīts'Emg·ilisa a'lguLmaig·ilisa q'ābōqolalīsa
Ia! I was a little behind not on time the blood of murderer where a heap had become putrid
hai'amōta ha'amōt yā'lag·ilîs g·ax nā'la.
whom he had killed rest of food warrior of this world.
2. Haitsēq'amaxōL LĀ'wisīlaya wai'adig·ilag·a kuēxag·ilōLa g·āxLēx
You great one made angry not to take pity made to kill to come
wī'wung·i'laLax lē'lqolaLē.
to make poor the tribes.

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SONG OF TS'Ō'NOQOA.

1. Q'ā'q'āLElītsatsēa Ts'ō'noqoatsēa haiō dō'lEmx·itEla LE'lEmg·itEla
Trying to carry on arms Ts'ōnoqoa great haiō making numb making dead
Ts'ōnoqoatsēa haiō.
Ts'ō'noqoa great haiō.
2. Hā'manēkuilatsēa dō'lEmx·itElatsēa hau'ak·as Ts'ō'noqoa.
Causing nightmare great making numb great dreadful Ts'ōnoqoa.

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SONG OF IA'K·ÎM.

1. Q'ā'xōlitsēLalalai ia'g·imas g·a nā'la.
He will rise the ia'k·im of this world.
2. P'ō'liqōlamasēi ia'g·imas g·a nā'la.
He makes the sea boil the ia'k·im of this world.
3. Iā'qamg·ustâlaLlai ia'g·imas g·a nā'la.
He will throw up blankets the ia'k·im of this world.
4. Iā'qamg·ustâlaLlai q'ā'Xulaēnēlas ia'g·imas g·a nā'la.
He will throw up blankets out of the sea the ia'k·im of this world.
5. Ia'yakiLaLax lē'lqoalaLē ia'g·imas g·a nā'la.
He makes the face o- the sea ugly tribes the ia'k·im of this world.
6. Lā'nsk·iLalaLa ia'g·imas g·a nā'la.
We shall be afraid of the ia'k·im of this world.

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SONG OF SĪ'SIUL.—LA'LASIQOALA DIALECT.

Satsēas laidēa sEns g·ī'qamēk·asō. Sīsiul laidēa sEns g·ī'qamēk·as'ō.
Oh great the dance of our chief real. Sīs'iuL dance of our chief real.
La'mēlawēsōX mā'xs'ali'saLax nE'msqamak'ua lē'lqolaLai laidēa
He will, it is said, cut in two one tribe the dance
sEns g·ī'qama'ya.
of our chief.

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SONG OF CHIEFTAINESS DANCER.

1. AōmalaLnōklEns namōku'malisa ōwanxēlîs nā'la.
Chieftainessdance we are told our who stands far ahead (the chief) edge of world.
2. Aōmalaqulatsēlelai hā'mats'Elaqôlîsla ō'mayatsēLai Lō'koala.
Chieftainess song great will be hā'mats'a song will be chieftainess great will be supernatural.

1 3. Lā′wulq'alag·ilisa L'ēyānalag·ilisa aō′maXdEmēîsōs ō″mayatsēLai
Sound of copper ringing of copper place of your chieftainess chieftainess great will be

Lō′koalatsēLai.
supernatural great will be.

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SONG OF GHOST DANCER.

1. Lē′laxaisLEla'yuxdE no′guas lēloaLānak·asdē Lō′koalag·āama.
We went down I chief of the ghosts real (past) thus I became supernatural.

2. Tōaxsai′sElayūXdōXs lēloaLānak·asdē Lō′koalag·īLama Lō′koala.
I was made to walk down by the chief of the ghosts real (past) thus I became supernatural supernatural.

5 3. Ais'ak·ōttsōXdE nō′guas ais'ak·awēk·asō′wa qai lē′loaLānak·asdē
Put pretty things on forehead I pretty things on forehead real good the chief of the ghosts real (past)

Lō′koalag·īLa.
making supernatural.

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SONG OF GHOST DANCER.—LA′LASIQOALA DIALECT.

G·ā′xEnō′laiōL lē′loalēnôx. Mā′sōxs lEg·itElayōs lēlâalēnôx Lā′na?
I come to you ghosts. Why do you make noise of ghosts sense takers?

Mā′sōxs lō′lomūtEla'yūs lēlâ′alēnôx Lā′na? G·ā′xk·ElsElā′nai g·a
Why do you make the house reverberate ghosts sense takers? Coming from the beach

Lā′Lēqailēalanai Lā′na. G·ā′xk·ElsElā′nai ts'a′ts'ēLwailēanai Lā′na.
calling sense takers. Coming from the beach to be famous sense takers.

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SONG OF GHOST DANCER.—LA′LASIQOALA DIALECT.

10 1. Wī′lg·ustâlîLtsō Lā′naXdōs lēlâ′alēnôx Lā′na.
They come out of ground from you ghosts sense takers.

2. Pō′ēk·'alasō LānaXdōXs lēlâ′alēnôx Lā′na.
The voice of hunger comes from you ghosts sense takers.

3. Mā′mEnLēatsō LānaXdōs lēlâ′alēnôx Lā′na.
We come to get enough from you ghosts sense takers.

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SONG OF NA′XNAK·AQEML.

1. Lā′xolîsLaiLaux q'ā′laqolītsōs ha wa′nXēlitsēs lō′wa.
You will rise you known by all ha around the edge of the world world.

2. La′xolîsLaiLaux ts'ēLwalag·ilîs lāx ōwa′nxēlitsēs lō′wa.
You will rise famous everywhere at edge of the world world.

15 3. La′xolîsLaiLaux waiLa′xalag·ilitsā′sō wī′nalag·îltsēs lō′wa.
You will rise being vanquished rival chief of the world.

4. Nēxsowaix·tig·En äiyElk'oā′lag·ilitsasas wī′nalagîltsēs lō′wa.
They say that I beg food from the rival chief of the world.

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SONG OF MĀ′MAQ'A.

Wai′eg·a dā′doxsEmē ai xēs nauahā′lakuē häiya ha ha, ha häi häi 1
Go on! look around for your magic häiya ha ha, ha häi häi
ya′ha a a hai xēs nauahā′lakua.
ya′ha a a hai for magic.
your

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SONG OF MĀ′MAQ'A.—LA′LASIQOALA DIALECT.

1. Wäik·asla! dō′qoaLayaLg·as nau′alakuahaus Lē′qaLēaig·ilîs-
Go on! see your magic you whose name is over all others in the
k·as'ai.
tribe.
2. Wäik·asla! dādōxsEmēLg·as qā′minayōL Lē′qaLēaig·ilîsk·as'ai. 5
Go on! look after your sacred implement you whose name is over all all others in the tribe.
3. Ya, hēik·ayasmîs wī′ōsōguilaLg·as nau′alakuahausyōL LēqaLēai-
Ya, truly it is making that they have no time to escape your magic you whose name is above all others
g·ilîsk·as'ai.
in the tribe.
4. Ya, hēik·ayasmîs ts'ēLtsaguilaLg·as qā′minayaLg·ausyōL Lē′qa-
Ya, truly it is shortening life your sacred implement you whose name is
Lēaig·ilîsk·as'ai.
above all others in the
tribe.

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SONG OF T'Ō′X'UÎT.

1. Wē′g·a x·îns ē′x'uidēya. Wē′g·a x·îns ē′x'uidēya ā sîns wī′na- 10
Let us take (?) Let us take (?) with our what we
nEmtsēyaqEns yā.
gained in war yā.
2. K·'ēsLaxtEn qoē′qEmxsāla lāx nō′LEmaxsēE wī′nalaxdēaxlōL
I did not turn my face back to those who bothered me paddling for you
qā′sta.
friend.
3. Wēix·us māx'ē′dea, wē′g·ax·us mā′x'ēdea s haisīs qoā′LqoaLag·i-
Go on throw it go on throw it yours that kills every
layōs xu′mtxumtag·ilayōs lā′lēx·ilits'ayōs wī′nalaxdeaxqōL qā′sta. 15
body that burns everything that turns the world face downward paddling for you friend.
4. ÂmlaXdEn hē′yaqala sē′xoaqala lax bē′bEnaqaualisLai.
Only I passed them paddled past at the lowest ones under the earth.
5. ÂmlaXdEn nē′xamxsEla wā′tamxsEla g·ā′xēsē xā′xōsila lāx
Only I pulled them into the canoe hauling a string of them into the canoe for them to bail out the canoe at
yi′nasEla wī′nalaxdēaxyōL qā′sta.
war canoe paddling for you friend.

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SONG OF T'Ō'X'UÎT.

1 1. Qoē'sEnxā'laiitsEmXdEn lā'XdEn qoēsEnxalaiitsEms hainōma
I have been at the far side of the world I have been I on the far side of the world true

naualakuē' laXdEn qoē'sEnxElēts'Emsīa ai'k·as ai ai naualakuē' wē wē.
magic I have been I on the far side of the world real ai ai magic wē wē.

2. Wilō'LElēsāXdEn laXdEn wi'lōLElēsaX nanualakwena'ēk·a'sa.
I got all I did getting all kinds of magic on body real.

G·ā'XdEn wī'lōLElēisayaqēia ai ai ai'k·as nau'alakuē wē wē.
I came getting all ai ai real magic wē wē.

5 3. Nā'x·ōLąlēisaXdEn; g·ā'xdEn nā'x·ōLalēisayax nanualak'uēnai'-
I got everything, I came I got everything all kinds of magic on

k·asa hēya. G·ā'xdEn nāx·ōLalēisaqēa ai ai ai'k·as nau'alak'uē wē wē.
body real hēya. I came I got everything ai ai real magic wē wē.

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SONG OF Ō'LALA.—LA'LASIQOALA DIALECT.

1. Q'ā'laqolitsōXdEnaya laix·dēk· lāg·aLElai lax ts'ēxp'ēqtsēa lāx
The world knows me when I reach at the pole of the winter ceremonial at

ts'ā'tsaēqalask·asai.
the winter ceremonial real.

2. QE'ltitsīmasiLayawēiXōs qE'ltitsīyoLai qE'ltōyōwais lōwa.
Hold up your great one your post post in the middle of the world.

10 3. Alōmitsimāsiɪaya hēyahē wēiXōs alōmitsiyōLai alX'aayE'ms
You who keeps solid hēyahē you keeping solid who holds firm

lō'wa.
the world.

4. Qā'laxētsīmasīLäi lāx qā'laxēasōs qā'laxēams lō'wa.
You are interlocked like logs to you who is interlocked interlocked support of world.

5. Q'autitsimasiLäiwēiXōs q'ō'titsīōLai q'au'toyowais lōwa.
You keep from falling down keeping from falling support of the world.

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SONG OF TS'Ē'K'OÎS.—LA'LASIQOALA DIALECT.

1. ŌmataLā'lag·ila qā'minatsētsē'aqos iä!
Make silent the sacred implement inside great your iä!

15 2. LēLēxqä'lag·ilitsux tEmî'lqoaLalaXūs nau'alaqtsēaqōs iä.
Everybody names you, let it be quiet your great whistle, iä,

3. LēLēxk·a'lag·ilitsux haiaLilaqas.
Everybody names you shaman woman.

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SONG OF SĪ'LÎS.—LA'LASIQOALA DIALECT.

Hēiē iā'nai hēyē.
Hēiē iā'nai hēyē.

1. Yā'satsēa sEns q'ā'laitēya!
How great our famous one!

2. Yā′satsē wī′st'Ens Lē′qalaidēa! 1
How great our named one!

3. G·ā′xaxsalaiLō g·î′lEms nā′noalak. Yā′satsē wī′st'Ens Lē′qalaidēa!
He comes in his canoe the dreaded magician. How great our named one!

4. Ya k·'ēsk·aiasLES nō′lnēqalaLa k·'ēk·alēqalag·as Lō′koētsēak·as
Ya not be troubled be afraid of the great supernatural one

qā′laitēa.
the famous one.

5. G·ā′g·aiqEmayaLg·as sī′siuLg·a s Lō′koētsēaLg·as. 5
Go to the head chiefs sī′sīuL the great supernatural one.

6. Yā′satsē wīst'Ens Lē′qalaidēa!
How great our named one!

7. G·a nē′XsoaiXdēX guāguanXs'alag·īL hai′aLilaqas.
She said to me gave me advice the shaman woman.

8. G·a nē′XsoaiXdēX hamā′nēXsōlitsEns hai′aLilaqas.
She said to me we treat each other carefully the shaman woman

9. Yā′satsē wīst'Ens Lē′qalaidēa!
How great our named one!

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SONG OF HAI′ALIK·ÎML.

1. Ts'ā′ēqauēda ts'ē′tsaēqauēda yē ya haa. 10
To whom all go for the winter ceremonial to whom all go for the winter ceremonial yē ya haa.

2. Hē′ilik·auēda hailik·auēda.
To whom all go for the hē′ilig·a to whom all go for the hē′ilig·a.

3. Ha ʒoā′LEla amō′Llai q'ānēxLäiyäig·ī′litsō p'ā′LpaLEms yā′lag·i-
In the beginning you spread wings over your head which you used for flying the one who always

lisa.
travels.

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SONG OF HAI′ALIG·ILAL.—LA′LASIQOALA DIALECT.

Ai au aia au Lō′koalai ya ai ya.
Ai au aia au supernatural one ya ai ya.

1. Haialig·ilaqulēsk·asLEla Lō′koala ts'ā′tsāequlaqulîsk·asLEla Lō′- 15
Haialig·ilaL song real supernatural winter ceremonial song real super-

koala
natural one.

2. Ā′lak·asLōwisLas qoī′LaxElāsk·asLōL Lō′koala, ā′lak·asLōwîsLās
You truly will be the one you who will be untied supernatural one, you truly will be the one

ēyawā′lask·asLōL Lō′koala.
you to whom they speak about their wishes supernatural one.

3. Ā′lak·asLōwisLas mā′mEnLēask·asLōL Lō′koala.
You truly will be the one you whom they will ask for plenty of food supernatural one.

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SONG OF WĀ′TANEM.—LA′LASIQOALA DIALECT.

1 1. WīxsElētsēLōX ts'ēLwumē'stalîs.

Not go into (Winā′la-g·ilîs's) canoe — you who is known everywhere.

2. WixsElētsēLōX Lē′qumē'stālitsēxā′na.

Not go into canoe — whose name is known everywhere.

3. G·î′lEmk·asaxs nā′noalaXuā′na.

Feared by all — magicians.

4. Ā′tsoak·asa g·î′lEmk·asaxs nā′noalaXuā′na.

Great real — feared by all — magicians.

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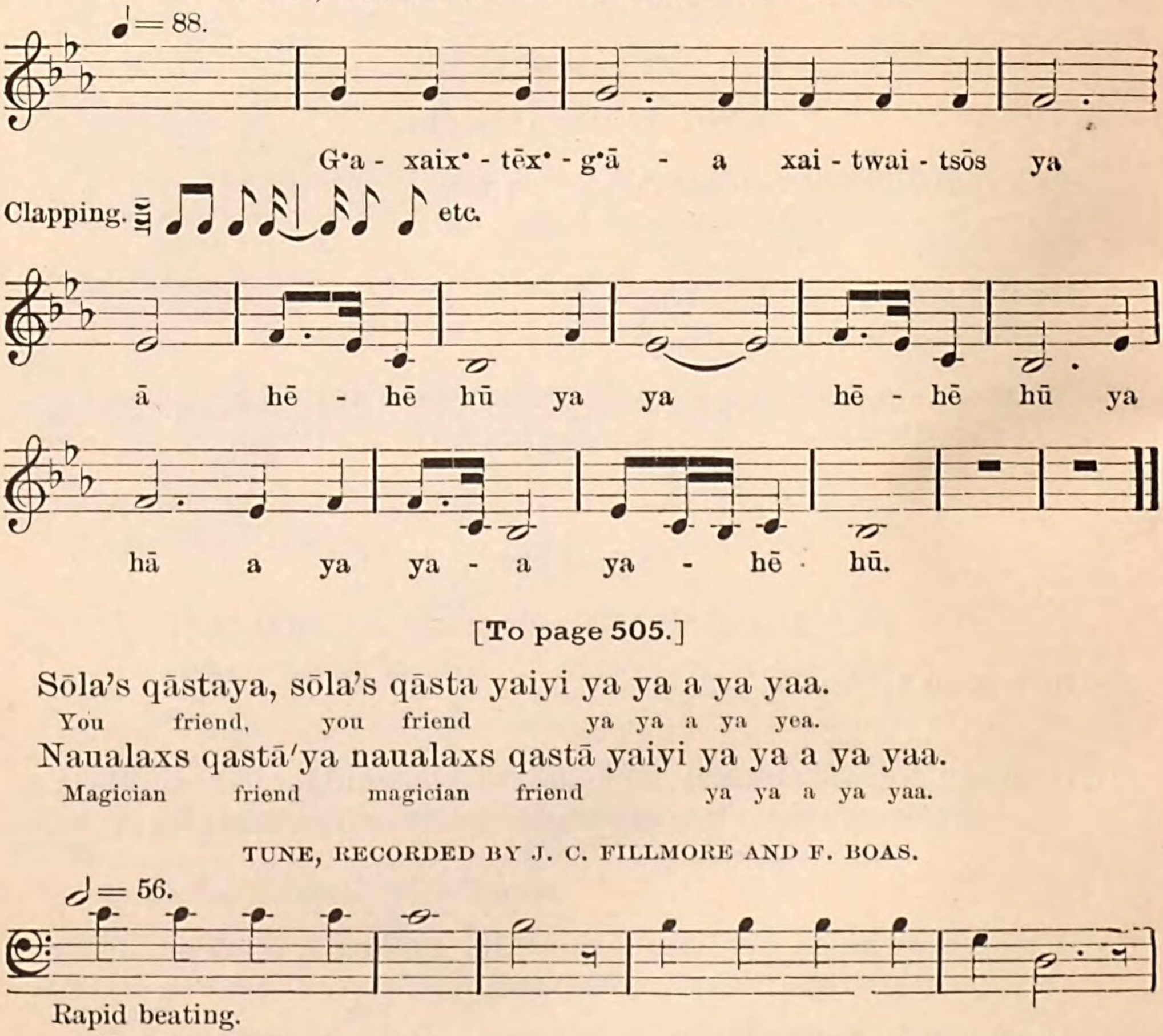
5 1. G·āxaix·tēx· g·axaitwaitsōs ya a hē hē hū ya ya hē hē hū.

He comes here — he comes down — ya a hē hē hū ya ya hē hē hū.

2. G·axaix·tēx· wā′′latwaitsōs ya a hē hē hū ya ya hē hē hū.

He comes here — he rests at the foot of the precipice — ya a hē hē hū ya ya hē hē hū.

TUNE, RECORDED BY J. C. FILLMORE AND F. BOAS.



[To page 505.]

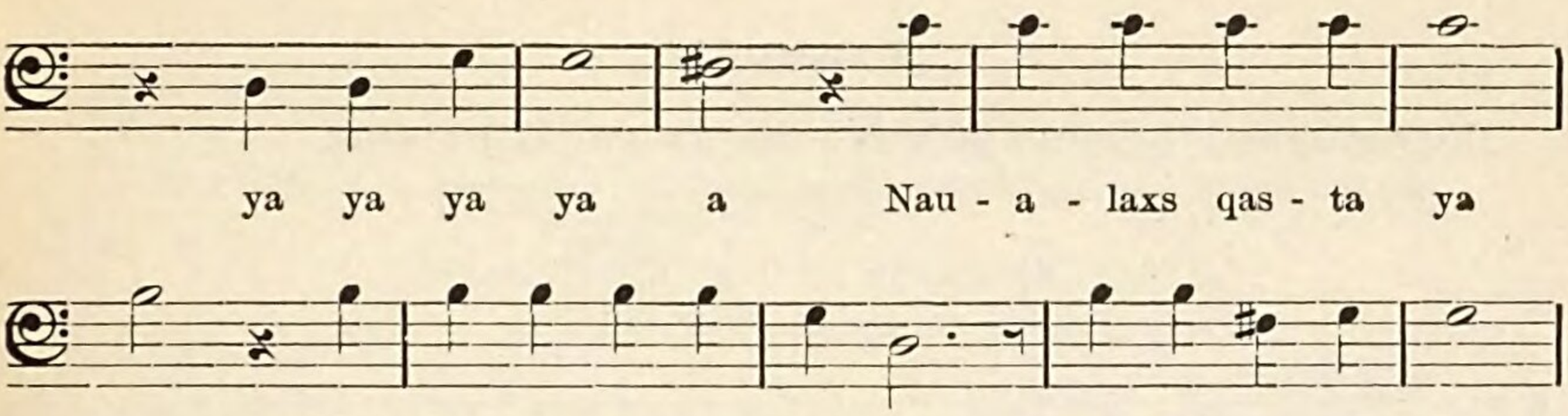
Sōla's qāstaya, sōla's qāsta yaiyi ya ya a ya yaa.

You friend, you friend ya ya a ya yea.

Naualaxs qastā′ya naualaxs qastā yaiyi ya ya a ya yaa.

Magician friend magician friend ya ya a ya yaa.

TUNE, RECORDED BY J. C. FILLMORE AND F. BOAS.

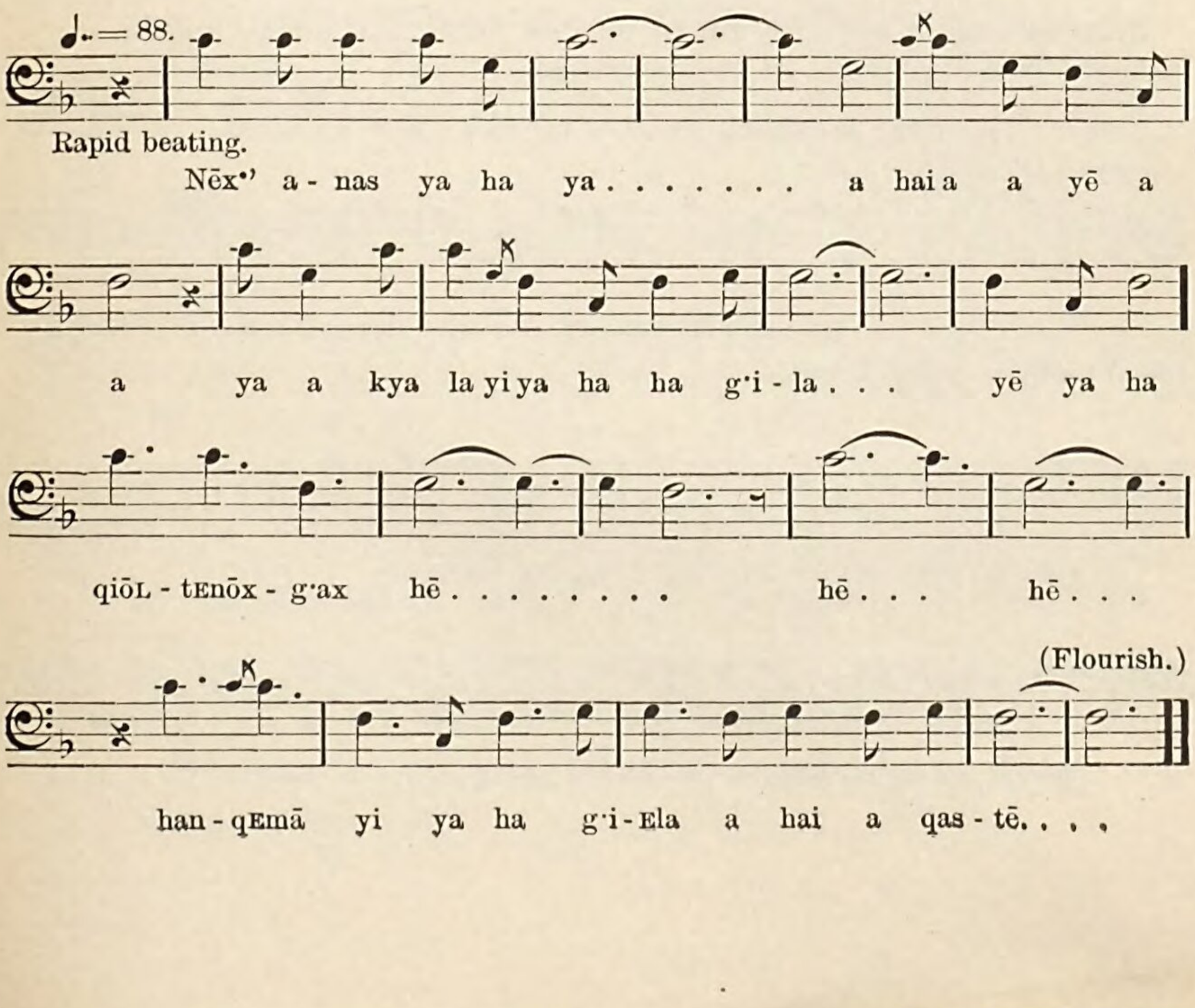


[To page 505.]

1. Nēx·'ana's ya ha ya a hai a yē a a yaak·ala yiya ha hag·ila LElē'- 1
You said that you ha ya a haia a yē a a bad weather yiya ha hag·ila cap-
yiya ha qēyō'LtEnōx g·ax hēi hēē hā'nqamē yi ya hag·iLEla a hai a
size ha we a long time here hēi hēē canoe in front of beach yi ya capsize in rough weather a hai a
qastē.
friend.

2. Nēx·'anas ya ha ya a haia a yē a a yaak·ila yiya ha hag·ila
You said that you ha ya a haia a yē a a bad weather yiya ia hag·ila
LElē'yiya qēyō'LtEnōx g·ax hēi hēē mēxayayī'ya hag·iLEla a hai a 5
capsize we a long time here hēi hēē sleeping capsize in rough weather a hai a
qastē.
friend.

TUNE, RECORDED BY J. C. FILLMORE AND F. BOAS.

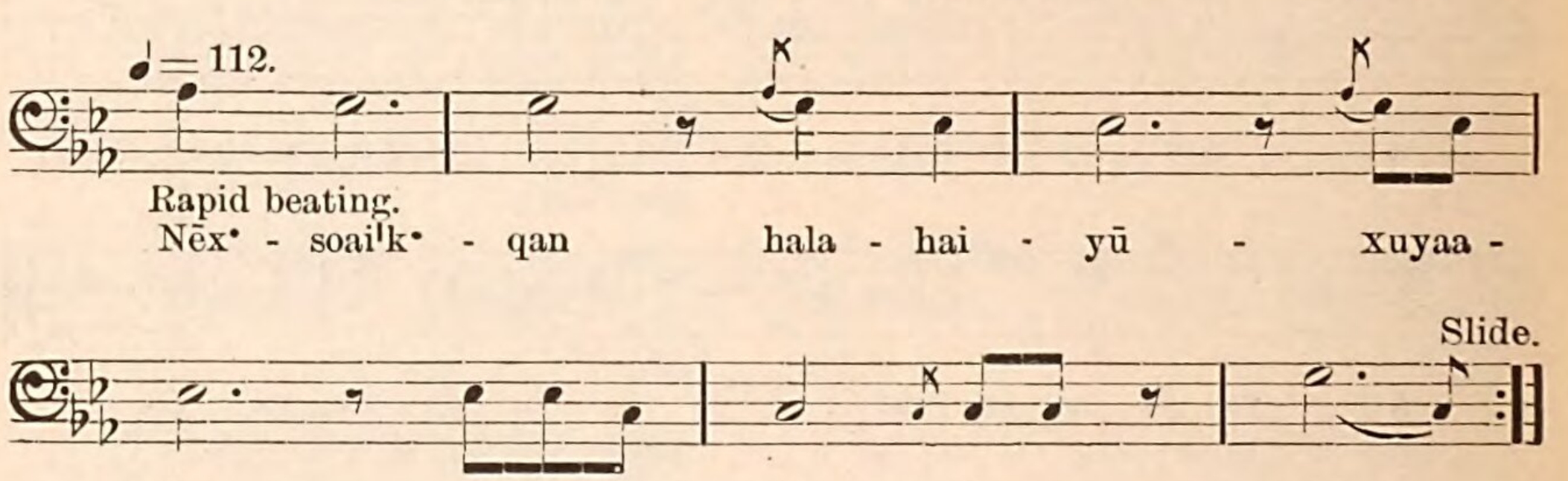


[To page 505.]

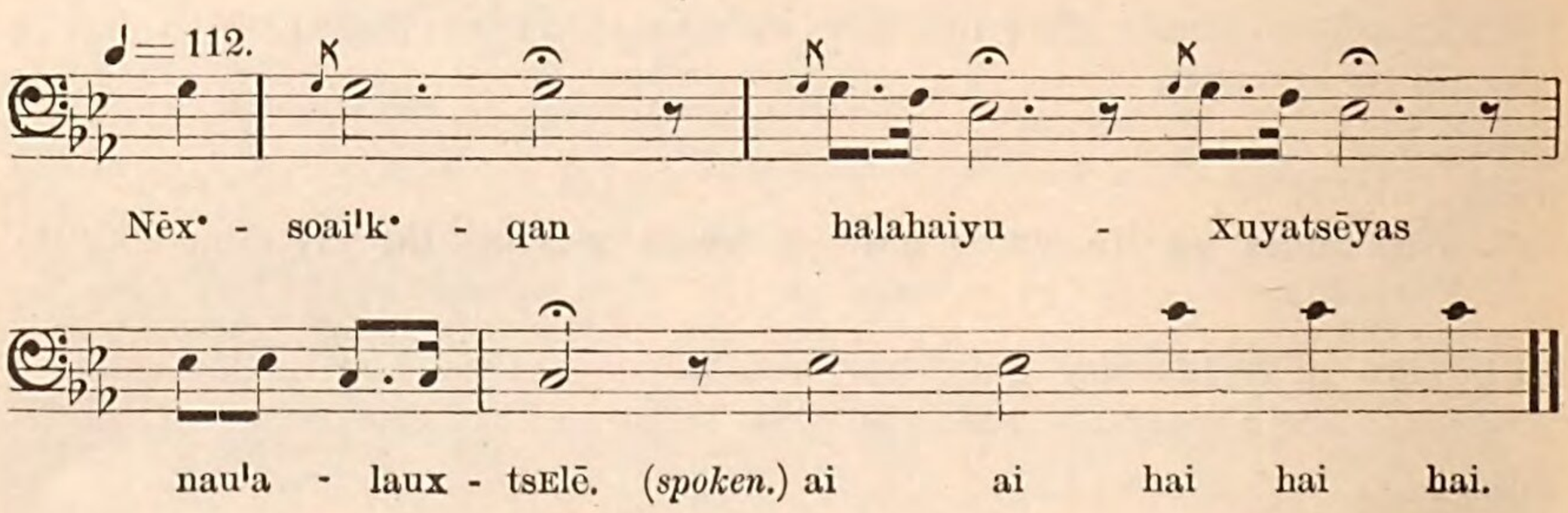
Nēx·soai'k·qan halahai'yūXuya'tsēyas nau'alauxtsElē.

He told me means of killing by his teeth magic great.

TUNE, RECORDED BY J. C. FILLMORE, 1892.



TUNE, RECORDED BY F. BOAS, 1894.

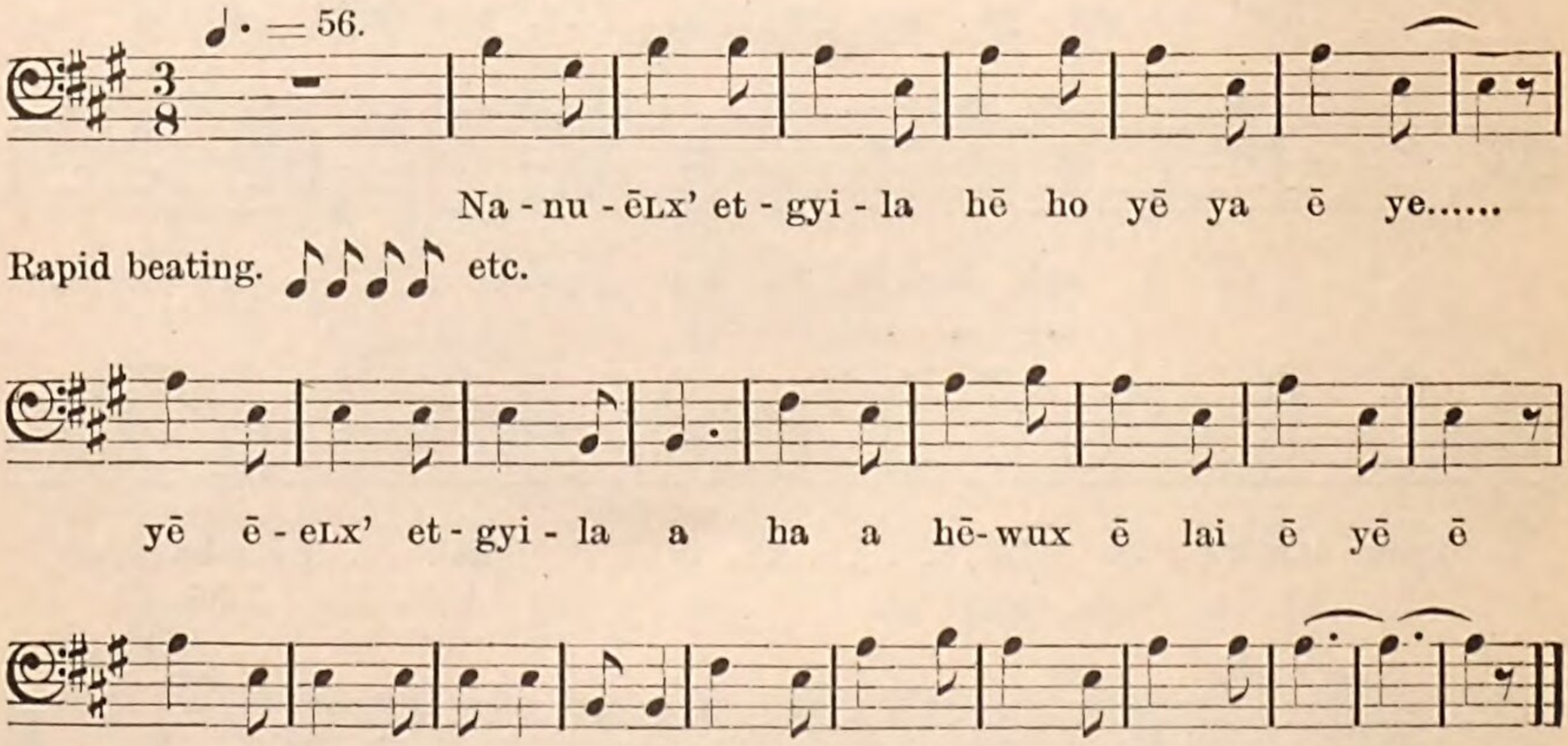


[To page 507.]

NānLEx'ētg·ila hēya nā'nuLElx'ētg·ila hēimx·Lai qoayā'lag·ila.

They make us confused hēya they make us confused that is that causes it.

TUNE, RECORDED BY J. C. FILLMORE AND F. BOAS.

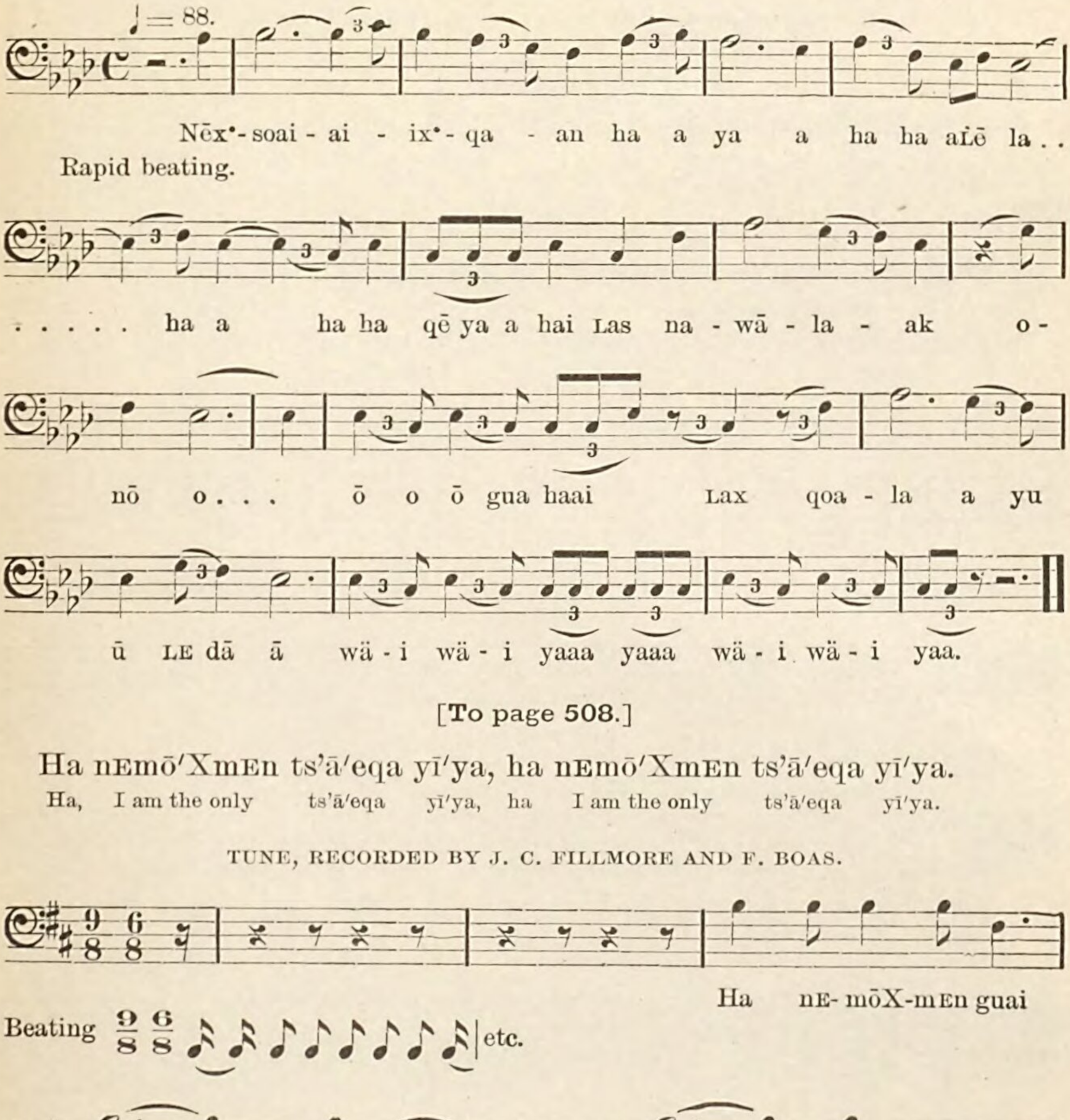


[To page 507.]

Nēx·sowaiXqan lalaXsawamatsō hōs nau'alaq ō nō'gua.

He said to me he was going to make me go through (the mā'wiL.) with his magic poor me.

TUNE, RECORDED BY J. C. FILLMORE AND F. BOAS.

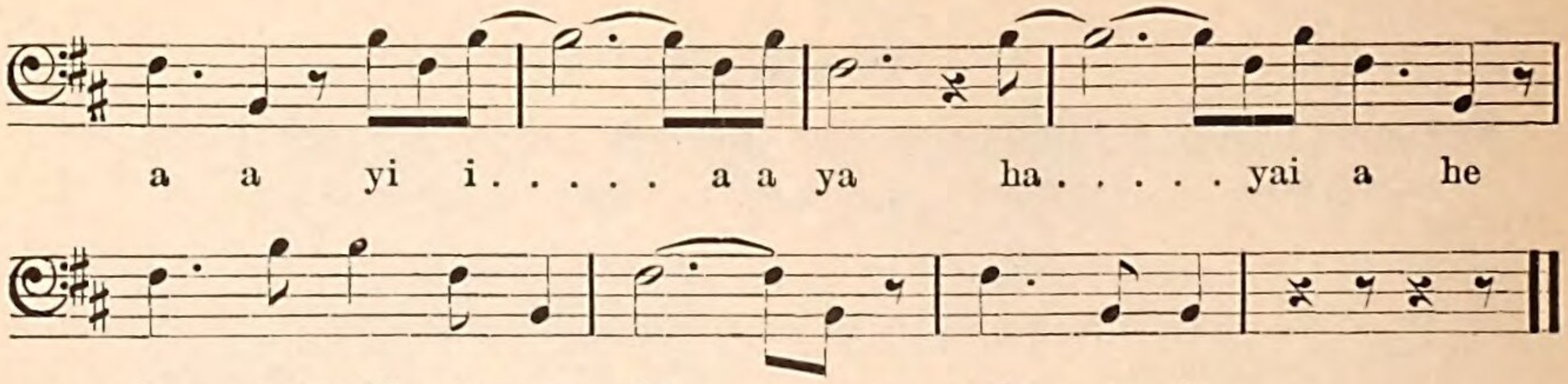


[To page 508.]

Ha nEmō'XmEn ts'ā'eqa yī'ya, ha nEmō'XmEn ts'ā'eqa yī'ya.

Ha, I am the only ts'ā'eqa yī'ya, ha I am the only ts'ā'eqa yī'ya.

TUNE, RECORDED BY J. C. FILLMORE AND F. BOAS.



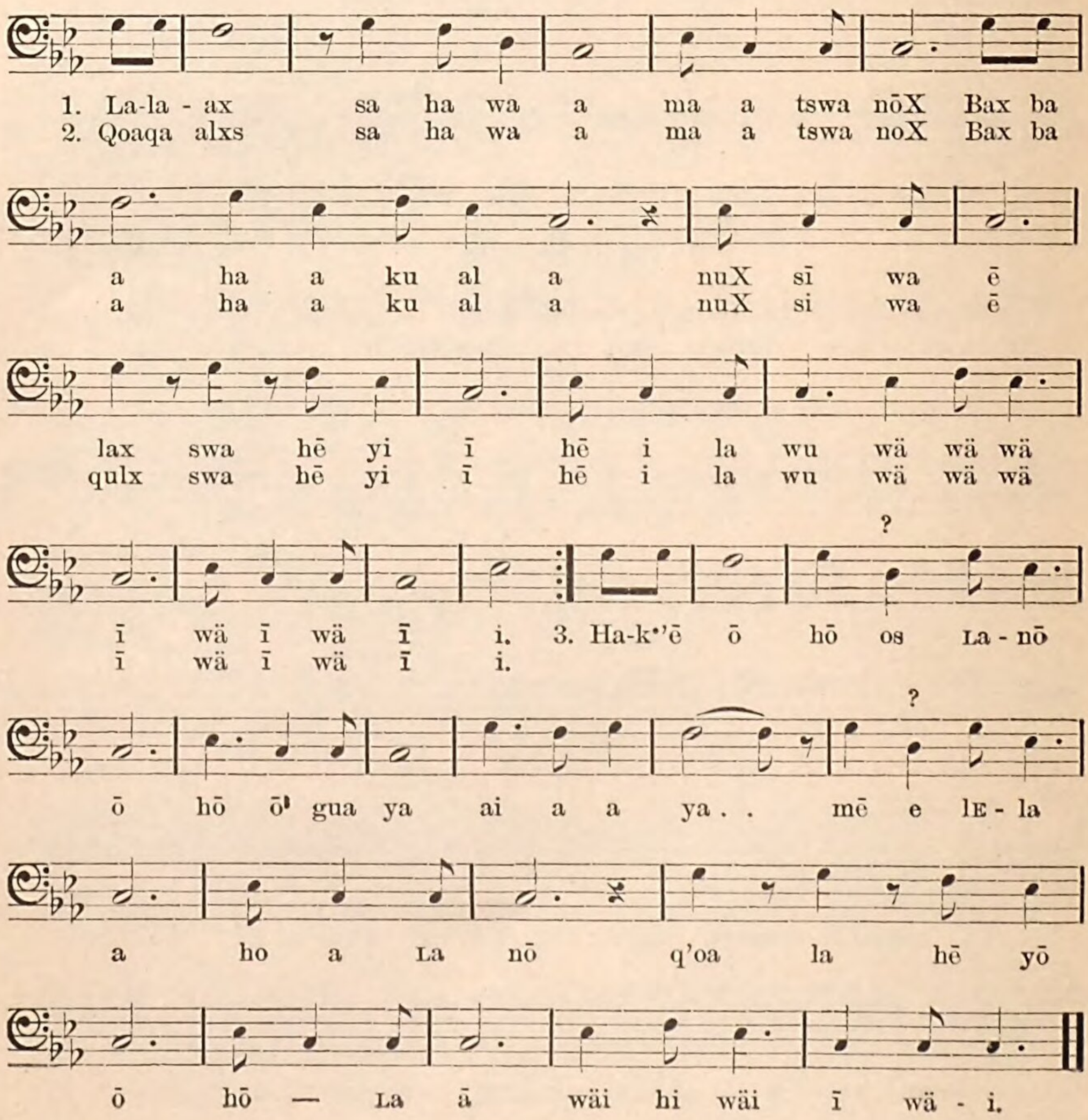
[To page 508.]

1. LālaxsE'wamātsōXdEnō'guas BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē lāxsōwag·ila
   He makes me ts'ā'eqa me BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē he makes me enter
haō.
haō.

2. Q'oā'q'ulx·sE'wamatsōwamo q'ulx·sEwag·ila q'ulXsEwag·īla wa.
   He makes me pure making pure making pure wa.

3. Ha k·'ēohōsLā'noya aiā'mē'lala q'oalahag·īhēēLawō.
   Ha, not I spoil (life) I the life maker.

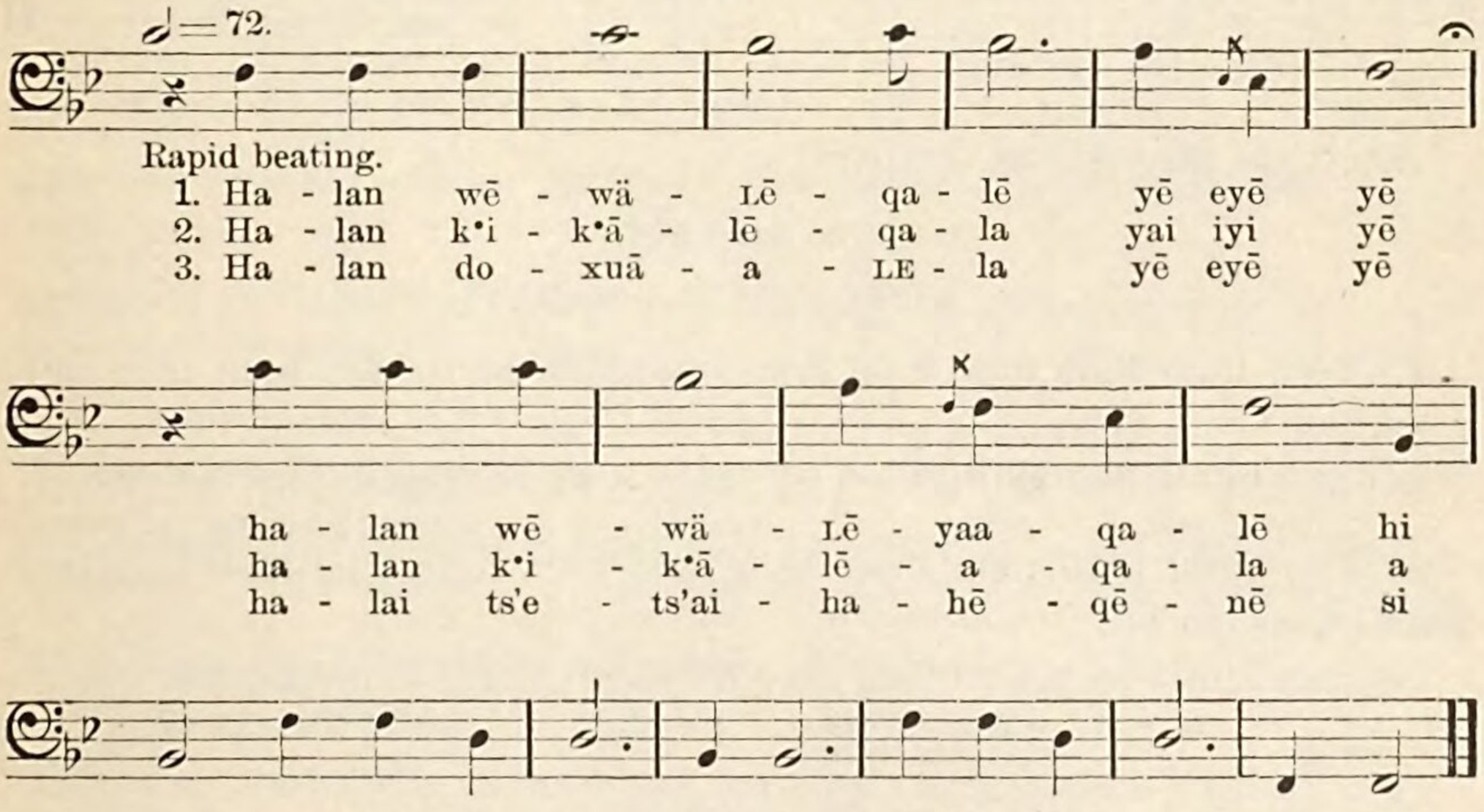
TUNE, RECORDED BY J. C. FILLMORE AND F. BOAS.



[To page 509.]

1. Halan wēwä'L'ēqalaiyi, halan wiwäL'ēqalaiyiyē halanvē hala-
My mind is not strong enough my mind is not strong enough hala-
wē'ya.
wē'ya.
2. Halan k·ik·ā'layēyai, halan k·ik·ā'lēqalaiyiyē halanwē halawē'ya.
My mind is afraid of it, my mind is afraid of it halawē'ya.
3. Halan dōxuaLElayēyai halaits'aihahaq'ēnēsia.
I have seen it his winter ceremonial.

TUNE, RECORDED BY J. C. FILLMORE AND F. BOAS.



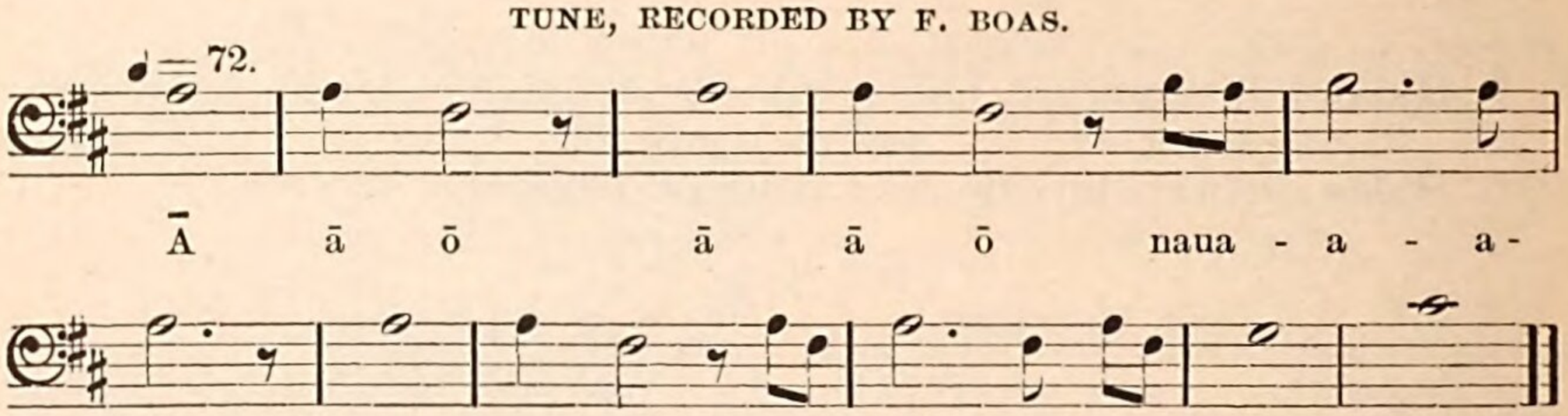
[To page 512.]

TUNE, RECORDED BY J. C. FILLMORE AND F. BOAS.

[To page 525.]

1 Ā ā nāualā′q, ā ā ā naualā′q hū.
Ā ā magic ā ā ā magic hū.

TUNE, RECORDED BY F. BOAS.



Intervals throughout doubtful.

[To page 527.]

K·Î′NQALALALA SONG.

1. Yiya ham ham ham ham ham ham ham ham ham ham ham ham yiya ha.

Nō′gua ahaik·as haialig·ila q'oā′yag·īLk·as BaxbakuālanuXsi′waē.
I real tamer I say for BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē.

5 2. Yiya ham ham ham ham ham ham ham ham ham ham ham ham ham ham yiya ha.

Nō′gua ahaik·as mā′mutsēg·ila q'oā′yag·īL BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē.
I real pulling (red cedar bark) from his back I say for BaxbakuālanuXsī′waē.

[To page 527.]

SONG OF THE HĒ′LIG·A.

Hama maiē qā s laix·dēa haialik·imaxalisaiyasōxdōxs Lōkoalag·ī-
Hama maiē for he goes to press down his wildness for you for me superna-
Lawō; hāma.
tural one hāma.

[To page 535.]

10 Nōmeya′ nōmeyā′ nōmeyā′ nōmeyā′.
Old, old, old, old.
NumēstalisElayuXdōXs nā′noalakoa. Nōmeyā′.
Old going all around the world with magician. Old.

TUNE, RECORDED BY J. C. FILLMORE AND F. BOAS.

[To page 538.]

L'Ē'SELAG·I'LA ꞱŌ ALŌ''LĒNÔX.

Mink and wolf.

Lā'wayōguila laē L'ē'sElag·i'la ā'Lēg·aas Qālogwîs g·ō'xdEmsa sa 1
Salmon trap made it is said mink back of Crooked Beach village site of the

Kwā'kiuL. Ts'ē'ts'ēqa laē da nā'Xua qa is g·ā'yimōlas a'mE'nqawak^{u}.
Kwakiutl. Winter dance it is said all of different picked out from each village.

Laam lā'wîs x·isā'Lē LōLaElqamā'yas aLō''lēnôx. Lā'laē mē'iLē da
Then it is said they had disappeared the chief's sons of the wolf. Then it is said doing mischief the chief

x·isā'Lax Lā'wayôs L'ē'sElag·i'la. Lā'laē yūduxp'EnXoas mē'iLax
those who had disappeared the salmon trap of mink. Then it is said three days they did mischief

Lā'wayôs L'ē'sElag·i'la. Ts'îx·îla laē nâ'qaya s L'ē'sElag·i'la qa ēs 5
the salmon trap of mink. Sick it is said the heart of mink for his

Lā'wayôs mē'iLasEwaē. Lā'laē L'ē'sElag·i'la aā'xsēlax·'it xēs nâ'qaē
salmon trap being done mischief to. Then it is said mink resolved his mind

qa s lē hā'qoalax yā'lē xēs Lā'wayō. Laam lā'wēsēxa la qā'nuL'it.
to go watch what did his salmon weir. Then he went when it grew night.

Wunē'Ems xēs Lā'wayō. G·āx laē hōxwuL'E'lsEla lēda mōk^{u} x·isā'La.
Hiding at his salmon weir. They came it is said they were vomited out of the woods they four who had disappeared.

Hēna'kula am lā'wis lā'xa Lā'wayō. Hē'x·'ida am lāwisē da x·isā'La
They went right up it is said to the salmon weir. At once it is said the who had disappeared

axē'idax xa mELē'ik· mä'ts'ō sa Lā'wayôs L'ē'sElag·i'la. Lā'laē nink·'- 10
took the sockeye salmon gone into trap of the salmon trap of mink. Then it is said he said

ēx'ēdē L'ēsElag·i'la: Sâ'ēL yā'la xEn Lā'wayō; la'ams k·'ē'lax·'iLEq nēn-
to himself mink: You did so to my salmon trap; then you struck with weapon he said

k·'ēx'ēdalat'a L'ē'sElag·i'la â''ma. Lā'laē k'us'E'lsi da LōLaE'lqamāya's
to himself however mink only. Then it is said they sat on the ground the chief's sons of

aLō''lēnôx qa s ha'mx·'idē xa mELē'k·ī k·'ilk·'ā'x·iq. Lā'laē Lā'xulsē
wolf and they ate the sockeye salmon raw. Then it is said he arose

L'ē'sElag·i'la qa s wu'nwix·'idēq qa s k·'ēlax·'idēqēxs mō'kua. Lā'laē
mink to hide in back to club them four. Then it is said

qā'x·'idEq. Wī''laEm laē qā'x·'idEqēxs mō'kua. Lā'laē nē'nakuē L'ē'sE- 15
he cut their heads off. All it is said he cut their heads off four. Then it is said he went home mink

lag·i'la dāla xa mō'sqEm xawē'qum. K·'ēs qa'aLē's k·'ē'lak·'ēnayā; k·'ēs
taking the four skulls. Not it was known he clubbed them; not

qā'lis abE'mp. Laa'm laē k·ik·î'lnalaLē da aLō''lēnôxoā'xa hai'lōxsāL.
she knew his mother. Then it is said they were going to bring back the wolves at two days hence.

Lā'laē laastōt lāx k·ik·î'lnalaxdEm Lāsa lē'lqolaLaē. Nā'Xua qa s
Then it is said the time came for bringing back these tribes. All to

g·ā'yamōlas. Q'u'liagoadês K'uēkuaxā'waē. K·'ē'samXdē nā'x·'idaxs
from different tribes. Old man was K'uēkuaxā'waē. Not it was daylight

lēx·dês L'ē'sElag·i'la. LEx'ē'it qa s lē lax Mē'mkumlis Lā'wayōguila
he went mink. He started in a canoe for to go to Mē'mkumlis he made salmon trap

lāx. Lā'laē qoā'Lē Lā'wayōguīlas p'aō's laē Lā'wayōs. Lā'laē qā's'idē
there. Then it is said done making salmon weir stone dam it is said his salmon weir. Then it is said he walked

L'ē'sElag·i'la qa s k'oā'g·aālē lā'xa t'ē'sEm. Dō'qoaLa xēs Lā'wayō:
mink to sit on rock on the stone. He looked at his salmon trap:

"Mā'sōs mäts'owēq'ōs Lā'wayōwē?" "Qa'mā'spēts'ā'owēsēk· k'umā'-
"What your fish in your trap salmon trap?" "What little little

pēts'ōk·uX." Lā'laē quL'ē't xēs x·ōms: "Yō'koas'ōEm skun Lā'xu-
bull head." Then it is said he scratched his head: "O, that is pretty I I work

malag·ilisēLEn Lā'Lawāwuxsilag·īLō. Ts'ExstE'nda'xLēlaqu." Lā'laē
hard on the beach looking after the salmon trap for it. Throw it into the water." Then

ē'tsaqu: "Mā'sōs mäts'owēq'ōs Lā'wayowē?" "Qa'mā'spēts'ā'owēsēk.
again: "What your fish in your trap salmon trap?" "What little

p'ā'ēspētsōku. (*etc. It catches in turn*: ts'E'mqoapēts'ōku, xu'lqumpēts'ōku,
little flounder. (etc. It catches in turn: little eel, little dogfish,

Lā'mōpēts'ōku, g·ō'maɜapēts'ōku, ts'Ewu'npēts'ōku, qoā'xnispēts'ōku,
little perch, little silver perch, little cohoes salmon, little dog salmon,

hanō'npēts'ōku, g·ixoa'pēts'ōku, sā'tsEmpēts'ōku, sī'siuLpēts'ōku. *Then*
little humpback salmon, little steel head salmon, little spring salmon, little sī'siuL. Then

mink says:) "Yū'wis, yū'wis, yū'wis, yū'wis." Aix·'itē nâ'qaēs
mink says:) "That is it, that is it, that is it, that is it." Good was his heart

L'ē'sElag·i'la. Lā'laē k'u'ls'ētax qa s axsEmlē'isē s'a sī'siūL lā'xa
mink. Then it is said he took it out of the trap to put it on the rock the sī'siuL on the

t'ē'sEm. Lā'laē L'ē'sElag·i'la L'Exuī't xa q'oā'x qa t'ā'g·ix tsēs
stone. Then it is said mink broke off the hemlock for layer for his

yā'nEm. Laam nēnpXL laxis g·ō'kuē Qā'logwîs. Lā'laē lāg·a'lis
game. Then he went home to his house Qā'logwîs. Then it is said he went ashore

qa s lō'Ltoē. Koa'lēL am lāwisē abE'mpas. Lā'laē yā'q'eg·ā'Lē
to go out of the canoe She lay down it is said his mother. Then it is said he spoke

L'ē'sElag·i'la: "Qoā'Ltsôs hē qoaē'Lē hā'tsō'qa s laō's qāxs
mink: "Do not stay here grand mother for you go to

x·ix·'ī'ta xEn yā'nEmē'x." Lā'laē abE'mpas lE'nts'ēs. Lā'laē lā'g·ēqElisa
carry in its gills my this game." Then it is said his mother went down to the beach. Then it is said she went alongside

xa Xuā'k'un. Lā'laē wāx· dōx'oaLaxs xa Xuā'k'un. Â'Em
the canoe. Then it is said in vain she looked into canoe the canoe. Only

lāwisē abE'mpas L'ē'sElag·i'la sE'lsEluxs'alis laā'LEqEmāLis x·ō'mstē.
it is said his mother mink became twisted on the beach it turned backward her past head.

Nā'Xua lē'x·'itEns ō'guitaē. Lā'ē dō'x'oaLEla xa sī'siuL. Lā'laē
All it turned over her body. It is said she looked at the sī'siuL. Then it is said

nanō'kulēLē L'ē'sElag·i'la abE'mpaxs xE'nLElaē la qäLa. Lā'laē
he became tired of waiting mink his mother staying too long. Then it is said

Lā′xolēLē L·ēsElag·i′la qa s lē dō′xuidE xēs abE′mp. Lā′laē dō′x'ua- 1
he arose from the floor mink to go look for his mother. Then it is said he be-

LEla xēs abE′mpaxs âmaē sE′lsEluxs'alis. "A ha ha ha ha," nē′x·lat'a
held his mother only twisted on the beach. "A ha ha ha ha," said however

L'ē′sElag·i'la dā′LEla sēs abE′mp. "ƍoā′yādE's hā′ts'awê. Â′Em
mink laughing at his mother. "Just so grand mother. Only

mō′mElq'ō." Â′Em lawisē L'ē′sElag·i'la dā′x·'it xēs abE′mp qa s
you are too glad." Only it is said mink took his mother to

nā′qamē'stEndēx ȣoē′LȣoēlEs xa lā′xdē sE′lqoamēsta. Hai′Em lāwisē 5
set them aright her limbs the there twisted around. He it is said

L'ē′sElag·i'la qāXsāla xa sī′siūL; la lō′stits. Lā′laē k·'êqayî′ntsēs
mink carried at gills the sī′siuL; he went up from the beach Then it is said he put it on a box

yā′nEm lāxa xatsE′m. Laa′m laē tsā′qua.
the game on the box. Then it is said it became evening.

Laam laē kuē′xala LE da k·ik·î′lnElaLaxa laxa ȣā′nuL. Laa′m laē
Then it is said they beat time they were going to the k·ik·î′lnala at the night. Then it is said

kuē′xalē da k·ik·î′lnala qa ēda lē′LaL LE′La'la k·'ē′lag·uxs L'ēsElag·i'la.
they beat time the k·ik·î′lnala for the expected in vain the dead ones killed by mink.

"La'mEns hēnax'alēLai′ pēpaxalai′ LElē′LaalaL xEns q'ā′laLla." 10
"We will try in house to bring back shamans calling with music our ts'ā′eqa novices."

Lā′laē da nEmō′kuē L'ā′yu'tsāqoa: "LamEns wuLāxōLai′ pēpaxalai′
Then it is said the one replied: "We will beat the boards in vain shamans

k·îlnElaL xEns q'ā′laLla." Lā′laē da nEmō′kuē L'ā′yutsāqoa: "LaEms
bringing back our ts'ā′eqa novices." Then it is said the one replied: "You

xōsit'ēLai′ nēnEmōkoai′!" Lā′laē yā′q'ēg·aLē da a′lxLaē: "Lā′Las
wash yourselves friends!" Then it is said spoke the last: "You will

nānElqEmlēLōLai′ yayilāmēXoai′; nānEmtsâEmLEnsai′."
face the rear of the house uninitiated ones; we will go in before dark."

Laa′m laē nōLq'ālag·ilîLē da k·ik·î′lnElaxs k·'ēâsdēxmaē wuLā′x'a- 15
Then it is said they gave it up in the house the k·ik·î′lnala not there they heard

LElē da hō′Laq'Esa xēs sēsnātalag·iliL. "Mā′tsEns g·īqamayaEns
it the listeners theirs what they were trying to obtain. "What our chief our

g·ā′xtsôg·ax·ī′ K·ē′x·a." Laa′m lawîs qā′s'ētsa'wa. Laa′m lāwîs ȣoā′Lē
let him come K·ēx·." Then it is said they went after him. Then it is said done

k'uē′xayas K·ē′x·i LEwīs nāLnEmuōt yix mā′yusustâlag·ilakᵘ ƫō mā′xayō
what he invented K·ēx· and his cousins that raccoon and killer whale

ƫō tamē′nas. Hä′imîs woq'oā′sē Ts'Estā′yuqoa. Lā′lae mā′yusustâlag·i-
and squirrel. She his sister Ts'Estā′yuqoa. Then it is said raccoon

lakᵘ qā′s'it qa s lē k·'uxsōtax ō′nōtsExstayā sa kuē′xalatsē. K'ustō′dē 20
went that he went pulled out (board) in the rear corner of the house dancing house. They sat in the hole

mā′yusustâlag·ilakᵘ ƫō tamē′nas lā′xa k·'uxsEwākᵘ. G·āx laē K·ēx·
raccoon and squirrel at the board pulled out. He came it is said K·ēx·

1 yix'uī't nEmā'L'ētbedō lāt'a yix'uī't lāai Xuē'laqawuls. G·ā'x laē
he danced a short time however he danced it is said he went out. He came it is said

ēidiLē K·ēx· qa s yix'uī'dēE. Yix'uēmēLtsōsēs wī'waq'oa:
again into the house K·ēx· to dance. He danced with them his sisters:

Qa'qaxaLā'la Ts'EstĀ'yōquē.
Spread your legs Ts'Estā'yōqua.

Lā'laē Xuē'laqawulsē K·ēx·. G·ā'xlaē Xuē'laqēLē K·ēx·. Laa'm
Then it is said he went out K·ēx·. He came it is said he went into the house K·ēx·. Then

5 laē q'oalā'LaLa xēs yixu'mL. Yixu'mLādês x·ō'msas LŌ'LaElqamēx·dês
it is said he hid his mask. His mask the heads of the chief's sons

aLō''lēnôx. Lā'laē q'a'mt'ētsōs sa q'E'mtEmēX:
of the wolves. Then it is said they sang his song:

Qapamā'lō K·ēx·āxō LōLaE'lqamēx·dēxs aLō''lēnôx.
Put on head K·ēx· the eldest sons past of the wolves.

Lā'laē lāwuls g·ā'xlaē ē'itêt. Lā'laē qôlx·īdux sa xawēq. Lā'laē wax·
Then it is said he went out he came it is said again. Then it is said they hung on his body the skulls. Then it is said they tried

k·'ē'lax·'itsō sis g·ō'kulōt. Laē dō'x'uaLELExs hēimaā'xōL hē'ikulāx
to kill him his tribes. Then they discovered he it was he had done it

10 LŌ'LaElqamē s aLō''lēnôx. Laam lā'Xsō lā'xa t'E'nâyi laē. TE'm'yālē
the chief's sons of wolves. Then he went through at the rear door in the it is said. They made sounds

tamē'nas TōwÎs nEmō'kuē mā'yusustâlag·ilak^{n}. G·āx'am ē'idēL tsēs
squirrel and his friend raccoon. He brought again into the house his

sī'siuL, laa'm yixumā'la xa sī'siuL. G·Î'l'Em lawis nēLEmx·'it lā'xoa
sī'siuL, then his mask the sī'siuL. First it is said he showed his face at the

t'Ex·i'la lā''aslō't'ēt xēs yixu'mL. Â'Em lawis g·ō'kulōtas sE'lsElxs'alēL,
door then he uncovered his mask. Only it is said his tribe became twisted,

laē dō'xoaL LēS yixu'mL. Lā'laē K·ēx· dā'dōqawa xēs nā'Xua LēLE-
then they saw his mask. Then it is said K·ēx· selected his all his rela-

15 LÂla Ta'wēs Lā'xula lā'xa nā'Xua bEguā'nEm qa s q'u'lax·'itamasē.
tives and his liked among the all men to make them alive.

Laam lā'pa.
That is the end.

[To page 610.]

KOSKIMO DIALECT.

X·ētsax·ōstōwaya x·ētsax·ōstōwaya Lawu'lqamaya Lawu'lqamayas
Look up to the world look up to the world chief's son chief's son

Q'ō'misila Q'ō'misila.
rich maker rich maker.

[To page 612.]

LA'LASIQOALA DIALECT.

Hayasâ hōnô lalä'ya honô hanä häu.

20 Hayasâ hōnô laläya honô hanä häu.

QoaL qoā'sayak·'ēsLas wiā'laL.
Do not cry you will return safely.

[To page 614.]

LA'LASIQOALA DIALECT.

Ha ha lāg·anEmLē hā'ɣalalaqôla mā'lats'Es mā'mLēaxtōwē ha ha ha. 1
Ha ha you do not give me a good answer wash tub you who bring the southeast wind ha ha ha.

[To page 615.]

SONG OF ME'LXMEKUS.—LA'LASIQOALA DIALECT.

Hau'LēlalisLōL q'ā'yusqEmayā'ita.
I will listen to you having the old tale attached to it.

Hau'LēlalisLōL anōguadenōXslaēda.
I will listen to you what belongs to us.

[To page 630.]

SONG OF THE DEER.

1. Wā'xalaLEns xā'LaLxa qē'watsēa g·ā'xtsēk·as g·îlig·a'lisa g·îlk·E-
We say wa driving away by noise the great deer coming great real standing on forelegs standing
yā'lisa hā'maLElīsa lē'lqoalaLē, qē'watsē nā'nōlēnēk·as lē'lqoalaLē wê. 5
on forelegs over the whole world covering the tribes, great deer said to be fool real tribes wê.

2. Ha aix·LeLā'lants L'ā'yēmēista lE'mxumēista g·aEns la'aiLêx.
Ha we shall be thin faced dry in mouth we shall go
au'tsaqālisa da'oxqonēisLa x·äits'ak·inēisLa qē'watsē nā'nōlēnēk·as
cause him bad luck staring at him getting sleepy by watching him the great deer said to be foolish real
lē'lqoalaLē wê.
tribes wê.

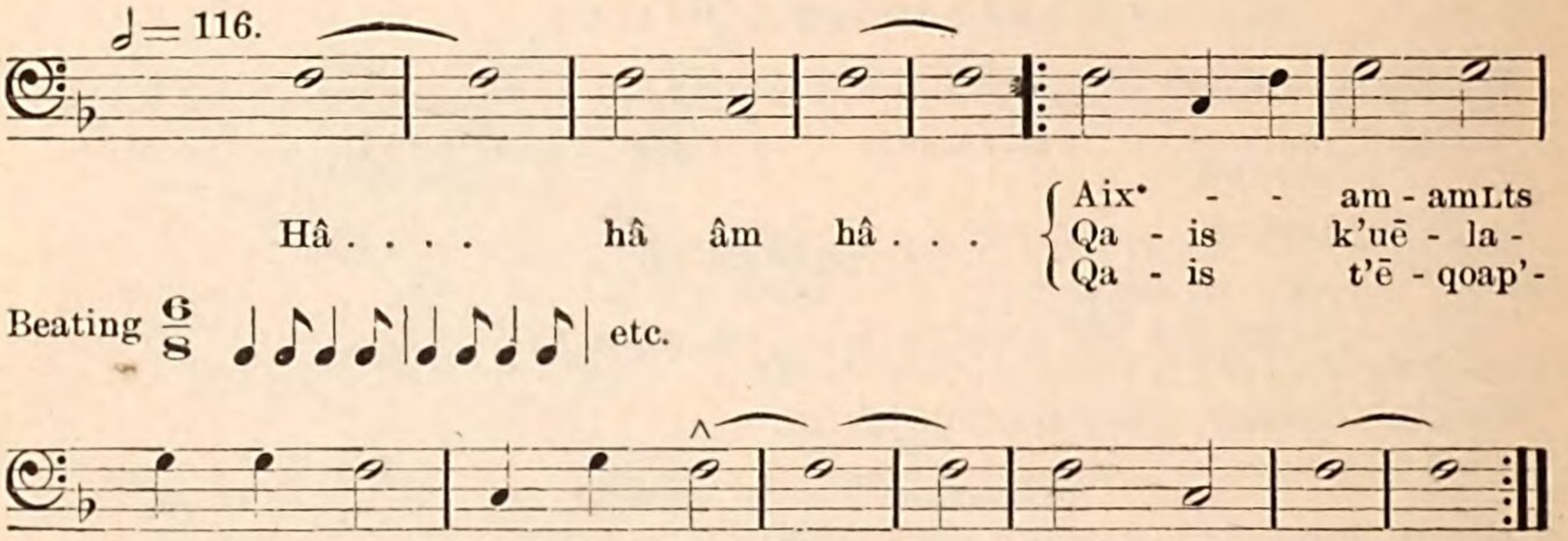
3. Ha aix·tElalē ai'g·iLmalag·ilēisa g·ā'laix·dē q·'u'qalag·ilēisa
He shall be made good all around first lighting suddenly
g·ā'laixdē pE'nqalag·ilēisa wī'lak·'inēg·ilēisa Lā'qoak·'inēg·ilēisa. 10
first glare all around highness on his body copper on his body.
Sā'yaxoa wuLE'mnō'guas häiyä'ik·ila a'm'äik·ila hai'mōsEla wu'Lōdā-
Pure antlers having his unbroken not cracked that is antlers taken
lag·ilēitsōs äi'yalqunxēlîs lē'lqoalaLē. Hā, wai'g·a x·ins xā'Layaqa,
off everywhere speakers of tribes. Ha, let us drive him away,
wai'g·a dā'daxulētsE'mnōxLas dā'xoaxsālētsE'mnōxLas ts'ē'tsēLwāla-
let him try to jump as far as possible jumping over the highest one famous all
gilēistēis lē'lqoalaLē, qē'watsē nā'nolēnēik·ōs lē'lqoalaLē wê.
around tribes, great deer said to be foolish tribes wê.

[To page 631.]

SONG OF NŌ'MAS.—LA'LASIQOALA DIALECT.

1. Aix·'amLts hēilisLōL nōmasâ'. 15
Good you made right old man.
2. Qais k'uē'latsēnēLōs nōmasâ'.
For you will give a feast old man.
3. Qais t'ēqoap'ēnēLos nōmasâ'.
For you make a fire with stones in it old man.

TUNE, RECORDED BY F. BOAS.



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SONG OF AYI'LKOA.

1 Ohōya hōya hōya hā, hōya hōya ha, hōya ho hya uho ho.

1. AōyaLalax g·îns yayax·āp'aēisēik· lax lō'wa.
Slowly we race against each other in world.
on ground

2. AōyaLalax g·îns qā'qasap'ēL g·ins lax lō'wa.
Slowly we walk racing we · in world.

3. Ha, nō'guam anx'anqoā'mas g·în g·ā'yuLē lax guā'paalē'tsēs
Ha, I am the one who makes I come to you from the north end of the
clouds

5 lō'wa.
world.

4. Ha, nō'guam p'E'lxp'Elxāmas g·în g·ā'yuLēX lax guā'paalē'tsēs
Ha, I am the one who makes I come to you from the north end of the
the fogs

lō'wa.
world.

5. Ha, nō'guam L'ēxL'ēxā'mas g·în g·ā'yuLēX lax Lā'qoag·ilak·as
Ha, I am the one who makes the I come to you from the copper maker real
sky red in the morning

ōwa.
good.

10 6. Ha, nō'guam ts'E'lxts'Elqoā'mas g·în g·ā'yuLē g·în lax aix·ts'um-
Ha, I am the one who makes it warm I come to you I from the bright

g·ilak·as ōwa.
maker real good.

7. Ha, lā'mla laē ā'daxEnēsElaLēs Lawu'lqamēLōs amia'xalasōts'ēsa.
Ha, and then he will perform the Tongass your chief's son. the one whom we praise.
dance

[To page 631.]

SONG OF THE KILLER WHALE.—HĒILTSUQ DIALECT.

Amiaxalalaqai ha'lx'ainōxkuas'ōqai Lā'LtsīstaiLElakuas'ō lāxs g·ō'-
Praise the killer whale coming up in the house real in the good

kwasōwawusqai hē'mask·as.
house the chief real.

[To page 631.]

SONG OF THE RAVEN.

Qaqā′m. Qaqau qaqau, qaqau, qaqau, qaqā′ qaqau.
Q'anē′staisELag·ilaisk·as'ō qōwik·as'ō.
Soaring around real raven real.
Yā′yaqayalaēnôxqoasō qōwik·as'ō.
Knowing to obtain wealth raven real.

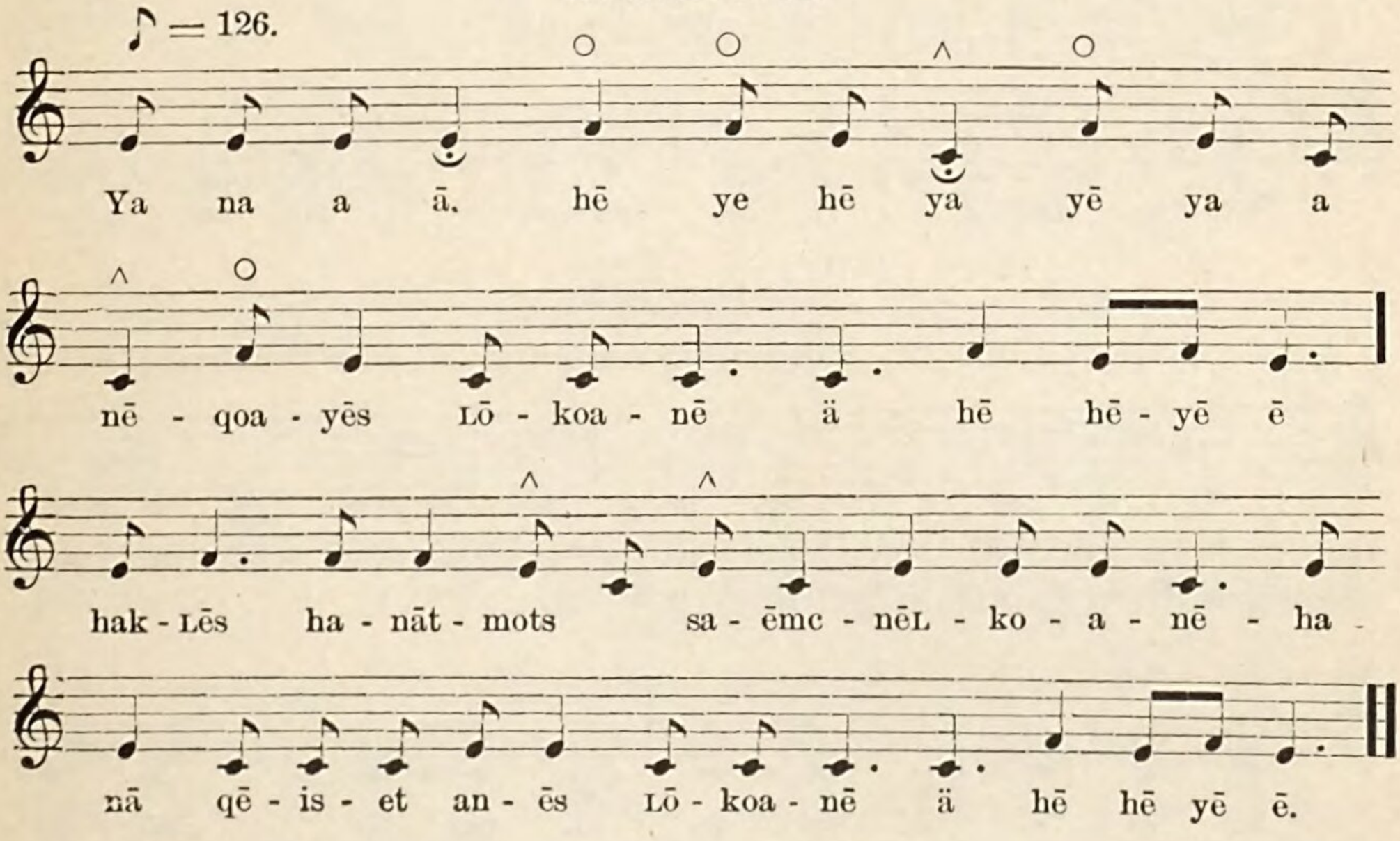
[To page 631.]

SECRET SONG.

Ya'mEnē′X ōguä′yiyaha, ya'mEnēX ōguä′yiyaha.
O you small ones poor ones O you small ones poor ones.
Hailoqoa′mEnēX ōguä′yiyaha, hailoqoa′mEnēX ōguä′yiyaha.
Speakers small ones to me, speakers small ones to me.

[To page 633.]

LŌKOALA SONG.



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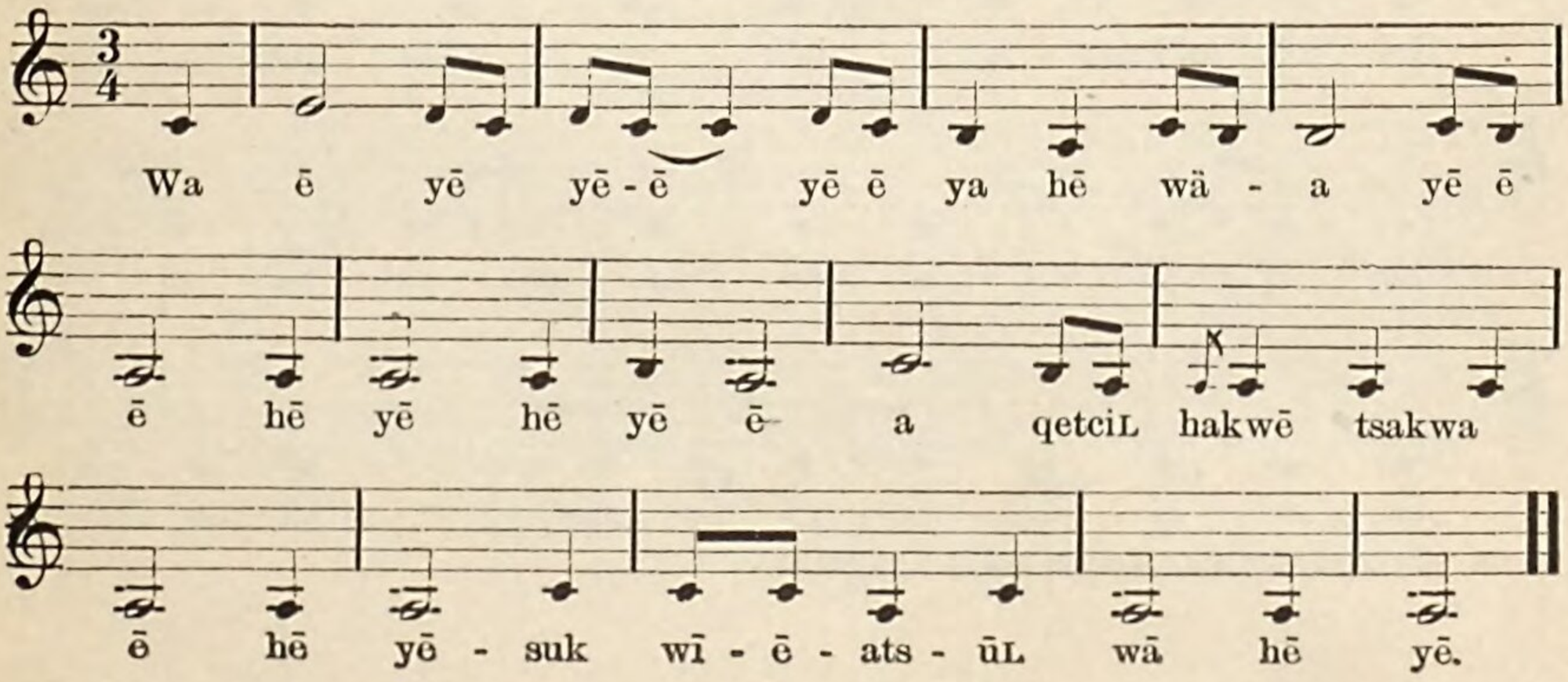
SONG OF THE NUTCĀ′LATH SOCIETY.



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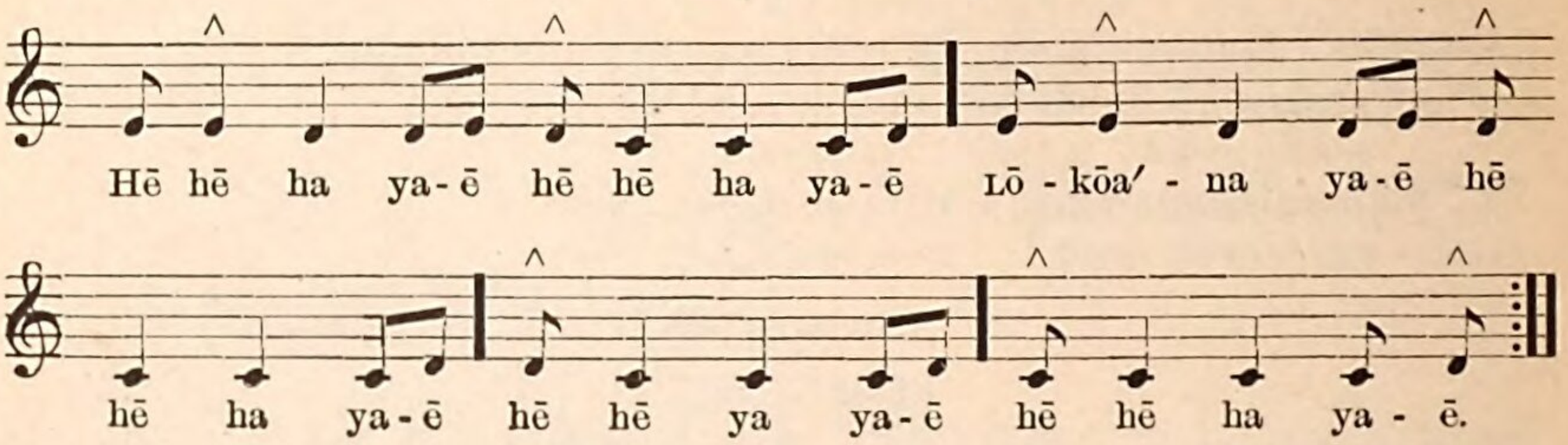
SONG OF THE MÖ′TCLATH SOCIETY.



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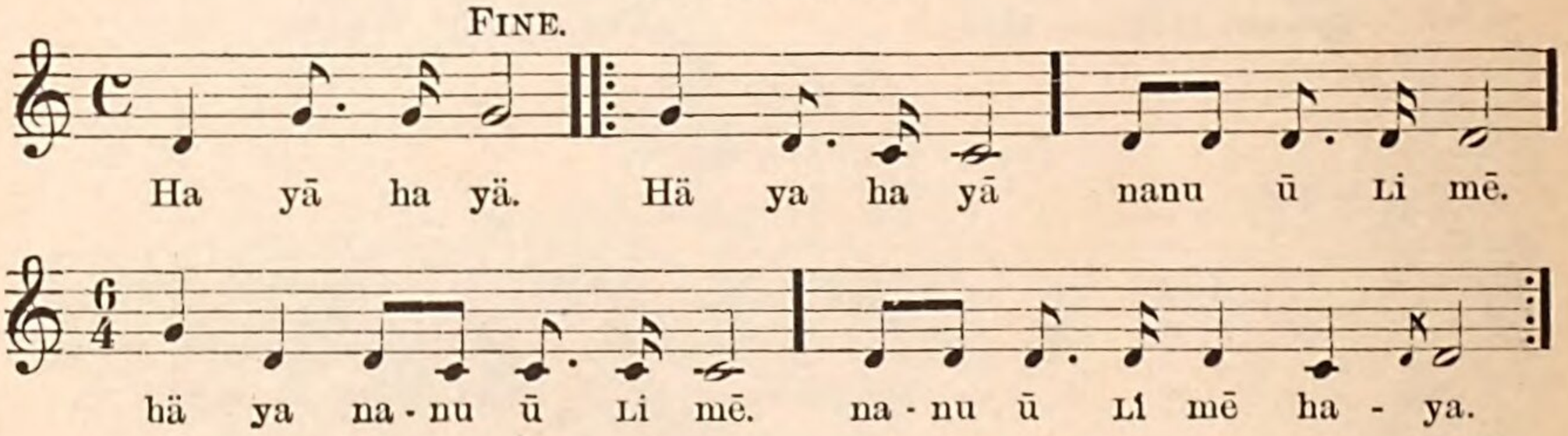
SONG OF AAI′LQĒ.



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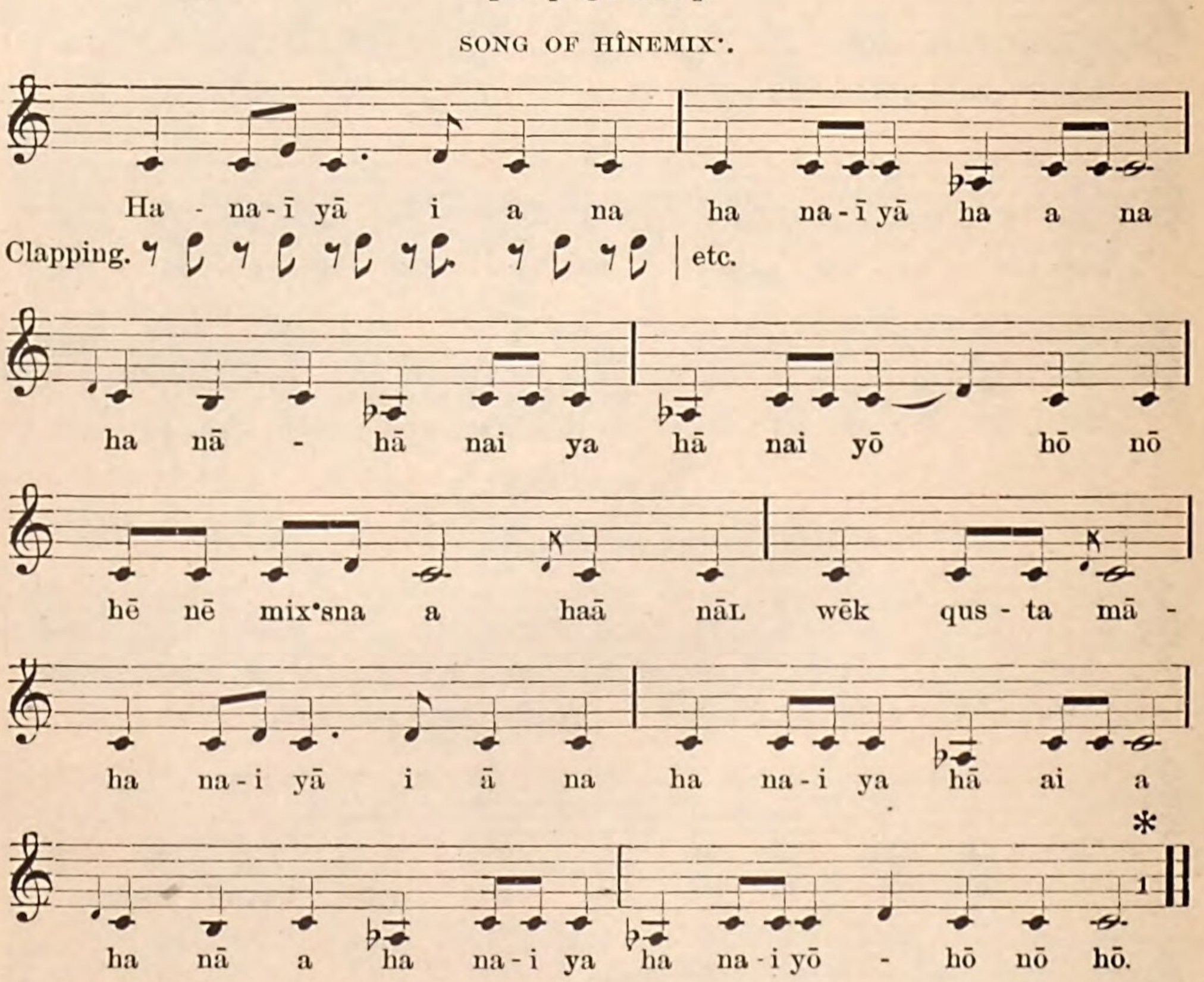
SONG OF HÎNEMIX·.



* (1) The last note drawn down one eight.

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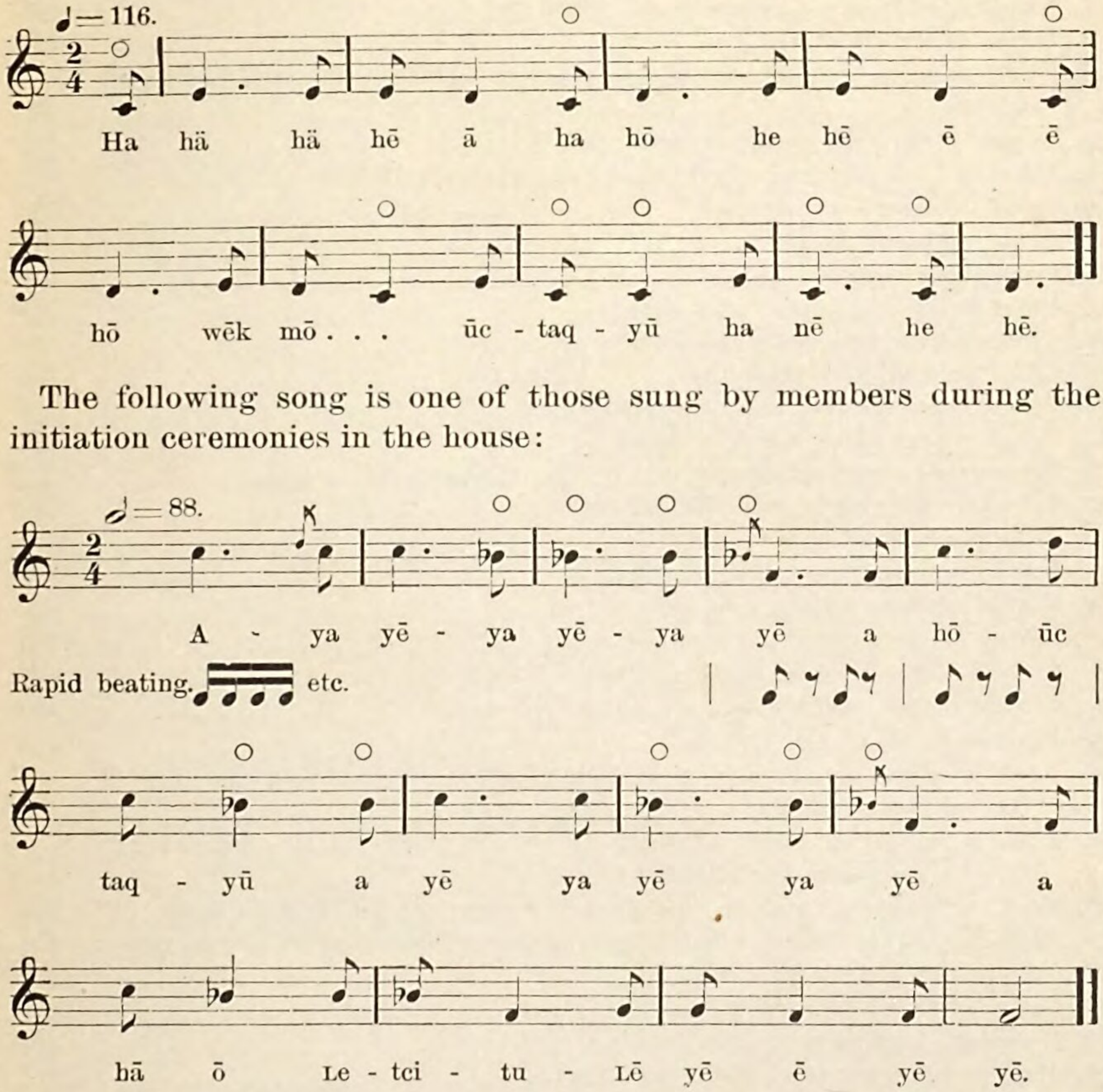
SONG OF TS'Ā'YĒQ.



The following song is one of those sung by members during the initiation ceremonies in the house:

This song is repeated *ad infinitum;* in the repetitions quarters are beaten right through. The dancer jumps at the end of each quarter from one foot to the other. At each jump he lifts one hand and extends the other downward and backward.

[To page 656.]

SONG OF SLEEP.

Aiwôʟ wôxkuā′, aiwôʟ wôxkuā′.
Oh how sleepy we are! oh how sleepy we are!
Adē gugō′ēt nōʟ g·amkᵘ aʟ ts'Em laxha′ ya! Lag·îx· txaldā′uʟ
Whenever strikes me the heat of heaven ya! again comes
dEm wôx qa s nêkc Em wôx, kua!
(future) sleep to the husband of sleep, kua!
Aiwôʟ wôxkuā′, aiwôʟ wôxkuā′!
Oh how sleepy we are! oh how sleepy we are!

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BSB Bayerische StaatsBibliothek

MDZ Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum Digitale Bibliothek

Boas, Franz,

The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians
Smithsonian Institution. United States National Museum. By Franz Boas.
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